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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

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THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

16150

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EDITED AND CONTINUED

BY

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VOL. V.

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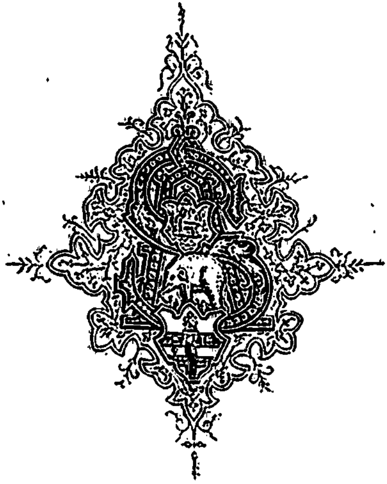
STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,



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PREFACE.

In this volume the history of the Afghán dynasty is completed. The reign of Humáyún is also finished, and the annals of Akbar's reign are carried on to the thirty-eighth year.

The Afghán *Táríkhs* are of no great literary value, but they are the best authorities for the period of which they treat. The first of them, the *Táríkh-i Salátín-i Afághana*, has never before been translated; but the other, the *Makhzan-i Afghání* or *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí*, is the book translated by Dorn in his work entitled "*The History of the Afgháns.*"

Some notices of the first reign of Humáyún are given by the Afghán historians, and his overthrow and expulsion are described by them from the Afghán side of the question in this and the preceding volume. The *Humáyún-námá* of the veteran historian Khondamír gives some curious accounts of the regulations established by Humáyún in the early part of his reign. This is followed by a few extracts from the valuable *Táríkh-i Rashídí* of Mirzá Haidar, the brave and adventurous cousin of the Emperor Bábar. The work is a general history of the Mughal Kháns, and does not contain much about India; but the Mirzá was a vigorous writer, and what he has recorded of his Indian experience is very vivid and interesting. Some few passages have been extracted from the Memoirs of Humáyún, written by his personal attendant Jauhar, and translated into English by Major Stewart. But the general history of this reign has been drawn from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* of Nizámu-d dín Ahmad. Sir H. Elliot's intention has thus been carried out; for he had fixed upon the narrative given in the *Táríkh-i Salátín-i Afághana*, which proves to have been copied verbatim from the *Tabakát.*

Sir Henry Elliot had made no provision for the important reign of Akbar, nor did he leave any notes indicating the MSS. he intended to employ. So it has fallen to the Editor to select and translate some history in illustration of this period. The rule of this work has been to prefer original contemporary writers, or, in the absence of actual contemporaries, those nearest in point of time. This rule reduced the choice to two works—the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* of Nizám Ahmad, and the *Akbar-namà* of Abú-l Fàzl; for the *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh* of Badáúní is avowedly founded on the *Tabakát,* and the *Akbar-namá* of Shaikh Illáhdád Faizí Sirhindí contains very little that has not been borrowed either from the *Tabakát* or the greater *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl. The latter work is of considerable length, and is written in a very ornate style; so the *Tabakát* seemed best suited to the requirements of this work.

It has accordingly been translated in full, and only such passages as are trivial and irrelevant have been passed over. The reputation of the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* stands very high in India, and European writers also have joined in its praises. As a contemporary history, it is certainly of very high authority, though it does not exhibit much literary ability. The narrative is often disjointed and fragmentary, but the language is manly and simple, and in striking contrast to the polished phrases of Abú-l Fazl. The *Tabakát* extends only to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign; the history of the latter end of the reign will be drawn from the works of Abú-l Fazl, Shaikh Illáhdád, and other writers, and will appear in the next volume.

In addition to the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, some extracts have been made from the *Táríkh-i Alfí*, a general history compiled under the direction of the Emperor Akbar, and more copious selections have been taken from the *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh* of 'Abdú-l Kádir Badáúní. The latter writer introduces into his work much original matter; and all that he says about the personal affairs of the Emperor and his religious opinions is of great interest. Extracts from the two *Akbar-námas* relating to the earlier part of the reign will appear in the next volume; so that although the history of the first thirty-eight years of the reign is comprised in the present volume, it will not be quite complete until those passages are printed. The *Áín-i*

Akbarí is the greatest monument of the reign of Akbar, and a new translation by Mr. Blochmann is now in course of publication in the Bibliotheca Indica, enriched with copious notes. That work supplies many of the deficiencies of the historians, and Mr. Blochmann's labours have happily made it quite unnecessary to do more here with the *Áín-i Akbarí* than to refer to his valuable production.

The notes in the Appendix are entirely the work of Sir H. Elliot, and are printed exactly as he left them.

The following is a list of the articles in this volume with the names of the respective writers:—

XXXIV.—Táríkh-i Salátín-i Afághana—"Ensign" C. F. Mackenzie, and a little by Sir H. M. Elliot.
XXXV.—Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí—"Ensign" C. F. Mackenzie and Sir H. M. Elliot.
XXXVI.—Humáyún-náma—Sir H. M. Elliot's *munshí*.
XXXVII.—Táríkh-i Rashídí—Editor.
XXXVIII.—Tazkiratu-l Wáki'át—Major Stewart.
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XLI.—Táríkh-i Badáúní—Sir H. M. Elliot and the Editor.

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CORRIGENDUM.

Vol. V. p. 116, lines 4 and 5, dele the words "in all probability."

ADDENDUM.

Vol. IV. p. 289. "Shaikh Zain was one of the most learned men of the time, and translated in an elegant style the memoirs written by the late Emperor Bábar."—Badáúní, Text, vol. i. p. 341.

HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

XXXIV.

TÁRÍKH-I SALÁTÍN-I AFÁGHANA,

OF

AHMAD YÁDGÁR.

[AHMAD YÁDGÁR, the author of this work, describes himself in his Preface as an old servant of the *Súr* kings, and says that Dáúd Sháh gave him orders to write a History of the Afghán Sultáns, and thus do the same for them as the *Tabakát-i Násiri* and Ziá-i Barní had done for the kings of their times. The book commences with the reign of Bahlol Lodí, and the last chapter narrates the defeat, capture, and execution of Hímú. The author mentions incidentally that his father was *wazir* to Mirza 'Askarí, when the latter was in command of Humáyún's advanced guard in his campaign in Gujarát; and he also several times names the *Táríkh-i Nizámí* and the *Ma'danu-l Akhbár-i Ahmadí* as the works from which he copied.[1]

The date of the composition of this work has not been ascertained, but as it was written by command of Dáúd Sháh, who died in 984 H., and as it quotes from the *Táríkh-i Nizámí* (*Tabakát-i Akbarí*), which was written seventeen or eighteen years afterwards in 1001–2 H., the probability is, that it was completed soon after the latter date and before the *Makhzan-i Afghání*, which was written in 1020 H. Like the other Afghán historians, Ahmad Yádgár shows a great liking for marvellous and ridiculous stories, but pays little regard to dates. He gives but very few, and he is incorrect in that of so well-recorded an event as the death of Humáyún. The deficiency of dates may, however, be the fault of the copyist, as blanks are left in the MS. for dates and headings. Sir H. Elliot found the work to "differ much from Ni'amatu-lla," but to "give the idea of being subsequent to the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*." Still, though it "generally follows the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* closely," there are occasionally "great differences; details being omitted, and novelties introduced." The history of the reign of Humáyún is copied verbatim from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí;* only one short variation has been discovered.

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[1] [I am indebted for these particulars to Mr. Blochmann, who has kindly supplied them from the MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.—ED.]

The MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains 224 pages, of 11 lines to the page.

By far the greater part of the following Extracts were translated by "Ensign" C. F. Mackenzie, but a few, noted where they occur, are from the pen of Sir H. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

* * * * * * *

The siege of Dehlí by Mahmúd Sháh Sharkí.[1]

Mahmúd Sharkí was instigated to attack Sultán Bahlol by his wife, who was the daughter of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. She represented to her husband that the kingdom of Dehlí had belonged to her father and grandfather, and who was Bahlol, that he should usurp their dominion? If her husband would not advance, she herself would bind on her quiver, and oppose his pretensions.

Being galled by these taunts, Sultán Mahmúd came to Dehlí in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.), with a powerful army, and 1000 mountain-like elephants. At that time, Sultán Bahlol was near Sirhind, but Khwája Báyazíd, and Sháh Sikandar Sarwání, and Bíbí Matú, the wife of Islám Khán, with all the Afghán families, had taken refuge at Dehlí. There being but few men, Bíbí Matú dressed the women in male clothes, and placed them on the battlements to make a show of numbers. One day, Sháh Sikandar Sarwání was seated on the wall, when one of Sultán Mahmúd's water-carriers was taking away some water from a well under the bastion. Sháh Sikandar drew his bow, and sent an arrow[1] right through the bullock that was carrying the water-bags, and from that time no one dare come near the fort.

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[1] [Translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

But as Sultán Bahlol delayed to relieve the garrison, they began to despair of succour; and as the enemy advanced their redoubts and trenches, and discharged their shells with such precision that no one could venture out of his house, they were reduced to propose terms of surrender, offering to give up the keys of the fort to any of Mahmúd's officers, on condition of their being allowed to leave the fort unmolested. Accordingly, Saiyid Shamsu-d dín took the keys to Daryá Khán Lodí, who had invested the fort, and asked to say a few words to him first in private. When Daryá Khán had sent away his attendants, the Saiyid inquired, "What is your relationship to Sultán Mahmúd?" Daryá Khán replied, "There is no relationship. I am his servant." The Saiyid then asked, "How are you related to Sultán Bahlol?" Daryá Khán replied, "I am a Lodí, and he also is a Lodí."[2] The Saiyid then placed the keys of the fort before him, saying, "Have regard to the honour of your mother and sister (who are now in the fort), and save the ladies from disgrace." Daryá Khán said, "What can I do? Actuated by fraternal motives, I have intentionally delayed capturing the fort, but Sultán Bahlol delays to make his appearance. For the present do you retain the keys, and wait to see what I shall be able to effect in your behalf."

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[1] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* says it was eleven palms long, and the distance to which it reached was 800 feet; and that though it penetrated the water-bags as well as the bullock, yet the entire arrow was buried on the other side in the earth.

[2] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* is fuller:—"We are brothers: he is a Lodí, and I am a Lodí; his mother is my mother, and his sister is my sister." This explains the allusion to "mother and sister" which occurs below.

Daryá Khán then went to Sultán Mahmúd, and explained to him about the surrender of the keys and their restoration, observing that Bahlol, according to common report, was advancing with a large army, and that it would be better first to pay attention to him; for should he be conquered, Dehlí would of itself fall into their hands. The Sultán inquired what had better be done under the circumstances. Daryá Khán suggested that he and Fath Khán should be despatched against Bahlol, so as to prevent his passing Pánípat. This counsel being approved of, they were sent with 30,000 horse and forty war elephants against Bahlol, who by this time had advanced as far as Narela. Mahmúd's army encamped two *kos* on the side of Narela, and on the very night of their arrival the enemy twice carried off their bullocks, camels, and horses. Next day, both armies were drawn up in battle array. The army of Bahlol amounted to 14,000 cavalry.

* * * * * * *

Sultán Bahlol's expedition against the Ráná, and against Ahmad Khán Bhatti.[1]

Some time after, Sultán Bahlol marched out against the Ráná, and pitched his camp at Ajmír, where he collected a powerful force.[2] Chattar Sál, son of the Ráná's sister, was at U'dípúr with 10,000 cavalry. Kutb Khán advanced towards that place, and fought an action with the rascally infidel. At first, the Sultán's army was repulsed by the impetuous onset of the infidels, and several Afghâns obtained martyrdom in that contest; but, in the end, Kutb Khán and Khán-khánán Farmulí, determining to sell their lives dearly, advanced to close combat with swords and daggers, and so completely routed their black-faced foes, that Chattar Sál was slain in the field; and so many infidels fell, that a pillar was raised of their heads, and streams of their blood began to flow. Five or six elephants, forty horses, and much plunder fell into the hands of the Sultán's soldiers, while those of the Ráná took to flight. Subsequently, the Ráná made peace, and in Údípúr prayers were offered and the coin was struck in the name of the Sultán.

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[1] [Translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

[2] This transaction is not mentioned by any other historian, nor do we find it in the Rájpút Annals. One engagement between the Imperialists and Mewárís is recorded in the time of Rái Mal, who ascended the *gaddi* in A.D. 1474, but the particulars differ in every respect. We are also told in general terms, that Mewár had to contest her northern boundary with the dynasty of Lodí.—Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 292.

After that, the Sultán carried his victorious army into Múnkhár.[1] He plundered and depopulated that entire country, and the army acquired great booty. Thence he returned to Sirhind, and after two or three months, advanced with his troops towards Lahore, where he passed some days in festivities.

At that time, Ahmad Khán Bhattí,[2] who had acquired great power in the country of Sind, and had 20,000 cavalry under him, had revolted against the Governor of Multán; whose petition arrived, representing that Ahmad Khán was plundering the villages of Multán, and that if the Lord of the World would not come to the rescue, he himself would not be able to hold his own in Multán; and that after the loss of Multán, the Panjáb would be exposed to ravage. The Sultán, vexed at this intelligence, appointed 'Umar Khán, one of his chief nobles, and Prince Báyazíd, to command an expedition against Ahmad Khán, at the head of 30,000 valiant horsemen. After taking leave of the Sultán in all honour, they moved by continued marches from Lahore till they reached Multán, where they were joined by the Governor, who acted as their guide till they reached the enemy's country.

Ahmad Khán, proud in the strength and courage of his army, disregarded the Imperialists, and, not thinking it worth his while to move, sent his nephew, at the head of 15,000 cavalry, to oppose them. That youth was desperately enamoured of a strumpet, who was indeed surpassingly beautiful, and he never moved out on any excursion of pleasure or hunting without being accompanied by her; and, even on the day of battle, he seated her in an *'amári*, mounted on an elephant, and carried her with him. Naurang Khán, for that was his name, detached Dáúd Khán with 10,000 cavalry against the Imperialists, and the two parties charged each other with such impetuosity that rivers of blood began to flow. In the end, Dáúd Khán was slain, and his troops defeated. When those who had fled from the field informed Naurang Khán of the disaster, he took leave in sorrow of his mistress, and arrived on the field of battle, where he displayed such valour and desperation that he clove several men of the Sultán's army in twain, and felled them from their horses. At last, a ball from a camel-gun cut him also in half, and killed him.

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[1] One of the anecdotes related by this author mentions the entire destruction of Múnkhár, and the deportation of its inhabitants. The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* gives the same facts, but speaks only of "a village in the *pargana* of Múnkhár."—MS., p. 34.

[2] These transactions with Ahmad Khán are not related by any other historian.

When the news of Naurang Khán's fate reached his mistress, she, being endowed with a masculine mind, put on a suit of armour, bound round her waist a gilt quiver, and placing a helmet on her head, joined the army of Naurang Khán. Upon consultation with his brother, she recommended that he should send all the troops to pay their respects to her, and should give out that the prince, the son of Ahmad Khán, had arrived, in order that the enemy might be distracted, and not entertain the persuasion that they had really killed the commander of their enemy's troops. Accordingly, all the cavalry dismounted, and made their obeisances, while the kettle-drums resounded with loud notes of joy. The Imperialists, notwithstanding their victory, were perplexed, and in the midst of their doubts, were suddenly attacked so furiously by Ahmad Khán's army, that they were put to flight. Ahmad Khán, when he heard of the victory of his army and the salutary aid afforded by that woman, was astounded with joy; and when he saw her arrive, decked in martial array, he praised her valour and conduct, and bestowed jewels upon her to the value of 10,000 rupees.

On the other hand, Prince Báyazíd, after punishing the men who fled from the field of battle, sent for another army, and two or three great nobles were despatched to his assistance with large reinforcements. When these had all joined, they made an inroad upon Ahmad Khán's territory, and he, after many battles, was at last taken prisoner and put to death, while his country was sequestered and included in the Imperial domain. Báyazíd returned victorious to the court of Sultán Bahlol, by whom he was received with royal benignity.

* * * * * * *

The reign of Sultán Ibráhím Lodi.

Some historians relate that when Sikandar died, he left two sons by one wife: the first, Sultán Ibráhím; the second, Jalál Khán. When Ibráhím grew up, and became celebrated for his personal beauty and excellent disposition, the nobles determined to place him on the throne, to which they accordingly raised him on Thursday, the 7th of Zí-l hijja, A.H. 923[1] (Nov. 1517). On that day, all those who were attached to the royal person prepared the tents, embroidered with gold and adorned with jewels, and spread carpets of various colours, worked with gold thread. They placed the throne of Sikandar, covered with gems of price and jewels of great value, on a coloured carpet. The tributary kings and nobles wore beautiful dresses and embroidered garments, and resembled the flowers blooming in a garden. The horses and elephants were decked with the most magnificent trappings. So splendid a coronation had never been witnessed, and the people consequently long remembered the day on which this fortunate and youthful monarch obtained the crown.

The nobles and pillars of the State then gave Ibráhím's brother by the same mother, the title of Sultán Jalálu-d dín (he had been previously called Jalál Khán), and sent him with many officers and a large army to take charge of the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Four months afterwards, 'Azam Humáyún Lodí[1] and the Khán-khánán Farmulí came from their estates to congratulate the King, and took that opportunity of accusing the nobles attending on His Majesty, saying, that it was a great error for two persons to share a kingdom, and that two sovereigns could never rule together. As the poet says:

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[1] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* and *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodi* say the 8th of Zí-l ka'da, which is doubtless correct, for our author concurs with the other historians in representing that his predecessor died on the 7th of Zí-l ka'da.

"One body cannot cover two souls,
Nor one kingdom own two monarchs."

Accordingly, Sultán Ibráhím cast the agreement which he had made with his brother into the recess of oblivion; and after taking advice, came to the conclusion that as the Sháhzáda was not thoroughly established, and had not as yet arrived at the seat of his government, it would be best to write and tell him that the Sultán required his presence to aid him in transacting certain momentous affairs; that he should come unattended; and that after they had consulted together, he might return to the seat of his government.[2]

Haibat Khán, the wolf-slayer, who was noted for his extreme cunning, was despatched on this errand, and directed to cajole the Sháhzáda to return with him. It is said, that walls have ears, and an account of this arrangement had, before this, come to the ears of Jalálu-d dín, so that he was not entrapped by the flattering speeches and attempts at deception which Haibat Khán used profusely, and therefore he would not consent to come.

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[1] There was also an 'Azam Humáyún Sarwání, whom we shall find afterwards mentioned under this reign. It was a title, not a name; and we find Bábar thus speaking of it: "One of these titles in Hindústán is ''Azam Humáyún,' another is 'Khán Jahán,' another 'Khán-khánán.' The title of Fath Khán's father was ''Azam Humáyún.' As I saw no propriety in any one's bearing this title except Humáyún himself, I abolished it, and bestowed that of 'Khán Jahán' on Fath Khán Sarwání."
—*Memoirs*, p. 344.

[2] The *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán* adds, that the nobles were determined to keep up this agitation for their own sakes, "as they never considered it convenient that public affairs should be under the restraint of one absolute monarch."

Haibat Khán reported his unsuccessful mission, and the King then sent divers other courtiers; these were also unsuccessful, as the Sháhzáda steadily refused to go with them.[1] After this, the Sultán wrote *farmáns* containing expressions of kindness and goodwill to all the nobles and *jágirdárs* of the *súba* of Jaunpúr, and promised them munificent rewards if they would forsake their allegiance to Jalál Khán, and refuse to treat him as their ruler. He sent secretly a confidential servant to certain of the nobles, bearing dresses of honour, horses, etc., and commanded them, on the receipt of this *farmán*, to renounce allegiance to Jalál Khán.

As it was decreed by fate, that Jalálu-d dín should not reign, many of the grandees deserted him, and became his enemies. At this period Sháhzáda Jalál Khán, having set up a jewelled throne, and covered the doors and walls of his palace with brocade, sat there in state on the 15th of Zí-l hijja, 923 A.H. (Dec. 1517). He gave audience to the servants of the State, the courtiers and the soldiers, to all of whom he presented dresses of honour, swords, girdles, daggers, horses, elephants, titles, and honours, according to their respective ranks. Having thus gained the good opinion of the people, he opened the gates of charity to the poor and needy, and increased their allowances; and having thus established his authority, he ceased to obey Sultán Ibráhím, and caused the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck in his own name. When he felt himself sufficiently powerful, he sent confidential agents to 'Azam Humáyún, who was at that time besieging the fort of Kálinjar,[1] and wrote to him, saying, "You are in the place of my father and uncle, and are well aware that the compact has not been broken by me. Sultán Ibráhím, of his own accord, gave me a portion of the inheritance which our father left, because I was his own brother, the son of the same mother. He has broken the phial of the connexion which we derived from our parent's womb with the stone of unkindness. You ought to protect and help me because I am oppressed." Previous to this 'Azam Humáyún had been ill-disposed towards Sultán Ibráhím. He was moved by the supplications of Jalál Khán, and raised the siege of the fort. He entered into a treaty and compact with Jalálu-d dín, and told him that he ought first to obtain possession of Jaunpúr, and then see what was best to be done. He then advanced towards Oudh by an uninterrupted succession of marches. The governor of that place, finding himself unable to contend with him, fled towards Karra, and sent information of what was passing to Sultán Ibráhím, who wished to start immediately with some picked men for the purpose of repressing the disturbance. By the advice of certain of the nobles, he confined four of his brothers in the fort of Hánsí, and entrusted them to the charge of Muhammad Khán with 500 horse. He, moreover, summoned all the nobles into his private apartment, and gained them to his side by making them presents in gold, and giving them titles and dignities; after which he ordered the *bakhshis* to issue arrears of pay to the army, and give them one month's gratuity.

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[1] These circumstances will be found differently related by Firishta. See Briggs, vol. i., p. 590. Sikandar Lodí dying at Ágra, his son Ibráhím succeeded to the throne. At a very early period, contrary to the custom of his father and grandfather, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly, that kings should have no relations or clansmen, but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the State; and the Afghán chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them. Shortly after his accession a conspiracy was formed by the Lodí chiefs, by whom it was agreed to leave Ibráhím in quiet possession of Dehlí and a few dependent provinces, and to raise the Prince Jalál Khán, his brother, to the throne at Jaunpúr. The Prince, accordingly, marching from Kálpí in conjunction with the disaffected chiefs, ascended the throne of Jaunpúr. He appointed his cousin, Fath Khán, his *wazír*, who gained over all the officers of the eastern provinces to his interest. Khán Jahán Lohání was at this time proceeding from Raprí to congratulate Ibráhím on his accession; when, falling in with the disaffected nobles, he blamed them severely for causing divisions in the kingdom, which, he said, would be attended with fatal consequences to the family of Lodí. The chiefs, admitting the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as the Prince Jalál Khán could not be yet well established, to divest him of his newly-assumed dignity; and accordingly they sent Haibat Khán Jalwání, with letters, to recall him before he reached Jaunpúr. Haibat Khán, however, having overacted his part, the Prince Jalál Khán suspected some plot, and excused himself from coming. The chiefs, unaware that he suspected them, deputed Shaikh Muhammad Farmulí and others to enforce their request; but the Prince proceeded to Jaunpúr.

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[1] So says the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 144); but the *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 126) and the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* (MS. p. 140) say "Gwáliár." Dorn (p. 71) erroneously translates "*held* the fort of Gualyar," instead of "besieged." The two last authorities also mention that Jalálu-d dín was advancing in force against 'Azam Humáyún, when he sent his conciliatory message; that he despised the mere kingdom of Jaunpúr; and, aspiring to a higher dominion, had proclaimed himself at Kálpí as he rival of his brother, and the claimant of the whole empire.

On Thursday, the 24th of Zí-l hijja, he proceeded in the direction of Jaunpúr by uninterrupted marches, and on arrival at Bhúígánw received intelligence that 'Azam Humáyún and his son Fath Khán had forsaken Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and were on their way to pay their respects. The Sultán was delighted at this news, and caused his army to halt, in order that he might make due preparations for their reception. On the day fixed for 'Azam Humáyún's coming, Ibráhím sent a large concourse of his principal chieftains to meet him; and when he made his obeisance, his head was exalted by the many marks which he received of the royal favour. The Sultán also presented *khil'ats* of cloth of gold, girdles, jewelled daggers, and some of his most valuable elephants to 'Azam Humáyún, whom he rendered grateful by these attentions. Meanwhile he appointed some of the principal nobles to conduct the war against Jalálu-d dín, and furnished them with a large army, war elephants, and all other needful equipments. Jalálu-d dín had marched towards A'gra with a large army, consisting of 30,000 horsemen, besides many elephants; leaving some of his partisans in Kálpí, to which place Sultán Ibráhím laid siege, and took it after a short resistance, and gave it over to plunder.[1] After this, when he heard that his brother had gone towards A'gra with a strong force, he sent Malik A'dam Ghakkar[2] to protect that place, which he accordingly reached with all expedition. Jalálu-d dín wished to treat A'gra as the Sultán had done Kálpí; but Malik A'dam contrived to deceive and amuse him until he had sent for further assistance, and given Sultán Ibráhím notice of what was passing. The Sultán despatched 18,000 horsemen and 50 elephants to the assistance of the Malik, whose heart was so strengthened that he sent to Jalálu-d dín, to say, that if he would relinquish all claim to the empire, and would put aside the umbrella, the *áftábgír*, the *naubat*, the kettle-drum, and other insignia of royalty, and would promise to conduct himself as one of the *umará*, he (Malik Ádam) would use his interest in his behalf, and would obtain for him the *súba* of Kálpí on the same terms as he formerly held it.

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[1] See the Extracts from the *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí.*

[2] [Here written "Kákar." See Vol. IV., p. 493.]

Sultán Jalálu-d dín, led by his evil destiny, which had unfitted him for the charge of a kingdom, although he possessed 30,000 brave horsemen and 160 war elephants, acted like a coward, and agreed to these conditions. All his chiefs said to him, "Why are you so weak-hearted? The Sultán will on no account suffer you to live. We have eaten your salt for ten years; be firm and resolute, and give your faithful servants an opportunity of showing their devotedness to you. God is the Supreme Disposer of all things. The Sultán is of a bad disposition. In the end the nobles and troops will side with you." Notwithstanding their advice, as Providence had decreed his ruin, Jalálu-d dín was satisfied with the terms, and left off using the insignia of royalty. He sent Malik Ádam Ghakkar to the King, to beg him to grant him other *jágírs;* but the Sultán (who was then at Etáwa) would not agree to do so, and sought means to get rid of him. When Jalálu-d dín heard of his intentions, he took refuge with the Rájá of Gwálior, and his old soldiers dispersed. Sultán Ibráhím took up his abode at Ágra, and many nobles who had been hostile to him came and tendered their submission. Karímdád Khán Tágh, with others of the *umará*, were sent to take charge of Dehlí. Meanwhile, the army of the Sultán besieged Gwálior, and 'Azam Humáyún was sent to take the command. Sultán Jalálu-d dín accordingly left that place, and retired to Málwá; where, not being well received by the Sultán Mahmúd, he fled to Garra-Kantak, where he fell into the hands of the Gonds, who seized him, and with a view to gain the good-will of the Sultán, sent their captive to him. The Sultán rejoiced at this intelligence, and caused all his court to assemble. Sultán Jalálu-d dín was brought hand-bound into this assembly, after which he was sent to the fort of Hánsí. Whilst he was *en route* to that place, Ahmad Khán was sent after him, and administered the draught of martyrdom.

After these events, the Sultán ruled the country without fear, and without admitting a partner to share his empire. The Rájá of Gwálior, who had been his enemy for years, having departed to the infernal regions,[1] was succeeded by his son, Bikramájít. The Sultán, after a long war, wrested the fort from him; and taking down the copper bull,[2] out of whose mouth a voice issued, from its place over the gate, brought it to the fort of Ágra, where it remained until the time of the Emperor Akbar, who caused it to be melted down for the purpose of making cannon.

When the Sultán had conquered Gwálior,[3] he went to Dehlí, and waxed very proud, so that he began to maltreat and punish the nobles of his father, many of whom held him in great awe. He imprisoned some of them, and throwing Mián Bhúa into chains, who had been the most powerful and independent grandee of the empire, and the absolute minister of Sultán Sikandar, his father, during a period of twenty-eight years, gave him over to the charge of Malik Ádam Ghakkar.[1] Certain nobles, who were envious of the Mián, counselled the King to erect a building with a subterranean chamber beneath it. When two months had elapsed, and the chamber was thoroughly dry, they filled it with bags of gunpowder. They then procured the release of Mián Bhúa and certain other nobles against whom they were plotting, gave them dresses of honour, and money, and treated them with such kindness that they banished all apprehension from their minds. One day the King said to them, "Islám Khán was raised from the dust, and kindly treated by Sultán Sikandar; but he has since become apprehensive, and has rebelled and proclaimed open enmity. I pray you now to retire to the new house which I have built, sit there and deliberate amongst yourselves what course I ought to follow. I have such confidence in you that I am certain the conclusion you come to will be of benefit to me." They went unsuspiciously to the place, and commenced their consultation. Suddenly the whole place was blown up, and Mián Bhúa and all who were there present were scattered as leaves of trees by a gale of wind.[2]

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[1] This mode of expression, however common, sounds more than usually ungracious and intolerant in this particular instance, as the *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS., p. 130), and *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodi* (MS., p. 144), represent Rájá Mán as only externally a Hindú, and in heart inclined towards Islám.

[2] All the other authorities represent that it was a brazen bull, and though they pronounce it to have been worshipped by the Hindús, mention nothing about the voice. They say also that it was transferred to the Baghdád gate of Dehlí, where Nizámu-d dín Ahmad tells us he himself saw it in Akbar's time. 'Abdu-l Kádir, however, says that it was removed from Dehlí to Fathpúr, where he saw it.—See Extracts from the *Táríkh-i Badáúní*. We can perhaps reconcile this by the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodi*, whose author (MS., p. 144) says he saw it at Dehlí before 999, when it was melted down for bell-metal. It was taken from an outwork of Gwálior, constructed by Rájá Mán, called Bádalgarh, which exists to the present day under the same name. According to the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 150), Bádalgarh was captured by the application of gunpowder, similar to the mode in which we took Ghazní.

[3] This boasted capture of Gwálior appears to have extended to nothing more than its lower outwork, Bádalgarh; but Firishta adds: "The King now receiving advices of the reduction of Gwálior, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindús, he had leisure to turn his thoughts to the insurrection at Karra. 'Azam Humáyún and Sa'íd Khán, after the fall of Gwálior, were permitted to go to their *jágírs*, from whence, uniting with Islám Khán, they added strength to his power."—Briggs, vol. i., p. 595.

Many nobles became aware of the King's fickle disposition, and raised the standard of opposition. Islám Khán[3] threw off the mask of obedience in Ágra, and began to assemble an army. When the Sultán heard this, he wished to send troops against him; but, suddenly, several grandees left Dehlí, and went over to Islám Khán, and the insurrection was thus rendered more formidable. The Sultán appointed others of the *umará*, who proceeded towards Lucknow, near which place they were attacked by Ikbál Khán, of the tribe of 'Azam Humáyún, with 5000 horsemen.[1] Many men were slain, and the King's army defeated.

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[1] The reason of this estrangement and degradation is said in the *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* (MS., p. 142), to have been, that the accession of old age, and consequent infirmity of limbs and sight, rendered him unfit for the duties of his judicial office; besides which he showed an indifference about pleasing the Sultán,—ample grounds, with such a tyrant, for imprisonment and assassination.—*Dicax idem, et Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria est.—Tacitus,* Ann. v. 2. In these better times, the first offence is visited with a handsome pension, and the second with exclusion from a crowded ball or dull dinner-party.

[2] This barbarous gunpowder plot is not mentioned by the other historians; but they mention that the Mián was imprisoned and deprived of his offices and estates, which were, nevertheless, bestowed upon his son, and that, in the end, he was privately assassinated or poisoned along with some other nobles. The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí*, which is generally in accordance with our author, contradicts itself; in one place remarking that he died in prison (MS., p. 151) in another, that he was murdered (p. 171).

[3] The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 152), says that he possessed himself of his father 'Azam Humáyún's army and camp-equipage. The *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* adds

When this news reached him, he despatched another army, and directed that the insurgent nobles should first be subdued, and that afterwards steps should be taken to overcome Ikbál Khán. The army of Islám Khán amounted to nearly 40,000 horsemen,[2] ready for action. Shaikh Rájú tried to induce the rebels to submit. They replied that they would do so if 'Azam Humáyún were released from prison. The Sultán, on a reference made to him, would not consent to this,[3] and when all was ready for war such fighting took place as had never been witnessed. Three or four thousand soldiers fell on both sides,[4] and streams of blood flowed. At last, a soldier of the Sultán's, who was an inhabitant of Kábul, facing Islám Khán, discharged his match-

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(MS., p. 146), that he was *jágírdár* of Karra Manikpúr, and that when he heard of his father's imprisonment, he not only seized all his property, but defeated Ahmad Khán, who had been sent to supersede him.

[1] From an ambuscade, say all the other historians. This occurred at Bángarmau, near Kanauj.

[2] This is doubtless an error. The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 153) says 40,000 horsemen and 500 elephants, and so does the *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS., p. 133); but Dorn, in his translation (p. 75), has the same reading as Ahmad Yádgár. The two latter represent the Sultán's horse as numbering 50,000.

[3] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 153) says he summoned the royal army from the *súba* of Bihár, and that the action took place after their junction. This is confirmed by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad. The rebels must have been guilty of extraordinary supineness to have admitted this.

[4] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS., p. 135) says, "For many years such a sanguinary action had not occurred in Hindústán, and old men used to say that no such fight had taken place in their time. Brother against brother, and father against son, urged by mutual rivalry and inborn bravery, mixed in the conflict; and restraining their hands from long arrow and spear, they contended only with dagger, sword, and knife. In that battle 10,000 gallant Afgháns fell on both sides."

lock at him, and struck him in the forehead, when he fell to the earth. This caused the rebels to disperse, and the King's army, taking advantage of the panic, attacked them. Thus the only reward which Islám Khán met with for his rebellion and ingratitude was death, while Sa'íd Khán and others were made prisoners. The rebel forces were utterly routed, and the insurrection suppressed. When the King learnt this, he was much pleased, and behaved towards the army, which had fought so well and loyally for him, with the greatest kindness; but he did not forget the malice of the nobles.

At this period an army was prepared for the purpose of attacking Ráná Sanká.[1] Mián Husain Khán *Zarbakhsh*, Mián Khán-khánán Farmulí, and Mián Ma'rúf,[2] who were the chief commanders in the army of Sultán Sikandar, and whom he had distinguished beyond all others by associating with them, and increasing their rank and preferments,—who were the bravest men of the age, and could have instructed even Rustam in the art of war,—and who during the reign of the deceased Sultán had fought many battles and taken many castles;—these generals the Sultán placed under Mián Mákhan, the commander-in-chief of this expedition.[3] When they arrived in the Ráná's country, the Sultán wrote, ordering Mián Mákhan to seize Mián Husain Khán and Mián Ma'rúf Khán in the best way he could, and send them prisoners to him. Mákhan Khán went to the tent of Ma'rúf Khán, under the pretence of condoling with him for the loss of his son, notwithstanding he had died two months previously. Mián Husain Khán was informed of this, and went speedily thither, and told Mián Mákhan that he had better forego his intention of imprisoning Mián Ma'rúf, and that he had better rise and depart in safety, remarking that the King had gone mad. Mákhan upon this remonstrance departed, and sent intelligence of the circumstances to the Sultán, who replied by inquiring why he went to people's tents, and ordering him to raise a large tent in the plain, and send information to the chiefs that a royal *farmán* had arrived, and that they must come and hear its contents. Mián Mákhan was commanded to seize Husain Khán first, and he obeyed these orders. When the chiefs were assembled, Mián Husain came, bringing with him a thousand men clothed in chain armour, which was concealed by white clothing. He directed them to keep strict watch outside when he entered the tent. Mián Mákhan had caused another tent to be erected near the first, in which he had placed a thousand soldiers, with orders, when Ma'rúf Khán approached, to lay hands first on Husain Khán. When Husain Khán arrived near the tent, he was told that soldiers were concealed in it for the purpose of seizing him and Ma'rúf Khán. When Mián Husain Khán reached it, he ordered his men to undo the ropes of the tent in which Mián Mákhan's soldiers were placed in ambush, and consequently the tent fell on them.[1] He then went into the other tent, and requested Mián Mákhan to read the *farmán*. Mián Mákhan said, "It is contrary to orders to read it after this fashion." Mián Husain Khán replied, "I am fully aware that the object of these troops and this *farmán* is to take away my life, and I am not going to yield it to any such worthless contrivance." He then took the hand of Mián Ma'rúf and went out.

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[1] This expedition is not mentioned in the other histories except the *Wáki'át-i Mushtáki* (MS., p. 117), and the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 155).

[2] A few particulars will be found respecting this officer in an extract from the *Wáki'át-i Mushtáki*, showing him to be a sanctimonious and obstinate old Pharisee. (See Vol. IV., p. 548.)

[3] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* represents that this was of itself subjecting them to great indignity.

When Mián Husain saw that there was no escape from the King's injustice, he determined to send his *vakíl* to the Ráná to inform him of his coming. The Ráná was at first fearful and suspicious of Husain Khán, of whose renown he had heard. He was afraid that he meditated some stratagem. After entering into a compact, Mián Husain went to the Ráná with a thousand horsemen, and the Rána sent his own nephew to meet him. After which they had an interview.

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[1] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* says, "When the ropes were cut, the tent fell down and exposed them to view."

On account of the departure of Husain Khán, Mián Mákhan, notwithstanding that he had with him 30,000 horsemen and 300 gigantic elephants, was much discouraged. The day after he put his army in battle array, for the purpose of attacking the Ráná. The Ráná, together with Mián Husain Khán, advanced against him with an innumerable army, and the elephants of Husain Khán were recognized amongst them. Mián Mákhan sent a message to Mián Ma'rúf, saying, "You and Husain Khán are great friends. He is now in rebellion, and has joined the Sultán's enemies; what is the good of your remaining with us?" Ma'rúf replied, "I have eaten the salt of Sultán Bahlol and his offspring for thirty years; and I was chief commander of the army during the reign of Sultán Sikandar. The fort of Júnd was captured through my skill. I slew the Rájá of Nagarkot; and that stone, which the Hindús had worshipped for 3000 years, I exposed to be trodden under foot by all the people. From the period of the revelation of Islám to the present day, many noble monarchs, who fancied that they resembled Farídún and Sikandar, and who vanquished the world, were unable even so much as to besiege that fort; yet it yielded to my prowess. I brought seven *mans* of gold from the Rájá of Bihár. Since King Ibráhím's accession to the throne all sorts of upstarts have arisen, who accuse me of being faithless and rebellious. Even now I am ready to undertake any duty that may be assigned, and will not flinch from its performance."

Whilst this was going on, information was brought of the arrival of the Ráná's troops, whereupon Mákhan arranged his army. He placed Sa'íd Khán Furat and Hájí Khán with 7000 horsemen on the right; and Daulat Khán, Alláh-dád Khán, and Yúsuf Khán on the left; whilst Mián Mákhan himself commanded the advance. Mián Husain, although much vexed with Mián Mákhan, did not present himself, on account of his having eaten the salt of the Sultán.[1] When both parties were prepared for action, the Hindús advanced most valiantly, and succeeded in defeating the army of the Sultán. Many brave and worthy men were made martyrs, and the others were scattered; whilst Mián Mákhan returned to the place from which he had set forth. During the evening, Mián Husain Khán sent a message to Mián Mákhan, saying, "Now you have learnt what men of one heart are. It is a hundred pities that 30,000 horsemen should have been defeated by so few Hindús. Now you may learn what deeds the remembrance of past favours will induce vassals to perform when they are united heart and soul. Send Mián Ma'rúf duly prepared for action to me at midnight." He also wrote to Mián Ma'rúf, to tell him that "they had both seen how fit Mián Mákhan was to command, and that now it was proper that they should recollect what they owed the Sultán, although he did not treat his good servants as he ought; otherwise people would say, 'You ate the salt of Sultán Sikandar for thirty years, and were numbered amongst his chiefs, nevertheless you were ungrateful enough to side with his foes.'"

Accordingly Mián Ma'rúf, accompanied by 6000 horsemen, left his camp, and halted at the distance of two *kos* from Mián Husain, which chief, on receiving intelligence of his arrival, came and joined him. The army of the Ráná, flushed with their success, were rejoicing and amusing themselves, and the angel of death was smiling at their heedlessness, when suddenly the sound of horns and kettle-drums withdrew the cotton from the ears of their senses, and the Rájpút chieftains were dismayed. The Afgháns rushed on them sword in hand, and commenced a promiscuous slaughter; the Ráná was wounded, but contrived to escape with some of his men,—the rest were put to the sword. In the morning this news was brought to Mián Mákhan, and he was ashamed.

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[1] This is not confirmed by the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, which, on the contrary, says that he led the Ráná's troops, and pursued Mián Mákhan as far as Bayána, and so alarmed the Sultán himself, that he advanced from Ágra to the river.

Mián Báyazíd, the son of 'Atá Lodí, who was the *bakhshí* of the army, and a connexion of Mián Husain Khán, wrote to the King announcing the victory which Mián Husain Khán and Mián Ma'rúf had gained, after which Mián Husain Khán sent fifteen of the elephants and 300 of the horses of the Ráná to Dehlí. The Sultán was much pleased at this success; he caused the kettle-drums to be beaten loudly, and sent *khil'ats*, girdles, daggers, two valuable elephants, and four horses, to Mián Husain and Mián Ma'rúf. He also caused a *farmán* to be written, in which he loaded both of them with a hundred expressions of favour and good-will.[1]

About this time 'Azam Humáyún, one of the chief nobles, who, together with his sons, held a *mansab* of 12,000, was sent to reduce the fort of Gwálior. When he reached that district, his skill and activity soon made him master of several *parganas*. He besieged the fort of Gwálior, and dug trenches in which he sheltered his men whilst he made his approaches, and distributed the several batteries amongst his officers. He projected fiery missiles, or shells, into the fort, and the Hindús filled bags with cotton steeped in oil, which they ignited and threw down upon the enemy. Many men were consumed on both sides. The Sultán's troops brought forward their artillery, and fired their balls with such effect that the defenders of the fort were unable to move to and fro in its interior, and were at last so much distressed that they were near surrendering. The Rájá had already determined to send seven *mans* of gold, several pair of elephants, and his daughter to the Sultán, when, unexpectedly, a *farmán* arrived, ordering 'Azam Humáyún as soon as he received it to proceed to Court.

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[1] As the other historians say not a word of the expedition against the Ráná, we learn nothing from them of the boasted perfidy of the honoured scoundrel Husain Khán; and in the *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí* and the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* there is quite a different conclusion of this affair, comprised in a rambling unconnected statement, which is not worth translation or abstract. Suffice it to say that, according to both these works, he was, in the end, murdered at Chanderí by order of this vindictive Sultán, who rewarded the assassin with 700 gold pieces, and ten villages in *in'ám*, which is calculated to give us a high idea of the origin of rent-free holdings. All the authorities agree in the statement of the murder, and of the disgust and alarm it inspired.

When 'Azam Humáyún learned its contents, he raised the siege and prepared to depart. His sons and friends expressed to him their suspicions that the Sultán intended to take away his life, as he had already done that of other noblemen; and several grandees who were attached to him also advised him not to go. 'Azam Humáyún replied that he had eaten the salt of that family for forty. years, and had been one of their staunchest adherents, and that if he now forsook them he would be considered ungrateful, and he could not suffer the disgrace of that imputation. Mahmúd Khán Lodí and Dáúd Khán Sarwání, who were among the chief grandees, said, "The Sultán has lost his senses, he cannot distinguish between those who serve him well and those who serve him ill. You have now 30,000 horse with you. Go to your son's residence, and take measures for the protection of your life, because we are fully convinced that he has sent for you for the purpose of treating you as he did Mián Bhúa and Hájí Khán." 'Azam Humáyún replied, "I cannot act thus. I cannot turn aside and blacken my face, let what may happen."

After this discussion he marched towards Dehlí. On the road news reached him that the Sultán had put to death Mahmúd Sarpání and Hishám Khán Sáhú-khail, two of the principal nobles. Dáúd Khán and Alláh-dád Khán said, "No evil has yet befallen you; return from this and go to your son at Jaunpúr." 'Azam Humáyún said, "You speak truth; his actions are indeed bad: but I cannot act as you suggest."

As 'Azam Humáyún's doom was sealed, he did not pay attention to the warnings of his friends and well-wishers, but continued his march to Dehlí. When he approached it, the Sultán's order arrived, directing him to give up all his horses and elephants. This he had no sooner done, than his whole army became disorganized. When he was within two *kos* of the city, the King's cup-bearer, by name Mukhlis, was sent for the purpose of depriving him of the command of the army, treasury, and their appurtenances. Mukhlis was likewise ordered to mount him on a small pony, and bring him into the city, and cast him into a dungeon; all of which he did, and deprived him of everything. 'Azam Humáyún sent to the Sultán to say, "You of course will do what pleases you, but I have two things of importance to represent to you: the first is that my son[1] is very turbulently disposed, and that measures should be taken speedily to repress him; the second, that I may not be prevented from obtaining water for my ablutions, and the necessaries for purifying myself after performing the offices of nature."[2] After this he made no further petition, and at last the Sultán caused this single-minded man to be slain in his prison, and thus destroyed the root of his empire with his own hands. The murder of 'Azam Humáyún was the first cause of the decline of the kingdom,[3] for Fath Khán, his son, who commanded 10,000 horse, and was Governor of Bihár, joined himself, in Bihár, with the son of Daryá Khán Lohání, Sháhbáz Khán by name. They then openly rebelled against the Sultán, and collected 70,000 horse. Sháhbáz Khán[4] assumed the title of Sultán Muhammad. This insurrection was of a very serious nature, as all Bihár ceased to obey the Sultán.

At this period, Daulat Khán Lodí, son of Tátár Khán, who had long governed the Panjáb, was sent for from Lahore. He delayed to come, and sent his youngest son, Diláwar Khán, instead. The latter was asked why his father had not come in person. He replied that he would come hereafter and bring treasure with him. He was told that if his father did not come, he would be seized like the other nobles. The Sultán then ordered him to be taken to the dungeons, in order that he might see several nobles who were suspended from the walls. When Diláwar Khán witnessed this sight, he was seized with a fit of trembling, and was much alarmed. On his return to the presence, the Sultán said, "You have seen the condition of those who have disobeyed me." Diláwar Khán prostrated himself. It is said that the Sultán intended to blind him with a red-hot bodkin, and suspend him also against the wall; but when Diláwar Khán perceived that there was no other means of escaping the Sultán's severity, he fled from Dehlí, and came to his father in six days, and told him that if he did not look to himself, the Sultán would put him to death in some cruel manner.

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[1] That is Islám Khán.

[2] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 169) transfers the scene of this disgraceful treatment of an old and attached adherent to the more probable locality of Ágra instead of Dehlí.

[3] The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán* (MS., p. 148) seem to ascribe an equal effect to the deliberate murder of Husain Khán Farmulí.

[4] The *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí*, the *Akbar-náma*, the *Sher Sháhí*, Ahmad Yádgár, and the *Memoirs of Bábar*, style him Bihár Khán; but he is more generally called Bahádur Khán, as in Firishta, the *Makhzan-i Afghání*, and in the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí*, where there is a fuller account of his rebellion. The *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí* says the *khutba* was read in his name for two years and some months (MS. p. 82). In that work will be found still ampler details respecting this insurrection and the subsequent proceedings, which, however, are not of sufficient importance to be translated. There is also a difference about whether the father or son first assumed the title of "Sultán Muhammad Sháh." The *Makhzan-i Afghání*, the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí*, and *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, say the father, Daryá Khán; Firishta, Ahmad Yádgár, the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, the *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí*, and the *Memoirs*, say the son, Bahádur Khán.

Daulat Khán was thrown into a deep meditation. He reflected that if he rebelled he would be accused of ingratitude; and that if he fell into the clutches of the Sultán's wrath, he would not escape alive. At last he determined to place himself under allegiance to some other sovereign. He accordingly sent Diláwar Khán to Bábar Sháh, in order that he might make known to him, in detail, the evil disposition of the Sultán, the discord which existed amongst the nobles, and the disgust of the army, and beg him to invade Hindústán.[1]

Diláwar Khán went with all expedition, and reached Kábul in ten days. He intimated to those who stood at the foot of the throne that an Afghán, who had been oppressed by his sovereign, had come from Hindústán, and wished to speak to the King. The order was given for his admission. He went as a supplicant, and explained, in detail, the distressed state of Hindústán.

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[1] These and the subsequent events will be found differently recounted in the extracts from the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí.*

Bábar said, "You have eaten the salt of Sultán Ibráhím and of his father and grandfather for thirty years, and your grandfather and father have held high posts for the last twenty years; how is it that you have thus all at once forsaken him and sought this court?" Diláwar Khán replied, "For forty years my grandfather and father have risked their lives in his service, and strengthened his throne. But Sultán Ibráhím maltreats his father's nobles, and has put twenty-three of them, the supporters of his kingdom, to death, without any cause, and ruined their families. He has suspended some from walls, and has caused others to be burned alive. When many of the nobles saw that they could hope for no safety from him, they sent me to your presence. They are all ready to obey you, and they look with anxiety for your coming."

At that period the marriage of Mírzá Kámrán was celebrated with princely magnificence in the King's garden. * * * When the bridal ceremonies had been completed in a manner satisfactory to his benevolent intentions, the King passed the whole of that night in the garden. When day dawned, he repeated his prayers to the Great Disposer of all things, and stretching forth the hand of supplication, said, "O God! if the government of Hindústán is destined to be given to me and mine, let these productions of Hind be brought presently before me, betel-leaves and mangoes, and I shall accept them as an omen."

It so happened that when the mango season was approaching, Daulat Khán had sent half-ripe mangoes preserved in pots of honey, and betel-leaves, by the hand of Ahmad Khán. The King was told that Ahmad Khán, the ambassador of Daulat Khán, desired an audience. Diláwar took the offerings into the royal presence, and displayed them. When Bábar's eyes fell on the fruit, he arose from his throne, and prostrated himself before the Almighty, who, he was persuaded, of His boundless generosity, had granted him the sovereignty of Hind. He gave a horse and *khil'at* to both Diláwar Khán and Ahmad Khán, and entrusted to them ten 'Irákí horses, and some pieces of fine linen for

Daulat Khán; and then directed Ahmad Khán to precede him with these articles.[1]

From that day he prepared for the invasion of Hindústán, and despatched Jahángír Kúlí Khán, with 2000 Mughal horsemen, to take precautions for securing the roads and ferries, and for the collection of timber for the purpose of making boats.

On Wednesday, 2nd Shawwál, A.H. 932 (July, 1526 A.D.), he set forth as a mighty monarch should, and marched to Peshávar, which city he plundered. When the royal army advanced from thence, Daulat Khán came to pay his respects to the King, and presented 10,000 gold *ashrafis* and twenty elephants. When Bábar left Kábul, he had only 2000 Mughals with him.[2] But after his agreement with Daulat Khán, he ordered fresh troops to be enlisted; and by the time he reached Lahore he was surrounded by a numerous army, and the Panjáb fell into the hands of the Chaghatái nobles.

When news reached Sultán Ibráhím, in A'gra, that the Mughals had conquered the Panjáb as far as Lahore, he was thunderstruck, and repented him of having put his faithful servants to death. But what benefit can be derived from water which has fallen down from the head and been spent? Bábar, like a roaring lion, advanced into the field; while Ibráhím came to Dehlí from A'gra, and wrote to Daulat Khán, saying, "You attained your present rank through my father's kindness; why have you brought the Mughals into my paternal inheritance, and made it over to them? I will now make peace with you, and will never molest you or your children. I swear this on the Kurán. Reflect, and abandon your present absurd project." Daulat Khán replied, "It is true that I was reared and raised from the dust, and brought up by Sultán Sikandar. I passed my life in endeavouring to serve him. That monarch (who has found mercy) endured much from his nobles; he was studious of pleasing: and he never endeavoured to put me to death. Whereas, whilst you were yet young, you listened to what two or three insidious advisers said to you, and thus shook your empire to its foundation. You also destroyed several of your father's servants, the pillars of the kingdom, and put an end to the confidence which others reposed in you. I have not brought the Mughals; but your own bad actions have."

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[1] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 171) says that about this time Mián Bhúa was put to death; that Daulat Khán Lodí died; that Sultán Muhammad, the Bihár rebel, also died; and that 'Alam Khán, son of Bahlol, was proclaimed king under the title of 'Aláu-d dín, by some of the disaffected nobles, who solicited the support of Bábar to maintain him in opposition to Sultán Ibráhím.

[2] Other authorities give the more probable amount of 10,000.

When the whole Panjáb, and the country extending as far as Sirhind and Hisár Fírozah, had fallen into the hands of the Chaghatái nobles, they marched towards Dehlí.

Sultán Ibráhím was in Sonpath, when news arrived that certain grandees, thinking the opportunity a good one, and having heard of the coming of Bábar Sháh, had besieged Dehlí with nearly 40,000 men. On hearing this, the Sultán again turned his steps towards Dehlí, to defeat the rebels, who came to the conclusion that it would be improper to fight with the Sultán during the day, because they would be put to shame on account of the benefits which he had conferred on them; and that it would be preferable to attack him by night.[1]

When the night was far spent, they reached the Sultán's army, and in the mean time several chiefs managed to escape from the Sultán's camp and join them. After putting the Sultán's troops to flight, and compelling the Sultán to conceal himself, a portion of the rebel force was scattered tumultuously in search of plunder. After sunrise, when the Sultán looked out in the direction of the rebel army, on observing 'Álam Khán[2] and a few attendants standing near, he ordered his men to attack them; upon which they all fled away. Thus the rebels derived no benefit from their disloyalty, in spite of their having assembled a force of 40,000 men.

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[1] This is ascribing to these slippery and perjured knaves finer feelings than they were capable of entertaining. Bábar gives a much more probable reason for the selection of the night:—"The confederates concurred in opinion that if the battle was fought in the daytime, the Afghâns, from regard to their reputation with their countrymen, would not flee; but that if the attack was made by night each chief would shift for himself."—*Memoirs*, p. 295. We have another amusing instance of this facial modesty and timidity ascribed to the townsmen of Ágra, at the beginning of Islám Sháh's reign.

[2] This was the Sultán's uncle, who had been proclaimed King under the title of

After this, when Bábar heard of the confusion prevailing in the Sultán's army, he left Karnál, and Sultán Ibráhím arrived in *pargana* Ganaur, and there inquired of the astrologers in order that he might learn from the celestial bodies what was to happen. He inquired on whose side the victory should be. The astrologers cautiously replied, "It appears from the motion of the stars that the whole of our horses and elephants have gone over to the Mughal army." The Sultán said, "This is a proof that I shall vanquish the Mughals." They replied, "So let it be."

The astrologers, being aware that Bábar would be victorious, deserted the camp. Amín Khán also fled from the same place, and presented himself before Bábar. Whilst these events were going on, Hamíd Khán, of the Sultán's own tribe, was coming to the assistance of the Sultán with 4000 *sawárs*, when he encountered the advance-guard under Prince Muhammad Humáyún, and a battle began, in which Hamíd Khán's troops being defeated, many were killed, and the rest dispersed.

On Thursday the Sultán summoned all his nobles and soldiers, and ordered them to dress themselves in the best clothes they had with them. He caused his embroidered tents and satin canopies to be erected, and all the preparations for a festival to be made. He threw amongst them all the gold, jewels, pearls, and *ashrafís* which he possessed, and said, "O friends, to-morrow we shall do battle with the Mughal army. If I gain the victory, I will endeavour to please you; if I do not, be at least content

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'Aláu-d dín. The *Akbar-náma* tells us that this action occurred near Hodal, a few miles S. from Dehlí; and that Bábar, after his conquest of Upper India, sent 'Álam Khán to be confined in a fortress in Badakhshán, whence he effected his escape; and after finding refuge amongst the Afgháns, fled at last to Gujarát. His son, Tátár Khán, made himself conspicuous during the reign of Humáyún, and was slain at Mandráil, in 941 H. (1534 A.D.), in an action with the Mughals.

with these presents and my declared intentions."[1] The whole of that day was spent in feasting and rejoicing. On the morrow they made ready for war. Sultán Ibráhím, on the one side, marched two *kos* to the west of Pánípat; whilst Bábar, on the other, mounting his horse at the *sarái* of Garaunda, chose his position two *kos* in the direction of the east.

The Mughal army was 24,000 strong, and that of Sultán Ibráhím numbered 50,000 men[2] and 2000 war elephants. But the entire force of Sultán Ibráhím was disgusted and vexed with his evil deeds. On Friday, the 4th[3] of Rajab, A.H. 932, Ibráhím being destined to die, the armies were ranged in battle array, facing each other. Bábar advanced, and both parties made ready for action. Bábar ordered the Mughals to be separated into three divisions; the advanced guard to remain in its place, and the other two to advance and attack the enemy.[4] Although the Afghán army greatly outnumbered its opponents, yet the soldiers were dispirited and disheartened from the Sultán's ill-treatment, and the nobles were offended. A fierce conflict, nevertheless, took place in the plain to the east of Pánípat: so desperate a battle, indeed, had never been seen. Many of the Sultán's soldiers were killed. He himself was standing with some of his men near him, when Mahmúd Khán came forward, and said, "Our affairs are in a very desperate condition; you had better leave the field of battle. If the King is saved, it will be easy to find another army, and again make war against the Mughals. We shall soon be able to find an opportunity of accomplishing our wishes. This is my opinion; but whatever His Majesty thinks is best." The Sultán replied, "O Mahmúd Khán, it is a disgrace for kings to fly from the field of battle. Look here, my nobles, my companions, my well-wishers and friends have partaken of the cup of martyrdom. One has fallen here, another there; where then can I now go? My horse's legs are dyed with blood up to his chest. Whilst I was King, I governed the empire as I pleased; now, perfidious Fortune has sided with the Mughals, what pleasure is there in life? It is better that I should be like my friends, in the dust and in blood." On saying this, he rushed into the thickest of the fight, with 5000 brave horsemen, who were all that remained to him of his best troops, and slew many of the Mughals. After which, towards the close of the day, he obtained martyrdom.[1] He fell on the spot where his tomb now is. When Bábar was informed of his death, he was standing in the rear. He sent Diláwar Khán to make inquiries as to the truth of the intelligence. He accordingly went out to the plain where the slain were lying, and beheld that powerful

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[1] Bábar, however, represents that he was so penurious that he could not be induced to give away anything, and was "beyond measure, avaricious in accumulating pelf."—*Memoirs of Bábar*, p. 304. [See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 252.]

[2] Abú-l Fazl, following Bábar himself, says 100,000, and elephants 1000. His own army did not amount to more than 12,000 men; but his artillery seems to have been very effectively served. The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 176) says 100,000 cavalry and 1000 elephants; Bábar's army being 15,000 horse and foot and a few elephants. The *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 140) rates Ibráhím's army at 100,000 cavalry, a strong force of infantry, and 5000 elephants. The *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* (MS. p. 150) gives the same, adding, however, the important element of "much artillery"—آتشبازی بسیار—omitted even by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad and Firishta, and noticed in detail only by Bábar himself.

[3] This is an error. The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* says the 8th; though in its version of a Hindí quatrain it has the 7th. The *Makhzan-i Afghání* and *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* say the 7th, Firishta the 10th. Bábar is not quite precise, but signifies that it was either the 7th or 8th, corresponding with April 20th or 21st, 1526.

[4] The original and the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 176) say, "The other two divisions to advance from behind the army of the Sultán and commence the attack." The *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* and the *Makhzan-i Afghání* are equally incomprehensible, as will be seen from Dorn's translation, p. 78. Bábar is, as usual, clear and explicit.—[See Vol. IV., p. 254.]

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[1] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. 142) adds the following eulogy upon this execrable tyrant:—"On every Friday night an extraordinary number of people are collected at his tomb, and pilgrims present their oblations and prayers in behalf of that falcon of the Empyrean of martyrdom—no King before him having attained that dignity, than which none can be more exalted. May God enlighten and grant him rest in Paradise!" Instead of "oblations and prayers," Dr. Dorn (p.. 79) translates "the pilgrims of Narwar and Kanoj," reading نرور و قنوج instead of نذور و فتوح. There could not be a better illustration of the amazing difficulties we have to contend with in deciphering Oriental manuscripts; for the words, when deprived of their diacritical points, are almost identical. This should induce a spirit of caution and forbearance in commenting on the errors and lapses of our fellow-labourers in this uninviting field of literature.

Sultán prostrate in the dust and weltering in blood, the royal crown fallen from his head, the state canopy also on the ground.[1]

Diláwar Khán returned and related what he had seen. The tender heart of Bábar prompted him to visit the spot. He raised his head from the earth and said, "Honour to your bravery!" He then commanded brocade to be brought, and sweetmeats to be prepared; and ordered Diláwar Khán and Amír Khalífa to bathe him and bury him where he had fallen. He also directed that care should be taken of the property of Ibráhím. On the same day 2700 horses, and 1500 elephants, and the royal treasure were brought into Bábar's camp.

The next day he marched thence, and encamped on the western side of the city, from whence he despatched Amír Khalífa, Alláh-dád Khán, and Tursam Bahádur, with 10,000 of the bravest Mughal horsemen, for the purpose of protecting the valuable property and riches which were in the cities of Dehlí and Ágra.

The Afgháns, after being absolute rulers for seventy years, left their habitations, their goods, and their wealth, and proceeded to Bengal, and a complete dispersion of them ensued.

After making arrangements with regard to the spoil of the Sultán's camp, Bábar departed for Dehlí, where, on his arrival, he took possession of the vacant throne.

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[1] The author of the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 178) tells us that he had heard from a man 120 years old, who had been present in this action, that Sultán Ibráhím, mounted on a black 'Irákí horse, and dressed in his royal habiliments, had fled from the field of battle, and endeavoured to cross into the Doáb at the ferry at Burána; but not being able, after a long search, to procure a boat, he plunged his horse into the river, followed by some of his horsemen, of whom some few escaped safe to the other side. The Sultán himself was drowned in the attempt. All this was witnessed by the narrator's own eyes, for he was standing on the bank of the Jumna looking on. The old narrator may have witnessed this scene, but who—as the sarcastic historian of the *Decline and Fall* remarks in a similar instance—who will be witness for the old narrator?

Accidents and Occurrences in Sultán Ibráhím's Reign.[1]

Anecdote of a woman who committed three murders in one house.

There was a man in Sámána who gained his livelihood by trading. He was called away from home on business, and entrusted the care of his house to a trustworthy individual, between whose habitation and his own there was only a wall. This neighbour, therefore, used frequently to go into the merchant's house, and assist and advise in all its concerns, and see that matters went on smoothly during the owner's absence. Whenever he went there, he saw a young man frequently entering. He fancied at first that the young man must be some connexion of the owner of the dwelling; but he afterwards reflected that if he were, the house would not have been given into his own charge. He therefore determined to find out all about the youth. He then made a hole in the partition wall, and from time to time looked through it into the next house. One night he saw the young man, dressed in white and scented with perfume, enter the merchant's dwelling, place a handsome carpet near the merchant's wife, and spread out upon it sweetmeats, wine, and *pán;* after partaking of which, shortly afterwards, they lay down together and indulged in improper familiarities. The woman had a child, which slept in another room, and when it cried she gave it some milk, and then returned to her lover; but as the child persisted in worrying her with its cries, the woman went and squeezed its throat so that it died, and slept the sleep which knows no waking. After which she again sought the youth's embraces. When a short period had passed, the young man said, "Why has not the child cried again for such a long time?" The woman replied, "I have taken steps to prevent it from crying altogether." The young man was greatly disturbed, and inquired what she meant. She answered, "I have killed the boy on your account." The youth said, "O creature, who fearest not God, for the sake of a moment's pleasure you have slain the fruit of your own womb; what confidence can I place in you?" He immediately put on his clothes, with the intention of quitting the place. The woman seized his skirt, saying, "It is through you that I have acted thus, and you cease to love me; for God's sake do one thing to save me from shame. Make a hole in the corner of this room in order that I may bury him." The youth at last reluctantly consented. She accordingly brought a mattock, and gave it to him, and he dug the hole; when the woman brought the child, and gave it to him to conceal it in the ground. The young man, taken in by the woman's artifice, bent down towards the hole for the purpose of placing the child in it; and that deceitful woman then raised the mattock with both hands, and struck him so violently on the head, that she split it in two, and he fell dead into the hole. She covered him over and smoothed down the earth. The neighbour had witnessed all that had happened, and was thunderstruck at the woman's atrocity. Nevertheless, the woman, feigning the deepest grief, went about, weeping and exclaiming, "A wolf has eaten my child."

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[1] It is strange that no mention occurs here, or in any other Afghán history except the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí,* of the extraordinary abundance which prevailed during this reign.—See Vol. IV., p. 475.

When, after a lapse of some time, her husband returned, people came to condole with him; and they repeated the usual prayers. When they went away, the friendly neighbour said to him, "Come for a short time to my house to dissipate your melancholy." The merchant accordingly accompanied him, and after they had partaken of food, he related to him the whole history of the deaths of both the child and the young man, and said, "Pretend that you have hidden some gold, and that you want a mattock for the purpose of digging it up." He consented to do this, and the woman, much pleased when she heard about the treasure, readily brought the mattock, upon which he immediately began to dig up in the spot which had been indicated. When the woman perceived that her secret would become known, she fastened the door of the room in which the digging was going on with a chain, and set fire to the roof. When the flames burst forth, she began to cry out for her neighbours to come, as her house had caught fire and her husband was burning. By the time they arrived, the unfortunate man was roasted. The friend had even seen all this likewise, and having collected all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, went with them to the *kotwál*, and explained what had occurred. On the receipt of this information, they opened the hole, and found the bodies of the youth and child. They then buried this bloody-minded woman up to the middle, in the centre of the *bázár*, and goaded her with arrows till she died.

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Haibat Khán Gurg-andáz.

Haibat Khán was called the wolf-slayer, and had thus obtained the name. One day he went out hunting in the neighbourhood of Bayána, and made a pleasant party in the Sikandarí garden, with Daryá Khán Sarwání, Mahmúd Khán Lodí, and Daulat Khán Urmar. While they were seated there, two large wolves carried away some sheep, and the shepherds began to lament loudly. It happened that Haibat Khán had gone to perform the offices of nature. The wolves approached him; he took his bow from a servant, who was in attendance, and as he was a powerful shot, the arrow left the bow, passed through the bodies of both wolves, and stuck in the ground beyond. From that day he received his honorary surname.

At drinking parties he was so liberal that every one wondered. One day Jalál Khán, the brother of Sultán Ibráhím, said, "O Haibat Khán, I have heard that you are generous when intoxicated; if you were so when you are in your senses, I should consider you worthy of praise." Haibat Khán from that day left off drinking wine, and gave away so much, even with his wits about him, that people were still more astounded; for he broke up all his gold and silver drinking vessels, and gave even them away.

One day, an inhabitant of Bayána, by name Múmin, repeated some lines in praise of the Khán, and gave them to the minstrels to recite in the presence of the exalted Khán, on the day when the nobles assembled at his fête. Upon the minstrels' recitation of this panegyric, the Khán presented the carpet, on which he was that day sitting, to the poet, and 2000 *tankas* to the minstrels. This will serve, in some degree, to show to what an extent he carried his generosity.

REIGN OF SULTÁN BÁBAR.

Historians relate that in the year 932 (1526 A.D.), Sháh Bábar, the Conqueror of the World, remained encamped for a week on the battle-field on which he had gained his victory, and made himself master of all the property, elephants, equipages, warlike implements, etc., of Sultán Ibráhím. He considered that that spot had been a fortunate one to him. He summoned the elders of the city, and gained the goodwill of all by his liberality; and made Sultán Muhammad Aughulí, who had come to his assistance during that action with great diligence and bravery accompanied by 10,000 horse, governor of Pánípat, and granted him as a gift the revenues due upon one harvest. After which he directed his course towards Dehlí, the inhabitants of which city, from dread of the pride and power of the Mughals, had deserted it. He accordingly despatched worthy men of Hindústán for the purpose of calming the fears of the elders and gentry of the city and its environs, and induce them by promises of the royal favour and liberality to come to the Court of the Protector of the World.

When His Majesty arrived at Sonpath, the chiefs and *chaudharis* of the city, together with the soldiers and bankers and other classes, went to visit him, and were treated with honour and kindness. During the first two months of His Majesty's reign, he behaved to every one with such kindness and generosity, that dread and terror were banished from the hearts of all men, so that they were well disposed towards his government. He remained a month and some days in the neighbourhood of the fort of Indrapat, on the banks of the river Jumna, and reposed himself there, as it was a pleasant and agreeable spot.[1] In the same year, he sent Amír Khalífa and Amír Kulí Beg to Ágra, where the mother and family of Sultán Ibráhím were; and they went thither by uninterrupted marches. Sultán Ibráhím's mother sent them a list of the property, valuables, treasures, money, gold and jewelled plate, horses, elephants, camels, tents, male and female slaves of the late king, and entreated him to spare her. Mahmúd Khán, a slave of Sultán Ibráhím, took this list, and read it in the presence of Amír Khalífa, who forwarded it to Bábar, and remained himself with his troops to protect the fort and those who were inside it, and at the same time prevent them from quitting it, and taking any of the property away with them.

At this time, news came that some of Ibráhím's nobles had assembled at Jaunpúr, and begun plundering the country. The Conqueror of the World sent Amír Kulí Beg, together with Prince Mírzá Kámrán, in that direction. When the Afgháns received intelligence of the advent of the fortunate prince, they fled towards Patna, and Jaunpúr fell into his hands. Mírzá Kámrán left Amír Kulí Beg there with a large army, and then returned to Court; after which he was ordered into the Panjáb, and Mírzá 'Askarí was appointed to the charge of Kábul, and directed to make himself speedily master of Thatta. Muhammad Humáyún Mírzá, the eldest son of the King and heir-apparent, remained with His Majesty.

When the fortunate princes and valiant nobles had thus been established in different places, information reached the Court of the rebellion of Hasan Khán Mewáttí and Ráná Sánká, who had collected a large force in Mewát. Orders were given for the enlistment of new troops, and Ibráhím's treasures were distributed amongst the army. Hasan Khán was a man of royal descent from several generations, and his family had possessed regal power until the reign of Fíroz Sháh. Ráná Sánká, who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Hasan

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[1] This is not at all in accordance with the Memoirs of Bábar.

Khán, saying, "The Mughals have entered Hindústán, have slain Sultán Ibráhím, and taken possession of the country; it is evident that they will likewise send an army against both of us; if you will side with me, we will be allies, and not suffer them to take possession." Hasan Khán, carried away by the vanity which the possession of so large a force produced, and by the Ráná's message, did not send the presents which he had prepared for the Sultán, and the King's *vakil* returned home without accomplishing his purpose. These things came to the King's hearing in Ágra, and Mírzá Hindál and Muhammad Mahdí Khwája, the king's son-in-law, were sent with an immense army, which was shortly afterwards followed by Bábar himself.

When Hasan Khán was informed of the approach of the victorious army, he sent to tell Ráná Sánká of it. Upon this the Ráná left his home, and assembled an army of Hindús with the intention of making war. He marched and joined Hasan Khán, and prepared for action in the plains near Fírozpúr Jharka. Ráná Sánká placed Hasan Khán on the right, and took up his own post on the left. As he was secretly displeased with Hasan Khán, he determined to ensnare and ruin him. He, therefore, privately sent a *vakil* to Mírzá Hindál and Khwája Mahdí, to say that he was the slave and obedient servant of the King, and that he consented to the reading of the *khutba* and the coining of money in His Majesty's name; that Hasan Khán had compelled him to go to war, but that he would not fight the royal troops, but retire early; and that they should make arrangements so that Hasan might be either captured or slain, as in the event of his death they would obtain the country of Mewát.

When the battle began, and both parties were slaughtering one another, Mahdí Khwája attacked Hasan Khán, who was unable to contend with him, and after a short engagement took to flight, and his soldiers were scattered all over the country.

Lád Khán, a slave of Hasan Khán, having displeased him, joined his brothers, and by their advice behaved with infidelity towards his benefactor. When Hasan Khán had been forsaken by all his friends and followers, and no one remained with him, he arrived at a well, and said to his servant, "If you have anything to eat, bring it." He brought some cakes and roast meat, and placed them before him. He had eaten only a few morsels, when a noble of Sháh Bábar arrived. Hasan Khán arose in a state of confusion, with the intention of mounting, when his servant drew his sword on him, wounded him, and threw him into the well; after which, he seized his horse, and fled. After his flight, Hindú Beg pursued and plundered his army, none of whom attempted to resist. The troops of the Vanquisher of the Universe obtained immense booty in horses, camels, etc., and gained a great victory. That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other, and collectors were appointed in various places. Orders were issued for reading the *khutba* and coining money, and a *jágír* was bestowed upon the fortunate Sháhzáda.

One year after His Majesty's accession, Mírzá Kámrán came from Lahore, and brought many horses and much wealth, which he had taken from the Bhattís and Khokars (Ghakhars), which he presented to the Sultán. About this time, news arrived from Jaunpúr, that Sultán Muhammad, the Afghán, had assumed regal authority in Bihár, caused money to be struck and the *khutba* to be read in his own name, and had brought an army against Mírzá Hindál, who, not being strong enough to resist him, fled from Jaunpúr, and was pursued by the troops of Sultán Muhammad. At last, the Mírzá gave him battle, and lost many men. His Majesty appointed Sultán Junaid Birlás and Haidar Malik Húlak to proceed with other Mughals and a Hindústání army. Junaid made two marches in one, and arrived there, and faced Sultán Muhammad. Such fighting took place as no age has witnessed. The Afgháns were unable to resist the impetuous valour of the Mughals, and were dispersed. Jaunpúr again fell to the Sultán, and an account of the victory, together with the spoil and horses, was sent to the Imperial Court. Sultán Junaid was directed to remain there, and to send the Mírzá to the presence. Junaid behaved in such a way towards the Afghâns that no one sided with them, and the hearts of the rebellious Afghâns and other disaffected men were filled with terror and dread of him. Mírzá Hindál was again sent to Kandahár, and in the second year of His Majesty's reign a beautiful garden was made on the borders of the river Jumna, and pathways were introduced into Hindústân for the first time, they not having been in use before. He passed his time in that garden, in company with Mughal companions and friends, in pleasure and enjoyment and carousing, in the presence of enchanting dancing girls with rosy cheeks, who sang tunes, and displayed their accomplishments. The Mughals, who had for many years desired the possession of Hindústân, at last governed it. Mírzá Kâmrân also prepared a splendid garden similar to this in Lahore. Amír Khalífá, being a person of influence, and possessing the chief authority, managed the government, and his decrees were like those of the Sultán himself.

When the royal affairs had been well and firmly established, and the mandates of the King had spread over land and sea like running water, the Rájá of Chanderí rebelled. Arghún Khân, who was in that province, attacked him. The Rájá, however, plundered on the road the money which was being sent to the royal treasury. The Ruler of the Universe sent Arghún Khân's brother and Ahmad Sultán against him with a strong force. The Chanderí Rájá, being puffed up with vanity on account of the defeat which Arghún Khân had sustained, came out of Chanderí with an army of Hindús, and a battle took place near a village called Pádahar, in which he likewise defeated Arghún Khân's brother, together with his troops, and returned victorious to Chanderí. After this misfortune, Amír Khalífá received orders to prepare all the royal equipage. When it was ready, His Majesty left Ágra in state, and marched steadily in that direction, having previously despatched Amír Hindú Beg with 6000 gallant horsemen. 'Aliwardí Khân Shámlú, who was then in Málwá, received instructions to join Amír Hindú Beg, for the purpose of destroying that infidel. The Rájá of Chanderí, being very proud of his success, collected his adherents from all quarters, and appointed his nephew to oppose those two valiant and warlike chieftains. A battle was fought between them on the banks of the river Jumna. In the first attack, the infidels behaved with such extreme valour, that many of the men of the army of the King of the World became martyrs. When the two *amírs* saw that their soldiers were terrified at the Hindús, they retreated, and took refuge in a garden, and the nephew of Shahrak retired to a garden two *kos* distant. When the King was told of the defeat of these two *amírs*, he marched towards the enemy. On the *amírs* being informed of the King's arrival, they divided their forces in two on a very dark night, darker than the heart of an oppressor, fell on the infidels, and took their revenge. They killed most of the evil-doers, and made prisoners of the remainder; and so much plunder was taken from that heathen army, that the King's troops obtained sufficient to support them for years. His Majesty marched on towards Chanderí. But when the Rájá heard of the defeat of his brother, he was confounded, because that profligate wretch was a great warrior. Not knowing what else to do, he assembled a body of men, and came to fight the Sultán. That vanquished one did not know how difficult it is for a gnat to keep its feet when a cold boisterous wind is blowing, or for a sparrow to fly against a hawk. In the very first onset, that dark-faced man was overthrown, and his army slaughtered. When the chiefs of the Rájá had been trampled on by elephants, His Majesty encamped near Chanderí with much pomp. The warriors of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captives of the connexions and family of the Rájá, and despatched them to the foot of the royal throne. His Majesty presented two of the daughters of the Rájá, whose beauty was unrivalled, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds, one to Mírzá Kámrán, the other to Prince Muhammad Humáyún, and gave the others to the *sardárs* of his army. After which he spent two months in that place, in country excursions and hunting, and then returned to A'gra.

In the third year His Majesty proceeded towards Lahore. At Sirhind he was met by the Rájá of Kahlúr, who presented him seven falcons and three *mans* of gold, and was confirmed in the *zamíndári* of that place. When the King's camp reached Lahore, Mírzá Kámrán was honoured by admission to the presence, and he brought the *zamíndárs* of the country to kiss the feet of the Conqueror of the World. The King's encampment was located in the environs of Lahore, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Mírzá Kámrán, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion the King left the garden, and took up his abode in the fort. The whole road thither, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Sháhzáda Kámrán, dressed in silk and brocade, decked like bridegrooms; and the troops, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring. Elephants, adorned with gilded trappings, covered with jewels, were led in front of the royal cortège. When they entered the city-gate, money was thrown to the poor and destitute, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Sikandar Lodí.

The King was pleased with the sights and hunting which the Panjáb afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mírzá Hindál came from Kábul. He was admitted to the presence, and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mírzá Hindál returned to Kábul, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty, two elephants, four horses, girdles, and jewelled daggers.

On the fourth day of the month of Rajab, the exalted monarch set forth on his return to A'gra. When he reached Sirhind, one of the *kázis* of Sámána complained to him that Mohan Mundáhir had attacked his estate (*imlák*) and burned it, plundered all his property, and slain his son. His Majesty, the Conqueror of the World, appointed 'Alí Kulí Hamadání, with three thousand horse, to avenge the injury which the Mundáhir had done to the petitioner. 'Alí Kulí proceeded against the village of the Mundáhirs. By chance a marriage was being celebrated amongst the Mundáhirs, when he approached them with the intention of attacking them. It being winter-time when the King's troops arrived there, in the morning, they were unable to pull their bows, on account of the severe cold. The Mundáhirs, who had just risen from warming themselves before fires in their houses, discharged such flights of arrows that the soldiers were unable to withstand them. Many fell, and 'Alí Kulí was unable to effect anything on account of the vigilance of the Kanwárs. The army retreated into the *jangal*, where they collected a quantity of wood, set fire to it, and relieved themselves from the rigour of the weather; after which, they again assaulted the village, but were again repulsed.

When information of this was conveyed to the King, he sent Tarsam Bahádur and Naurang Beg, with 6000 cavalry and many elephants. They reached that place one night, when the Mundáhirs were celebrating another marriage, and enjoying themselves. Towards morning the army was divided into three portions: one was sent to the west, and ordered to show itself. When the Mundáhirs, proud of the defeat which 'Alí Kulí had sustained, came forward to the attack, according to instructions received, the Royalist troops turned their backs and fled, followed by the Kanwárs, until they arrived at the distance of one *kos* from the village. Tarsam Bahádur took advantage of this opportunity to attack and set fire to the village, and put all the inhabitants to death. When the Mundáhirs perceived the flames, they ran towards their homes, but were intercepted on their road and attacked by the Royalists, sword in hand. Nearly a thousand of them were killed, and a thousand men, women, and children taken prisoners. The slaughter was great, and there was a heap of severed heads; and Mohan was taken alive. An account of the conquest of the village was sent to the Sháh. The village had been fully inhabited for no less than 160 years in the *pargana* of Kaithal; but was then made, and still continues to be, a desert, and has never been inhabited again, although 160 years[1] have elapsed since its destruction. When the prisoners were brought to Dehlí, all the women were given to the Mughals. The offending Mundáhir was buried in the earth up to his waist, and then pierced to death with arrows.[2]

Such was the respect for the army which this produced amongst the people of Hind, that thenceforth no one ventured either to rebel or disobey. After this His Majesty passed two months in hunting and other amusements in the neighbourhood of Dehlí. He then turned his face towards Ágra, and sent Prince Muhammad Humáyún, with a large force, into the *súba* of Sambhal, and declared him his successor. The following was the cause of his selection. One evening the King was in his cups, and summoned Muhammad Humáyún. When that offspring of the royal tree came into the presence, His Majesty, overpowered by the wine, had fallen asleep on his pillow. The Sháhzáda remained there standing, motionless, with his hands joined. When the King awoke from sleep at midnight, he beheld him standing, and said, "When did you come?" He replied, "When I received your commands." The King then remembered having sent for him, and was much gratified, and said, "If God should grant you the throne and crown, do not put your brothers to death, but look sharply after them." The Sháhzáda bowed down to the ground and acquiesced in all that His Majesty said, so that, notwithstanding that Mírzá 'Askárí and Mírzá Hindál treated him a hundred times with disrespect, and even went to war with him, he, nevertheless, when he had vanquished them, ceased to think of their hostile proceedings. Whenever they came before him, he treated them with the greatest affection, and never reminded them of the rancour they displayed towards him. To be brief, Mírzá Humáyún was sent with a large army into the *súba* of Sambhal.

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[1] [If this be correct, the date of the composition of this work is later than has been supposed. See *suprà*, p. 2.]

[2] It is strange that there should be no mention of this transaction either in the large histories or the Memoirs of Bábar.

Two or three months after this event, it became evident that His Majesty's health failed him. He was carried to his garden on the bank of the river, and Amír (Khalífá) Nizámu-d dín prescribed for him, and also managed the business of the State. When the King's sickness increased day by day, and he was convinced that there was now no hope of life, he determined to provide the empire with a ruler, and prevent it from falling into a stranger's hands; so he confirmed his previous election. His illness at length became so severe at Ágra, that, in the year 937 H., he departed, by the decree of the Almighty, from this earth to heaven, and forsook this thorny world of trouble for the rose-garden of paradise.

The reign of Sultán 'Adali Súr.

[1]After three days had been devoted to mourning the death of Islám Sháh, on the fourth, his eldest son, Fíroz Sháh, was placed upon the throne, and the chiefs and nobles, in compliance with the will of the deceased monarch, came forward and professed allegiance. They[2] distributed a donative of two months' pay amongst the soldiers, and issued their orders to the governors of the *súbas.* They elected Táj Khán Kiráni to the *wizárat,* and Kutb Khán Niází, equally skilful with his pen and sword, was nominated *bakhshi.*

As Fíroz Khán was but young, being only twelve years old, and had no experience in matters of government, Táj Khán issued whatever orders he chose to the nobles, but he was well-affected to the interests of the state and of his pageant master. Nevertheless, some disaffected nobles did not approve of this arrangement, and after consulting together, represented to Bíbí Báí, the mother of Fíroz Khán, that Táj Khán was a seditious intriguing person, and though he had been raised to high power by Islám Sháh, and was admitted to his intimate friendship, yet that monarch did not centre all power in him. You have now constituted him absolute minister, and he, already contemplating the acquisition of supreme power, has summoned his brethren, and intends to remove this child from the throne and occupy it himself." She inquired of them what she ought to do. They replied, "Send him to the *súba* of Málwá, to supply the place of Shujá' Khán." After giving the matter a little reflection, Bíbí Báí sent him to Málwá, though he was the prop of her son's empire, and all the other nobles quailed before his presence, and Islám Sháh on his death-bed had expressly consigned the boy to his care.

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[1] [Translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

[2] The term might also apply to the King, but it seems meant for the nobles by the context.

About a month after Táj Khán's departure, Mamrez Khán[1] her brother, son of Mián Nizám, brother of Sher Sháh (who had lived at Bayána, feigning eccentricity and madness, in order to escape death or blinding under the late reign), thought this a good opportunity of offering his congratulations to his nephew, and, under that pretence, of making away with him and seizing the crown for himself. With this view, he entered into a secret correspondence with some of the nobles whom he brought over to his interests. So after two months,[2] he entered Gwálior with a large army, and, all covered with dust as he was, went direct into the presence of Fíroz Khán, with the intention of seizing and expelling him. His sister, astonished at seeing him under an aspect different from that under which she had ever beheld him, stood between him and her son, and exclaimed, "Mamrez Khán, what are you dreaming of? Have you no fear of God before your eyes, that you seek to extinguish my lamp by the blast of violence, and seat me in the dust of oppression? You also have children. Did I not save you from the hands of Islám Sháh, and is this the reward I am to receive?"

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[1] This author always calls him by this name. All others call him Mubáriz Khán.

[2] It does not say from what time, but we may presume the death of Islám Sháh. According to other authors, this murder occurs within a week (three days being the general statement) after this event, and we hear nothing whatever of the ministry of Táj Khán Kiráni, or his transfer to Málwá, and the whole statement is so entirely at variance with others, that we must reject it.

But all her cries and remonstrances were of no avail, for the wretch severed the child's head from his body, and thus accumulated curses upon himself for ever. After killing Fíroz Khán, he came out again from the palace, and, with the consent of two or three of the devilish nobles who were with him,[1] seated himself on the throne. Then were all astonished and perturbed, and a tumult arose in the city.

[2] Seven days after the slaughter of Fíroz Khán, Mamrez Khán came to the throne. Before he took possession of it, he caused tents of damask and brocade to be erected in the *bázár;* after which, he seated himself on the throne and assumed the title of 'Ádil Sháh.[3] He opened the treasures of Islám Sháh and Sher Sháh, and scattered them with an unsparing hand amongst the people, so that they thought little of the murder of Fíroz Khán.[4] As there was no member of Sher Sháh's family to succeed to the crown, the nobles sided with him, and were honoured with titles and dignities. When, after two months, he found that every one was well inclined towards him, he turned his face towards Chunár, where the treasures of Sher Sháh were. After conciliating the Kanjúrs, he came to Gwálior, and thence led an army himself against Salím Súr, who had rebelled on the ground of the murder of Fíroz Khán. When he came into that neighbourhood, Salím Khán, finding himself unable to cope with

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[1] The *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí* says that the great favourites whom he constituted as absolute at the beginning of his reign were Bahúr Khán Sarwání, Ibráhím Khán Súr, and Shamsher Khán, younger brother of Khawás Khán, "To these three he distributed the public treasure as well as the whole country."—MS. p. 143. The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* says Shamsher Khán and Daulat Khán Lohání were appointed to the *wizárat* (MS., p. 357). Others mention only the former name.

[2] [From this point to the end the translation is Mr. Mackenzie's.]

[3] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* says this name was changed to 'Adalí, which Dorn says signifies 'foolish.' In one MS. of the work it is said the name was changed into *be-'adal,* unjust. [Firishta's version of the nick-name is different. He says it was the Hindí *audhalí,* 'blind.'] The *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí* (MS. p. 142) says he was raised to the throne with the title of Sultán Mahmúd.

[4] One instance of this folly is recorded in the *Makhzan-i Afghání* and *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* and other works. He used to scatter, amongst other donations, certain emblematic tokens, worth 500 *tankas* each, which were paid, on presentation, to the fortunate holders into whose houses they had fallen.

him, fled to the hill country, and was pursued by a large army sent after him by 'Ádil Sháh.

After remaining a month in that place, he despatched an army against the Rájá of Andrún. When he arrived in his country, the Rájá went to the fort of Kisht, at the foot of which he caused outworks to be erected, which he gave in charge to his chiefs. The Hindús made use of *'arádas* and *manjaníks*, and placed large cannon on the bastions of the fort, and kept up such constant volleys of stones, that a bird would have found it impossible to fly past. The Afghâns also prepared trenches and batteries and made war; but by no means could they contrive to gain the victory, and they lost many of their men. They cast fiery missiles (*hukkahá-i átish*) into the fort; while from the inside of the castle the defenders threw bags of cotton steeped in oil and set on fire. By this means many men were burned on both sides, and 'Ádil Sháh was much distressed at the state of his prospects. He lost men daily during a whole month. At length, one night, he beheld in a dream a venerable man of brilliant countenance, who said to him, "You will conquer this fort if you do one thing." 'Ádil Sháh said, "*Darweshes* take more interest in the condition of Islám than kings do; you ought not to withhold your prayers from the army of the faithful, because the Musulmáns are sorely distressed in this affair. If I return without gaining the victory, I shall destroy the royal name; and if I endeavour to obtain possession of the fort, many Musulmáns will fall: for this reason my soul is immersed in the river of anxiety." The *darwesh* replied, "There is a shopkeeper in your army whose name is Zanká, who has a daughter, the splendour of whose beauty exceeds that of the sun, and whose face puts the roses of the garden to shame; the locks of her hair are lovelier than the hyacinth: buy her from her father for whatever sum he may ask, dress her in costly garments, deck her with jewels, and send her on horseback in the direction of the desert before the rose of the sun has risen from the garden of the east. After which, make ready your army, and attack the fort on all sides.

With the blessing of God, you will be victorious." After he had said this, the King awoke. In the morning he summoned his confidential chiefs into his private apartment, and related the dream to them, and made inquiries after the shopkeeper. The *kotwál* searched for him, and brought him to the foot of the throne. They satisfied him with presents and money, and received his daughter, whom they dressed in fine clothes and jewels, and sent off to the desert at the time indicated by the *darwesh.* She had scarcely reached the distance of a bow-shot, when a rosy-cheeked young man, whose beard had not yet begun to grow, came from the opposite direction; he had a gilt saddle and jewelled trappings, and rode a cream-coloured horse, and had a gold-worked quiver fastened to his waist, with a tiger's tail hanging from it, with a regal cap set jauntily on his head, and plumes from the wings of the *sí-murgh.* That fair girl made him a *salám*, and they both took the road of the desert. The men who accompanied the lady were confounded at the wonderful and mysterious occurrence which they had witnessed, and were still further astounded, when, in the twinkling of an eye, they both disappeared from their sight. Upon this, they returned, and told what had happened to 'Ádil Sháh, and the wise men of the age who were there present were wonder-struck.

Proclamation was made by beat of drum, that the soldiers should prepare for battle. They advanced against the fort. By the decree of the Most Mighty, such dread had taken possession of the defenders, that they sent a message to the effect, that, "If Dáúd Khán would bring a written promise of mercy from the King, the Rájá would give up the fort to His Majesty's troops, and come to pay his respects." Dáúd Khán sent this message to 'Ádil Sháh, who was much astonished, and said, "O Dáúd Khán, I was put to great annoyance by this fort, because so many of the faithful had fallen and were falling. I could not gain possession of it. I therefore felt inclined to leave it, and return to Gwálior; but now I have proved the truth of the promises of a *darwesh.* Thank God, he has not misled me. Go and give them my written promise of mercy." Dáúd Khán did as he was directed. The Rájá came into the presence with his turban suspended from his neck, and the fort was vacated. Much treasure and many fine elephants and horses were presented to 'Ádil Sháh. The King gave the fort into Dáúd Khán's charge, and returned thence victorious to Gwálior.

When he had reigned two years, and his authority was firmly established, he began to treat the nobles with severity. There was a man named Hímún, who was a weighman in the *bázár*, who had found means to approach the King on different affairs, and in whom he daily reposed more and more confidence. By degrees he became very powerful and influential, so that he managed the business of the State. About this time, Junaid Khán, the son of Ahmad Khán, who was governor of Bayána, and his son, the *faujdár* of Ajmír, rebelled in Ajmír, plundering and spoiling certain *parganas* of that province, making prisoners of the women and children, and gaining much booty, which he gave to his men. By all which he succeeded in collecting a large force, the motions of which he directed with great expertness and address.

'Ádil Sháh had at this time gone to Chunár; Jamál Khán, who was in Gwálior, assembled a force and went out against him with seventeen elephants in his train. A battle was fought at Kanúlápúr, near Ladánah. The fighting was severe. Junaid Khán overcame Jamál Khán at the first onset, and slew many of his best men. He also obtained much plunder, horses, elephants, etc. When this news reached the King, he was greatly distressed. Hímún said, "O Lord of the World, if you will trust me with a small force, I will either overcome Junaid Khán, or perish in the attempt." 'Ádil Sháh at first objected to this, on account of the meanness of his origin, but at length he yielded to his solicitations, and sent him with 3000 or 4000 horse and four elephants. He set off, and Junaid Khán, vain of his victory over Jamál Khán, took no notice of him, saying, "My grooms will knock out his brains with the pegs to which their horses are fastened." He then ordered Daulat Khán, who was the superintendent of his stable, to proceed against him with a large army, and enjoined him not to kill Hímún, but to bring him alive into the presence. He gave him leave to depart, and himself went to hunt tigers. How very reprehensible is arrogance!

Daulat Khán went, after making all his arrangements, and towards the close of day found himself within a *kos* of Hímún's army. He sent some boastful and foolish messages to Hímún, saying, "O shopkeeper, why do you meddle with war? Return to your scales and weights." Hímún sent no answer, but allowed him to remain in his fancied security. When night came, he called the Afgháns, and said, "Junaid Khán, in the first place, defeated our troops, and is vain-glorious on that account; to-morrow, if you behave valiantly, we have every hope of gaining the victory, and you will be praised and honoured by His Majesty." The Afgháns, on hearing this, declared their intention of doing their best in the battle which was about to ensue, saying, that "Victory was in the hands of God." When the light of the sun parted the curtain of darkness, the brave men of both parties mixed together. Providence decreed success to the banners of 'Ádil Sháh. Daulat Khán was slain, and his army put to flight. Hímún pursued them for two *kos*, and put many to death; a portion of them only managed by a thousand devices to save their lives from the swords of the royal troops.

When Junaid Khán was informed of this, his head, which he had lifted to the heavens, was brought low. He ordered his troops to prepare for action, and marched with the intention of fighting. Towards night he arrived close to the army of 'Ádil Sháh, and encamped. After counting his troops, he found that he had with him 8000 cavalry and 3000 foot, whom he had assembled from different quarters, together with ten war-elephants and a numerous artillery. During the night he endeavoured to infuse spirit into his men.

When Hímún saw the large force of the enemy he was disturbed, because he had only brought 3000 horsemen with him, and many of his men were wounded. He came to the conclusion that he could not cope with the foe by day. He said, "If you, who are warriors, are of this opinion, which has firm possession of me, we may hope for success." All the Afghâns said, "Your opinion is ours." Hímún said, "I advise a night attack to be made on their army, let what may happen." He then picked out one body of 2500 horsemen, and kept 1000 himself,[1] with the intention of attacking the enemy from two different quarters, with kettle-drums sounding, during the last watch of the night, and putting them all to the sword.

With this view he prepared his men for the attack. The enemy remained on the alert during three watches of the night; but in the last watch they grew negligent, and fell asleep. When they were overpowered by drowsiness, the soldiers of 'A'dil Sháh fell furiously on them on all sides, and awoke them with the sound of drums and trumpets. Hímún did not give them time to put on their armour, and the Afghâns, sword in hand, passed through their army, slaughtering all they met, and many also fell by the hands of their comrades. They took to flight, and suffered severe loss from His Majesty's troops.

When Junaid Khân saw that he was unsuccessful, he thought himself lucky in being able to save his life, and fled alone to the desert; all who were not cut to pieces also saved themselves by flight. The spoil which this victory granted by the Almighty yielded, amounted to 200 camels, with daggers and swords innumerable. A portion of this was given to the army as a reward for its valour, the remainder was forwarded to 'A'dil Sháh. Hímún despatched an account of the victory to His Majesty two days before he set forth himself. He then went to Court, taking the plunder with him, and gave a detailed account of the war and of his victories, and showed the articles of booty one by one to the King. He then stood with folded hands in front of the throne. 'Ádil Sháh honoured him with a purple *khil'at*, the collar and skirt of which were covered with jewels. Hímún said, "I am a miserable shopkeeper, and can of myself do nothing. To Your Majesty's good fortune this success is due. But the swords and bravery of these soldiers are the means. Your Majesty should first recompense them." The King praised this speech, and rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the field, by giving them high *mansabs* and splendid dresses of honour.

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[1] Something here defective in the arithmetic. He has just stated there were only 3000 men in all, and of these many were disabled.

On account of this war, Hímún's power increased greatly. One day, at the time at which the King was in the habit of quitting his private apartments, the nobles were seated in the *Darbár-i 'ámm*, and *jágírs* were being distributed. Ibráhím Khán, who had married 'Ádil Sháh's sister, entered, and all the *amírs* rose to salute him, with the exception of Táj Khán, one of the chief nobles as well as warriors, who remained sitting in his place. Ibráhím Khán was vexed at this, and became inimically disposed towards Táj Khán. Some days after this, Táj Khán went to pay his respects to 'Ádil Sháh. The day was very cloudy, and he was assaulted by an Afghán, named Nizám Khán, in the doorway of the audience chamber, which was itself a dark place, independent of the darkness which the clouds occasioned. He was, however, only slightly wounded. Táj Khán attributed this attempt to Ibráhím and 'Ádil Sháh. When, after a week or so, his wounds were healed, he made ready his adherents, and advanced from Gwálior in the direction of Bengal. Information of this was soon conveyed to 'Ádil Sháh, who sent a large force to pursue him, and much fighting took place. Táj Khán forced his way, sword in hand, and the royal troops returned. After this, Táj Khán went to Ahmad Khán, who was governor of Jaunpúr, and a relation of his. 'Ádil Sháh sent a *farmán*, enjoining him to induce Táj Khán to come back, seeing that the cause of his displeasure did not originate with the King, but was entirely owing to his enemies. Ahmad Khán did all he could to persuade Táj Khán, who, however, would not listen to him.[1]

'Ádil Sháh's suspicions caused divers of the nobles to be inimical to him. He put Daulat Khán Jalwání and Fíroz Khán Kákar to death, and pulled up the root of his empire with his own hands by killing these two *amírs*, who were the pillars of his monarchy. He then began to entertain evil intentions towards Nasíb Khán Sarwání, Isma'íl Khán, Alláh-dád Khán Miána, and Nizám Khán Sáhú-khail, and he became daily more ill-disposed towards the nobles. 'Ádil Sháh's sister, the wife of Ibráhím Khán, went one day to her brother's house, and learned from some of the women there, who had long been friends of hers, that the King was ill-disposed towards her husband, and meditated some evil design against him. She being very fond of her husband, was much distressed at this news, left the palace in a hurry, and went to her own house, where she told what she had heard to Ibráhím, who, being seized with a panic, fled from Gwálior and went to Dehlí. When 'Ádil Sháh was informed of his departure, he sent a large army in pursuit of him, and a battle took place near Ágra. The King's forces sustained a total defeat, and Ibráhím Khán marched victorious into Ágra.[2]

Jalál Khán, who was in the province of Sirhind, also joined Ibráhím Khán, and made over to him all the money which had been collected from the *parganas* of that province. Mahmúd Khán Púndak, Nizám Khán, and Alif Khán likewise allied themselves with him, so that he mustered about 3000 cavalry. He caused the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck in his name, and raised the standard of rebellion. Whilst this was going on, 'Ádil Sháh had gone to the treasury of Chunár; but when he heard of the insurrection of Ibráhím Khán, he marched to Gwálior, and released Nasíb Khán and Alláh-dád Khán, whom he had imprisoned. He then treated them kindly, gave them rich purple dresses of honour, and 80,000 rupees for their expenses, and did his best to please them. At the time of their departure he presented them with an elephant, a girdle and a dagger, and sent them against Ibráhím. These two nobles proceeded in great state from Gwálior to Dehlí, but they too joined Ibráhím Khán. When 'A'dil Sháh was informed of their joining the rebels, he lost heart, because these two men of name had sided with his foe.

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[1] It is impossible to ascertain the precise dates of these transactions, so much confusion, negligence, and contradiction occur; but they seem to be a mere variation in the account of Táj Khán's secession from the council, when he was defeated at Chhabramau, the details of which will be found among the extracts from the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí.*

[2] At that time Ibráhím Khán's father, Ghazí Khán Súr, was governor of Bayána and Hindún.

At this period, the Rájá of Andardún, seeing the disordered state of the King's affairs, revolted in Ujjain. 'A'dil Sháh reached Gwálior by uninterrupted marches; and when the Rájá was informed of the King's coming, he left his nephew Tárá Chand with a portion of his army in Ujjain, and advanced himself two *kos* from Ujjain with a numerous force to meet the royal troops. 'A'dil Sháh appointed Nizám Khán Súr and Fath Khán Sarwání to oppose him. They attacked him with their brave Afghâns. At first, the Rájá's valour had such an effect that some of the best Afgháns obtained martyrdom, and the Sultán's army were on the point of running away. 'A'dil Sháh possessed two elephants, in whose powers of travelling he had great confidence, and two fleet steeds, and he determined to fly to Chunár with all the royal jewels in the event of the defeat of Nizám Khán and Fath Khán. Nizám Khán and Fath Khán had likewise resolved to leave the field, as they had lost many men by the hands of the infidels, and could not hope to do anything with the few who remained.

Whilst they were thus despairing of their success, it happened by the blessing of God, that one of the *zambúraks* or swivels of the royal army was discharged. It struck the Rájá of Andardún, who was standing in front of his army, on the head; his skull was knocked to pieces, and his brains scattered like the fragments of a cheese. When the Rájá's men saw this, they all took to flight. Nizám Khán, seeing that the infidels had suddenly dispersed, believed that some unforeseen event had occurred, and made a slight attack on them with his remaining troops. The infidels fled before them, and on advancing they found the Rájá of Añdardún lying in the midst of dust and blood. They returned thanks to God, and sent news of the victory to 'A'dil Sháh, and counselled him to come speedily to Ujjain. His Majesty was astonished at the mysterious dispensations of Providence, and pursued the fugitives until he reached Ujjain. The Rájá's men resisted during three hours, but at last gave way; his wives and children were taken prisoners, and such spoil of horses, camels, elephants, gold, jewels, property, and clothes was obtained, that the soldiers had wherewithal to support themselves for years.

After this victory, 'A'dil Sháh passed some time in Málwá, and Ibráhím Khán at this time availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded, and extended his authority. Having collected much money from the different *parganas* of the provinces, he despatched his emissaries in all directions, and gained the whole country from Dehlí to Rohtás. When 'A'dil Sháh arrived from Málwá, and heard of the power and success of Ibráhím Khán, he was distressed. He felt satisfied that it would be necessary to proceed against him in person, and ordered the necessary preparations to be made for that purpose.

At this time, Mansúr Khán, who was a young man of great courage, and had married the King's younger sister, excited 'A'dil Sháh's suspicions. He was anxious to hinder him from revolting like Ibráhím Khán, and, therefore, determined either to blind him with a red-hot bodkin or slay him. His wife was by some means or other informed of this, and told her husband that "she had learnt in various places that 'A'dil Sháh was desirous of either putting him to death or blinding him, and that if he wished to save his life he had better fly." Mansúr Khán had suspected this from the first. His wife said, "You have 4000 horse, who are your ancient servants: and I have much gold and property in jewels; let us sell it, and obtain adherents. As

Ibráhím Khán forsook this place, and obtained such extensive authority by his courage, do you also, in like manner, not only avoid the chance of destruction, but increase your possessions."

Mansúr Khán listened to the wife's advice, which was given in the spirit of a man; and one day, under the pretext of hunting, when informed by his spies that 'Ádil Sháh was in his cups, left Gwálior (having previously sent off his troops and baggage), and arrived at Dehlí, where he had an interview with Ibráhím, who entertained him hospitably for two or three days, after which he requested Ibráhím to give him charge of the Panjáb, and merit his gratitude by doing so, since it had pleased the Most High to make Ibráhím a man high in authority, and the possessor of an extensive territory. Ibráhím's youthful, overbearing pride led him to be displeased at this. Next day, Mansúr Khán sent his mother and wife to the wife of Ibráhím Khán, and told them to entreat her to persuade Ibráhím Khán to entrust the Panjáb to him. His wife and mother went there, and said to her[1] sister (the wife of Ibráhím), "You are like a mother to us. God has exalted you, and given you great possessions; and if through your means the land of the Panjáb be given by your husband to mine, I shall consider myself your slave, and my husband will become one of your servants." The elder sister consented, and sent them away with a present of gold and jewels. At bedtime that evening she related what had happened to her husband. Ibráhím Khán's pride again caused him to refuse to listen to the request, and she, being vexed, arose and left him. In the morning the wife told her sister of the denial she had met with. Mansúr was enraged at this, and determined to have one trial of arms with Ibráhím Khán. He deliberated with his trusty Afgháns, and said, "What is the good of this life to me? If the Most High grants me success, my situation will be bettered; at all events, it will be better to die than remain in this wretched condition."

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[1] [Ibráhím Khán and Ahmad Khán (here called Mansúr) had each of them married a sister of 'Adalí's.]

As God had decreed that Mansúr Khán should be victorious, all the nobles and Afgháns of note joined him, and agreed with him in everything, so that he mustered 8000 horsemen. Ibráhím, however, commanded 30,000. Mansúr Khán made ready for war, and sent to Ibráhím to say, "Great friendship existed between us; but you have forsaken the path of affection, and it is unworthy of a man to be led away by pride, and forget the rules of courtesy. Let what will happen, I will come and essay one trial in arms against you." Ibráhím laughed at this message, and said, "Why do you seek death beneath the feet of my elephants?" At last, on Friday, the 7th of Sha'bán, a severe action was fought.[1] It pleased the Almighty to overshadow the banners of Mansúr Khán, and Ibráhím, being routed, fled to Sambhal, in spite of his 30,000 cavalry and many elephants.[2] His troops deserted him, and came and pledged their allegiance to Mansúr Khán, who, after the victory, prostrated himself in thanksgiving on the field. He collected the army, the elephants, horses, treasures, and household property, etc., and came speedily to Dehlí, where he took possession of the throne, and issued orders for the reading of the *khutba* and coining of money in his own name. Ibráhím's overweening pride caused him to lose all his possessions, and he fled towards the East.

Mansúr Khán assumed the title of Sikandar,[3] and from that day [962 A.H. (1554 A.D.)] his prosperity increased.[4] 'Ádil Sháh ruled the country from Jaunpúr to Málwá. He endeavoured to wrest his conquests from Sikandar, but did not succeed. Sikandar agreed to own him as his liege lord, and wrote to him, saying, "I am a friend of yours, and will behave like one of the other nobles. You are my King." In effect, he always treated 'A'dil Sháh with great consideration.[1]

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[1] At Farra, a town about twenty miles from Ágra.

[2] Other authorities, as the *Makhzan-i Afghání* and *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí*, represent Ibráhím's cavalry at 70,000 men. We are also told that there were no less than 200 of his officers who occupied tents lined with velvet, each having the privilege of beating the *naubat*.—See Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 147.

[3] The *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí*, the *Makhzan-i Afghání*, the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán*, Abú-l Fazl, and indeed all historians, say Sikandar Khán's name was Ahmad Khán Súr; and we must reject Mansúr Khán as incorrect.

[4] According to Firishta he ascended the throne at Ágra in 962 H. He makes him out to be the nephew of Sher Sháh, and says that his sister was married to 'Adalí. Our author has just said that 'Adalí's sister was married to him.

At this time, three different *khutbas* were read in the empire of Hindústán, and money was coined in the names of three monarchs, when before there had been only one *khutba* and one person's name on the money. The country from A'gra to Málwá, and the confines of Jaunpúr, owned the sovereignty of 'A'dil Sháh; from Dehlí to the smaller Rohtás on the road to Kábul, it was in the hands of Sháh Sikandar; and from the borders of the hills to the boundaries of Gujarát, it belonged to Ibráhím Khán.[2]

When Humáyún Sháh received intelligence of the feeble rule of 'A'dil Sháh, the dissensions of the nobles, and the partition of the territories of Hind, he felt persuaded that the discordance which then existed amongst the Afgháns would enable him to take easy possession of Hindústán, and he therefore made up his mind to invade it. But his differences with his brothers, Mírzá Kámrán, 'Askarí, and others, who had wrested many of his territories from him, together with the small number and unprepared state of his troops, opposed great obstacles. He wished to go to Mariam Makání, and seek succour and assistance from her. On a prosperous day, he sent Khwája Mu'azzam and Bairam Khán to fetch Mariam Makání and Prince Akbar, who went with expedition and brought them. As the winds were exceedingly hot, Akbar Mírzá spent that time on the borders of Mahain. From thence King Humáyún set off with 200 men, Bairam Khán, Khwája Mu'azzam, Bábá-dost Bakhshí, Khwája Ghází, Muhammad Haidar Akhtabegí, Mírzá Kulí Beg and his brothers, Shaikh Yúsuf, Ibráhím the Lame, and Hasan Kulí, all nobles of note.

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[1] The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* represents Sikandar's opposition as immediately consequent upon 'Adalí's murder of Fíroz Khán. Elphinstone (vol. ii., p. 156) also says he was a nephew of Sher Sháh. The event he assigns to 961 A.H. (1554 A.D.)

[2] But he had just fled towards the East, and must necessarily have been excluded from these western possessions.

[The history of Humáyún, which follows in the MS., is copied verbatim from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, as hereafter given among the Extracts from that work. The following account of the battle of Sirhind is the only passage in which Ahmad Yádgár differs from the *Tabakát.*]

Battle of Sirhind.

The tents of the Prince Akbar Mírzá had been pitched near the fort at the Hauz-i Rasúlána. All the Kháns displayed on this day great courage and valour, such as it would be impossible to exceed, and they obtained their desires. Sikandar Súr fled, forsaking everything that appertained to the possession of the empire, and the victorious troops pursued the enemy, and put many of them to the sword. Sikandar escaped with a few followers. Two hundred and fifty elephants, and three hundred and odd horses, treasure, gold and silver vessels, and all the palace furniture, were captured. Muhammad Akbar came victorious into His Majesty's presence, and made the customary congratulations. His Majesty honoured that lamp of brilliancy with an ornamented *khil'at* and a jewelled crown, and made him happy by granting him the high title of heir-apparent. He also gave him twenty elephants and 100 horses out of the spoil. The *munshis* despatched *farmáns* describing the victory in every direction, and they attributed the success to the skill of the Prince of the World and the valour of his servants.

Continuation of the reign of 'Adalí.

When intelligence of what had occurred to Humáyún reached Chunár, 'Ádil Sháh deliberated with his courtiers, and determined that, as the Mughal army had lost their king, they must be disheartened and distressed; that if they were attacked by a large force, they would fly without fighting, and Dehlí would easily be taken; that Sikandar was in the Siwálik hills in a state of great want; and that there was no one sufficiently powerful to have designs against Dehlí. Hímún observed, "If the King will send Ahmad Khán Súr, Alláh-dád Khán Sarwání, and Daulat Sháh Kiráni, with a large army, and some powerful elephants, with me, by the fortune of the King, I will overthrow the Mughal troops, and gain possession of Dehlí. There was a soothsayer in 'Ádil Sháh's service, who could interpret the appearances of the heavens as easily as he could the signs on an astrological table.. He was extremely skilful in explaining everything that related to the heavenly bodies. The King said to him, "I am about to send an army against Dehlí. You must therefore pay great attention to the state of the heavens, and then tell fearlessly what you have learnt before the throne." The man spent three days in carefully contemplating the stars and aspects, and then went before the King, and said, "This I have learned from the revolutions of the heavens and the changes of day and night,—that after Humáyún, his son, who is seated on the Imperial throne, will be entrusted with the entire government of Hind, and the rulers of all countries will place their foreheads in the dust before his throne, and no one will vanquish him. The land of Hindústán, from Kandahár to the sea of the south, and from Kambháyit (Cambay) to the sea of Bengal, will own his sway." 'Ádil Sháh was much dispirited at this unfavourable speech. Hímún said, "O King, the case is thus: he is now a child ten years old, who has lost his father, and the Mughal army is not yet firmly established. It is easy to root up a small plant." 'Ádil Sháh derived confidence from his speech, and prepared a powerful force. He sent 7000 horsemen and twenty war-elephants with Hímún; who went, march by march, to Gwálior.

'Alí Kulí, who was at that place, came against him. The valour of the Afghán troops enabled them to overcome him in the first attack, and many Mughals fell. 'Alí Kulí fled, accompanied by a few followers, and all his property and valuables fell into the hands of the Afgháns. Hímún, rejoiced at this victory, sent an account of his success, together with the spoils captured from the Mughals, to 'A'dil Sháh, who was exceedingly pleased when he received it, and looked on this first piece of good fortune as a proof that he was always destined to be victorious. He gave a great festival, and sent Hímún a dress of honour, adorned with jewels and worked with gold thread, and an elephant, and made him promises of unlimited favour.

When Hímún learnt the bestowal of these favours, he advanced, and after he had passed A'gra, rumours reached Dehlí of the coming of 'A'dil Sháh's troops. The Chaghatáís assembled from different directions and consulted together. Tardí Muhammad Khán said, "It appears to me that it would be better to quit this place and join the Prince, that the never-failing good fortune of Jalálu-d dín may overshadow us." Abú-l Ma'álí and the other Chaghatáí nobles said, "This shows want of heart. The Afghán army has not yet arrived, and we have not been vanquished by their superior force. If we then quit Dehlí, what answer shall we be able to give to-morrow before the throne?" Tardí Beg would not, however, agree with them, say what they would, and separated himself and his army from them. The other nobles prepared for action.

Hímún encamped in the neighbourhood of Old Dehlí, and set forth from thence with his army ready for fighting in three divisions. The nobles of the tribe of Chaghatáí came forth from Dehlí with their valiant troops, and the blood-drinking elephants which had fallen into the prosperous hands of King Humáyún during the war with Sikandar Súr. Tardí Beg also came out with his men, and took up his post on the left. Severe fighting took place. At first the Mughals, careless of life, kept up a constant fire of arrows, and the hearts of many Afgháns were pierced through and through by their deadly points. They were on the point of flying from the field of battle, when Hímún, seeing that his affairs were getting desperate in that quarter, directed Alláh-dád Khán to go to their assistance from the left. Alláh-dád Khán, who was so brave a man that he had never turned his back to the enemy in any battle, attacked the Mughals, and for a short time kept them in check; but they again fell on him both from the left and right, wounded Alláh-dád Khán with their piercing arrows, and scattered his troops as the wind does the clouds. Tardí Beg did not leave his position to assist either party.[1]

When Hímún saw that the Mughals were in good spirits, and the Afgháns disheartened, he advanced with his own division of 3000 cavalry, made an onslaught on the Mughals, and routed them. They were unable to rally, and as they were utterly defeated, they took to flight. Hímún pursued them, and slaughtered many. The Afgháns did not treat Abú-l Ma'áli with great severity, because he had a secret understanding with them. So much plunder of the Mughal army fell into Hímún's hands, that it was impossible to take an account of it—160 elephants, and 1000 horses of Arab breed, and an immense quantity of property and valuables;—Hímún collected all, and kept them himself: and from obtaining possession of so many things appertaining to royalty, he began to entertain ambitious ideas, and say, "'Ádil Sháh is helpless. Although he possessed a valiant army, he could do nothing when Ibráhím and Sikandar rebelled. Now all his elephants and soldiers are with me." Looking on things in this light, he distributed all the spoil, with the exception of the elephants, among the Afgháns who accompanied him, and gained them over to his own side. With their concurrence, he entered Dehlí, raised the Imperial canopy over him, and ordered coin to be struck in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Dehlí territory and the neighbouring *parganas* under his control; and in order to console the King, he sent an account of the victory in these words: "Your slave, by the royal fortune, has routed the Mughal army, which was firm as an iron wall; but I hear that Humáyún's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing against Dehlí. For this reason I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Dehlí." 'Ádil Sháh was comforted by these deceitful assertions.

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[1] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS., p. 374) says he fled with the speed of the wind from Dehlí to Sirhind, where, at the instigation of Bairam Khán, he was put to death. Some authorities, as Firishta, represent that he gave battle at Dehli, and did not fly till he was defeated. Firishta says that his death was fully justified by the condition of the Mughal chiefs, who were prepared to act like the Afghán chieftains of Sher Sháh, "each considering himself equal to a Kaikobád and Kaikáús." His death, nevertheless, was very discreditable to Bairam Khán, who took advantage of Akbar's absence on a hawking party to execute him, without even the ceremony of taking the King's orders respecting this old and familiar companion of Bábar and Humáyún.

When the nobles of the tribe of Chaghatái were defeated, and the royal troops retired disheartened from Dehlí, news of the defeat of the chiefs, and of the skill and bravery of the infidel, reached the high-fortuned and exalted prince. He marched without halting, with Bairam Khán, and the remainder of the nobles who accompanied him during that expedition, to Sirhind, where he showed great anger against the chiefs. Tardí Beg was punished. The treasury was opened, and gold distributed, and many people were enlisted. They then marched towards Dehlí. When they arrived at Thánesar, a census was taken of the army, which was found to consist of 26,000 horsemen. Sháh Badágh Khán was sent on ahead with 4000, and directed to keep always one march in front of His Majesty. A halt of some days' duration was made at Thánesar. One day, during the time when accounts of Hímún's vigorous measures were daily arriving, Bairam Khán took the Prince into the presence of the Kutbu-l Aktáb Saiyid Jalál Thánesarí, and procured him the honour of kissing the feet of that most holy individual. When they were about to depart, they begged him to give them the assistance of his prayers. They said, "This accursed infidel is coming with an army numerous as ants and locusts; it is proper that your holiness should protect the cause of Islám." The Saiyid reflected for a short time, and then said to them, "Have you not heard what little boys at play say?" He then dismissed them. On the morrow they marched to a distance of seven *kos* from Karnál, where they encamped. Hímún, who had taken possession of the Dehlí throne, being informed of the coming of the Mughal forces, went out with regal pomp from Dehlí, with the intention of fighting them. It is related, that when Hímún was proceeding to Dehlí against the nobles of King Humáyún, he encamped near Old Dehlí. The evening preceding the day on which he expected a battle, he went to the sanctified mausoleum of the Kutbu-l Aktáb, His Highness Kutbu-l Hakk, the pole-star of religion and piety, and placing the head of entreaty on the august threshold, vowed that if he were destined to conquer Dehlí,—if the throne of Dehlí were granted him, and the Mughal troops put to flight,—he would become a Musulmán on his return to Dehlí, and diffuse the religion of Muhammad. The Almighty gave him victory. But he perjured himself, and did not become a Musulmán, or forsake his heathen prejudices; nay, he even persecuted the Musulmáns. But at last he saw what he did see.

When he was going to fight on the field of Pánípat, the night before the battle, he beheld, in a dream, a torrent come down and carry away the elephant on which he was mounted. When he was nearly drowned, a Mughal came, cast a chain round his neck, and drew him out. On awaking, he sent for the interpreters of dreams, related his to them, and asked them to explain it. The interpreters, after thinking over the business, looked at one another, and Hímún inferred that there was something unpleasant in the explanation. He therefore said, "Banish fear from your minds, tell what you have discovered." The interpreters said, "The torrent which you saw is the Mughal army, which comes with such force that it carries away you and the horse on which you are mounted, and the chain signifies the blood which will flow from your body when you are wounded, and cover you entirely." Hímún became fearful, and said, "The very reverse of this dream will happen."

On the morrow, when he mounted to proceed to battle, heavy rain fell, and the best elephant of that infidel, which was of gigantic size, was struck in two by lightning.[1] On account of this, Hímún became very thoughtful, and aware that the good fortune of the Mughals was in the ascendant, and that the victory was not for him, he was much terrified at the explanation of his dream, and set forth unwillingly to the fight. His Highness Akbar Mírzá had before this reached Pánípat. Hímún had encamped two *kos* west of that city. He had with him a force of 40,000 calvary, while the Mughal army did not exceed 20,000 horse and foot.[2] The soldiers of both sides had frequent trials of strength during the space of a week. Three days before the battle Bairam Khán gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-tent, adorned with embroidered satin, like the flower-beds of a garden in the early spring, or Paradise itself. He spread carpets of various colours, and on them he placed a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mírzá to sit on it; after which, the *darbár* was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatái tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and regal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Bairam Khán said, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign. This infidel has routed the whole royal army, and is now making preparations against us. If you do your best in this business, with one heart and soul, Hindústán is yours. I place my trust in God. If we fail in this, you, whose homes are at a distance of 500 *kos*, will not be able to find an asylum."

All the nobles placed their heads at the foot of the throne, and said, "If it please the Most High, we will not be found wanting in the performance of our duty as long so we have breath in our bodies." After this they said to Ahmad Beg, the madman, who was unequalled throughout the world in foretelling the future by what he saw in the blade-bone of a sheep, "Tell us by means of your art who will gain the victory." After feasting and eating he tried his art, and then, being filled with joy and gladness, said, "The victory is on our side, but one chief of rank will obtain martyrdom during the fight."

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[1] We have seen (Vol. IV., p. 487) that a similar event is said to have preceded the battle of Ambála between the Níázís and the Imperialists.

[2] The author has just before stated that the cavalry alone mustered 26,000 strong.

At length, after two or three days, Hímún, having made ready for action, came out into the plain, and seated himself in a *howda* on an elephant, in order that he might be able to overlook and superintend his troops. He also caused the golden standards to be displayed. Bairam Khán also drew up the people of Chaghatáí to the right and left in battle array. Sháh Badágh Khán and Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí, with 6000, passed to the left of Pánípat, and came to the rear of the armies. Bairam Khán placed Akbar Mírzá's own private tent in an elevated position, and left 3000 horse to guard him. He then placed his reliance in Him in whose hands all human affairs are, and on whom victory depends, and turned his attention to the battle.

Hímún was excessively arrogant on account of his troops and elephants. He advanced, fought, and routed the Mughals, whose heads lay in heaps, and whose blood flowed in streams. He thus at first vanquished the Mughal army; but as the brilliancy of the star of Prince Akbar's fortune was not destined to be diminished, it chanced that, by the decree of the Almighty, an arrow struck Hímún in the forehead. He told his elephant driver to take the elephant out of the field of battle. When the Afgháns saw that the animal was retreating, they believed that Hímún was flying; but on approaching him they saw how matters stood, and as no benefit is ever derived from disloyalty he sustained a complete defeat. Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí, however, one of the chief nobles, obtained martyrdom on that day.

When Sháh Kulí Beg was told of what had occurred, he came up to the elephant, and brought it into the presence of Bairam Khán. Bairam Khán, after prostrating himself, and returning thanks, caused Hímún to descend from the elephant, after which he bound his hands, and took him before the young and fortunate Prince, and said, "As this is our first success, let Your Highness's own august hand smite this infidel with the sword." The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body (Nov. 5, A.D. 1556).[1]

(Muhammad Sháh 'Ádil was slain in the year 964 A.H.,[2] in an action with Khizr Khán, the son of Muhammad Khán Gauria. His body, which was not yet quite dead, was, at his conqueror's command, fastened to the foot of an elephant, and dragged about. His miserable reign lasted about three years.)

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[1] Here Ahmad Yadgár concludes his history, and, with characteristic negligence, omits to mention a word about the fate of 'Adalí, upon whose reign he has just been engaged. The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* and many other histories say the young Prince declined to commit this wanton act of brutality, and his subsequent actions render this highly probable. Firishta says, that at Bairam Khán's importunity, he merely touched the head of the captive with the sword, by which he became entitled to the appellation of "*Ghází.*"

[2] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 377) says 968 H.

XXXV.

MAKHZAN-I AFGHÁNÍ

AND

TÁRÍKH-I KHÁN-JAHÁN LODÍ,

OF

NI'AMATU-LLA.

[THE *Makhzan-i Afghání* and the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* are frequently mentioned and referred to as separate works, but they are essentially one and the same. The *Táríkh* contains, in addition, a memoir of Khán-Jahán Lodí,[1] from which the book takes it name, and it also gives a meagre history of the life of Jahángír; but in other respects it may be considered as only a revised version of the *Makhzan*. It is fuller than the latter in some parts, especially in the lives of the saints, but still the notes in the following Extracts will show that, although it is generally better, it is occasionally inferior to the *Makhzan*.

The author of the work was Ni'amatu-lla, who held the office of *wáki'-nawís* or historiographer at the Court of Jahángír; and he tells us that his father, Khwája Habíbu-lla, of Hirát, passed thirty-five years in the service of Akbar. But Ni'amatu-lla, though he had the chief hand in the work, was assisted or perhaps even directed by Haibat Khán, of Sámána. Ni'amatu-lla, after stating in the preface to the *Makhzan*, that he undertook the work in the year 1018, "at the command of Nawáb

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[1] The Nawáb Khán-Jahán Lodí, one of the most illustrious generals of Jahángír. He rebelled in the reign of Sháh Jahán, and was slain by the Imperial troops, A.D. 1631.—See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 537, and Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, p. 502.

Khán-Jahán Lodí," goes on to say that, "supported by the amiable kindness of Haibat Khán bin Salím Khán of Sámána, one of Khán-Jahán's attendants, who collected and arranged the scattered and confused genealogy of the Afgháns," he wrote the "history in accordance with the labours and researches of the said Haibat Khán." At the end of the MS. of the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí*, Ni'amatu-lla informs us that he finished the work at the city of Burhánpúr, and a few lines later it is stated that "there remain some words to be added on the genealogy of the most humble and most abject of slaves, Haibat Khán, who is occupied in writing and verifying this work." The pedigree and history of his family are then related at some length. The terms of humility accompanying the name indicate that they were written by Haibat Khán himself. The authorship of the work is thus distinctly asserted both by Ni'amatu-lla and Haibat Khán; and strange to say, there has appeared to be yet another claimant. At the end of the second or Historical part of the *Makhzan*, there is found in the various MSS. the following passage, which the Editor of this work translates afresh, as Dorn's version is not satisfactory: "The original author of this *Táríkh-i Sher Sháhí* is 'Abbás Sarwání.[1] But as this work is deficient in some particulars, such as the affairs of Báz Bahádur, the memoirs of the Kiránís and Lohánís, and in some other matters, the history was incomplete. So in these days the humble servant Ibráhím Batní has made extracts from the *Táríkh-i Nizámí*, which also contains the history of Sher Sháh and Islám Sháh, and he has selected sundry matters from the *Makhzan-i Afghání*, written by Ni'amatu-lla, and having introduced them into this history, has made it complete." These words are evidently applicable to some amended version of the *Táríkh-i Sher Sháhí*, not, as Dorn supposed, to the *Makhzan-i Afghání*; for the most bare-faced plagiarist and book-maker would hardly assert that he had improved and completed a work by adding to it selections from its own pages. It is curious to find such an entry in all the known MSS. of the *Makhzan;* for the only way of accounting for it is by supposing that it was inserted by mistake in the *Makhzan*, instead of the work for which it was intended; and if this be so, all the known MSS. of the work must have been derived from the copy in which the false entry was made.

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[1] Dorn's rendering is, "The original of this history is the *Táríkh-i Sher Sháhí*, of 'Abbás Sarwání;" but the Persian words are

مصنف اصل اين تاريخ شير شاهي عباس سرواني است

and the first words, *musannif-i asl*, are commonly used for "an original author."

The work begins with Adam, and professes to trace the origin of the Afghâns; but says Sir H. Elliot, "Nothing can be more meagre than the whole of the introductory book about the settlement of the Afghâns in Ghor. It is nothing but a *rifacciamento* of the childish Muhammadan stories of the Creation and of the prophets, especially Israel and Saul, all of which, as well as the early Muhammadan history, is taken from the commonest sources, without a single independent statement to encourage the least notion of correctness, research, novelty or probability. The *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodi* is nearly verbatim the same, and offers no differences of the least consequence. As a history of the early days of the Afghâns, it is utterly untrustworthy, and should by no means be considered as the basis of the annals of a nation of which we remain as ignorant as if the work had never been written." The following Extracts are taken from the second or Historical part of the work. The third part contains memoirs of sixty-eight Afghân saints.

The second book is valuable as the work of one who lived near the times of which he writes, and had a special interest in the subject. The work was finished in the year 1021 H. (1612 A.D.). Dorn observes, "Ni'amatu-lla was contemporary with Firishta, and commenced the history of the Afghâns in the same year when Firishta finished his work; but he is nowhere mentioned. The identity of the sources they used in compiling their respective works is evident, from the extreme, often verbal coincidence of the style and thread of the history of the reigns of the Lodí race and the family of Sher Sháh.

The following is Sir H. Elliot's analysis of the MS:—"In the history of Sher Sháh the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí* is of about the same length as the *Makhzan-i Afghání.* The only additions are two long eulogies of Khawás Khán and Hájí Khán, and some of the regulations of Sher Sháh, which are added at the end of the reign. It follows the same order as the *Makhzan,* but varies from it considerably, and is altogether inferior. In this reign he quotes the *Táríkh-i Sher Sháhí, Táríkh-i Nizámí, Ma'dan-i Akbar,* and *Akbar-náma,* and appears to be in doubt as to which should be followed, for he is contradictory in some parts. The history of Islám Sháh follows, or exactly resembles, *Dáúdí,* and is not in the least like the *Makhzan.* The reign of 'Adalí is identically the same as the *Makhzan;* so are the notices of Shujáwal, Báz Bahádur, and Táj and 'Imád Kirání. On the subsequent periods of Afghán dominion in the East the history is brought lower down, and gives an account of Dáúd of Bengal, and a full history of the proceedings to the year 1021. The account of the saints does not occupy quite the same position. It is pretty nearly verbatim the same; but some lives differ, as Khwája Yahya Kábú, which is longer. While some of the *Makhzan* has been omitted, other matter equally absurd and childish has been introduced. Almost all the additions given by Dorn, from Dr. Lees' copy, in his notes, are to be found in my copy, and show that the two are identical. Both contain the life of Jahángír.

"The *Makhzan-i Afghání* has been well and faithfully translated by Dorn; and in my translations I have almost copied verbatim from him."

The author mentions in his Preface the following authors who "have written books lately on the history of Sultán Bahlol Lodí," viz. Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, in the *Táríkh-i Nizámí;* Shaikh 'Abbás Sarwání, in the *Táríkh-i Sher Sháhí;* Mauláná Mushtákí, in his *Táríkh* (called the *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí*); Mauláná Mahmúd bin Ibráhím Kálwání, in the history of Sultán Ibráhím, and named *Ibráhím Sháhí.*

The Extracts relating to the reign of Sultán Bahlol were translated by "Ensign" Charles F. Mackenzie; the others are from the pen of Sir H. M. Elliot himself.

These works, relating to the Afghán dynasties, come a little out of their chronological order; but it was not desirable to postpone them to the reign of Akbar for the mere sake of maintaining the chronological sequence of the authors.]

EXTRACTS.

The reign of Sultán Bahlol.

It is narrated by the author of the *Táríkh-i Ibráhím Sháhi*, and by the historian Nizámí, that Malik Bahlol Lodí was the nephew of Sultán Sháh Lodí, who bore the title of Islám Khán during the time of Sultán Mubárak Sháh and Saiyid Khizr Khán, and was one of the grandees of that period. He held the *pargana* of Sirhind in *jágír*, and governed the neighbouring districts. [Malik Bahlol, son of Malik Kálá, was his full nephew, and] when he perceived that his nephew possessed discernment and good sense, he treated him as his son, and constituted him his successor [and caused his own turban to be bound on his nephew's head.][1] After the decease of Islám Khán, Bahlol became governor of Sirhind, and established his authority firmly. Kutb Khán, the son of Islám Khán, declining to acknowledge the authority of Bahlol, went to Sultán Muhammad, who was then King of Dehlí, and complained against Malik Bahlol. In consequence of his representations, Hisám Khán, who was called Hájí Shudaní, one of the dependents of the Saiyid dynasty of Dehlí, who had attained the rank of a noble, was despatched by Sultán Muhammad with a numerous army against Malik Bahlol.[2] Both parties met near the village of Karra, in the *pargana* of Khizrábád, and a fierce battle took place. Hisám

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[1] [These sentences are supplied from the MSS. of the *Makhzan-i Afghání*.]

[2] [The MSS. of the *Makhzan-i Afghání* read, "These complaints raised the anger of Sultán Muhammad, and accordingly he sent Hájí Shudaní, whom he had exalted by the title of Hisám Khán, along with several other *amírs*, to Sirhind against Malik Bahlol."]

Khán, being defeated, retreated to Dehlí, whilst Malik Bahlol's power and authority were greatly increased.

It is related, that during the time he was with his uncle Islám Khán, he went once to Sámána for the purpose of transacting some urgent and important business, taking with him two of his intimate friends, and hearing that there was a holy man named Saiyid ibn Májzub in that place, who made predictions (*sáhib i lafz búd*),[1] Malik Bahlol went to see that *darwesh*, accompanied by his two friends, and, after having treated him with every courtesy, sat down. That person, who was abstracted from worldly thoughts, asked, "if any one of them was able to buy the kingdom of Dehlí from him for 2000 *tankas*." Malik Bahlol had 1300 *tankas* in his purse, which he took out and placed before the saint, and said, "This is all I possess."[2] That worthy person consented to accept the sum so proffered, and said, "May the empire of Dehlí be fortunate to you!" When his two associates began to ridicule his superstition, the Malik said, "One of two things must happen: if the event be successful, I shall have made a good bargain; if not, in the day of judgment there are rewards for good deeds done to *darweshes*." It is said in certain histories that Malik Bahlol traded;[3] but the truth or falsehood of this has never been clearly ascertained. It is known that his grandfather and father were merchants, and were in the habit of visiting Hind.[4]

Malik Bahlol, after the death of Islám Khán, gained possession of the territories of Sirhind [and the Panjáb][5] by the assistance of his other uncle Malik Fíroz, the brother of Islám Khán, aided by the whole of his kindred, and strengthened himself and established his authority. The speech which Shaikh ibn Majzúb had made to him in his early youth caused him to aspire to the throne, and he was desirous of bringing the bird of empire into his net. After vanquishing Hisám Khán, Malik Bahlol wrote a letter to Sultán Muhammad, complaining of the mal-administration and depravity of Hisám Khán, and lauding his own candour and sincerity. He stated also in it that he would obey and serve His Majesty, if the *wizárat* were taken away from Hájí Hisám Khán,[1] and given to Hamíd Khan. Sultán Muhammad, who was totally inexperienced, believing what Malik Bahlol said to be true, put his guiltless and faithful servant Hájí Hisám Khán to death on the following day, and raised Hamíd Khán to the rank of chief minister. Malik Bahlol and the whole of the Lodís, when they heard this news, came forward without hesitation, and having paid their respects to the Sultán, were confirmed in the possession of their *jágírs*.

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[1] [This sentence is from the MSS. of the *Makhzan*.]

[2] [This agrees with the MS. of the East India Library, but Dorn, and all the MSS. of the *Makhzan* say that he gave the whole 2000.]

[3] This is very plainly asserted in the *Tárikh-i Dáúdí*. Indeed, we find that his subsequent fortunes were in a great measure dependent on his success in controlling a turbulent *pargana*, which Saiyid Muhammad, King of Dehlí, had assigned to him, in payment of his bill for horses.

[4] [The MSS. of the *Makhzan-i Afghání* differ slightly. "It is said that Malik Bahlol traded, but this has not been proved." His ancestors were engaged in trade—horse-dealing, according to one MS.]

[5] [*Makhzan-i Afghání*.]

After this reconciliation, Malik Bahlol made war, in the name of Sultán Muhammad, against Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí of Malwa, [who was ruling over Hisár Fírozah, Hánsí, and Nágor,][2] and overcame him. Upon which the Sultán ennobled him by giving him the title of Khán-khánán. Thus the Lodís became gradually more powerful, and possessed themselves by force, without King Muhammad's consent, of Lahore, Dípálpúr, Sannám, Hisár Fírozah, and various other *parganas*, and paid no attention to what Sultán Muhammad wrote to them in remonstrance. They raised the standards of rebellion, collected a force, and went against Sultán Muhammad who was in Dehlí, and besieged that place; but failing in their attempt, they returned to Sirhind, where Malik Bahlol assumed the title of Sultán, but abstained from having the *khutba* read and coinage struck in his name, until Dehlí should fall into his hands.

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[1] [All the MSS. agree in stating that he required the death of Hisám Khán.]

[2] [This sentence is given by Dorn, and is in three MSS. of the *Makhzan;* but it is not in the East India Library MS., and it seems to be wanting in the MS. from which this translation was made.]

About this time Sultán Muhammad died, and the nobles and chief men of the State placed his son, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, on the throne. The whole of Hind was divided into provinces governed by petty rulers (*mulúk-i tawá'if*); but the Lodís predominated. Ahmad Khán Mewáttí possessed the country from Mahraulí to Ladhú Sarái, near the city of Dehlí. The Lodís held the country of Sirhind, Lahore, Sámána, Sannám, and Hisár, as far as Pánípat.[1] Daryá Khán Lodí governed the territory of Sambhal, up to the ferry of Khwája Khizr, which adjoins Dehlí.[2] 'Ísá Khán Turk-bacha held Kol and Jalálí. Kutb Khán, the son of Hasan Khán the Afghán, was governor of Rápri.[3] And Rái Partáb held the towns of Bhúigánw, Pattiálí, and Kampil. Bayána was in the hands of Dáúd Khán Auhadí; and Sultán 'Aláu-d dín ruled only in the city of Dehlí, and a few of the neighbouring villages.[4] There were also kings in Gujarát, the Dekhin, Málwá, Jaunpúr, [Mándú],[5] and Bengál.[6]

Sultán Bahlol, collecting an army for the second time, marched from Sirhind to Dehlí; but as he could not succeed in capturing the fort of Dehlí, he again returned to Sirhind. At this time, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín consulted Kutb Khán Lodí and Rái Partáb, on the means of strengthening himself, to which they replied, "If the Sultán will degrade Hamíd Khán from the rank of *wazír*, and imprison him, we will wrest some *parganas* from the hands of the nobles, and make them over to the exchequer. Accordingly, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín ordered Hamíd Khán to be confined, and then marched from Dehlí to Burhánábád, and encamped near Amroha. Kutb Khán, 'Ísá Khán, and Partáb came there to pay their respects, and promised to make over forty *parganas* to the Sultán, on condition that he would put Hamíd Khán to death. Partáb incited the Sultán to slay Hamíd Khán, because the Khán's father in former days had plundered his estate and seized his wife. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, who was unfit to govern a kingdom, gave directions, without thought or reflection, for the execution of Hamíd Khán, whose brothers, learning these intentions, managed to liberate him from confinement, and then fled to Dehlí. Malik Muhammad Jamál, in whose custody he had been, pursued Hamíd Khán to his house and attacked him; but in the tumult he was killed by a spear, and many people joined the party of Hamíd Khán. The *wazír* removed the wives, sons, and daughters of the Sultán, exposed and bare-headed, out of the fort of Dehlí, and then took possession of the treasures and regalia. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín's irresolution hindered him from doing anything, and after putting off his revenge from day to day, he remained in Badáún on account of the rainy season. Hamíd Khán resolved to avail himself of the opportunity, and to establish another sovereign in the room of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín; but as Sultán Mahmúd, King of Jaunpúr, was connected with Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, and Sultán Mahmúd, King of Mándú, was too distant to admit of his holding communication with him, he did not think proper to make any determined move. Whilst he was meditating on his future schemes, Bahlol, having received intelligence of what was in contemplation, came with his entire army from Sirhind to Dehlí. Hamíd Khán did not quit his post, as he considered himself sufficiently strong to prevent Sultán Bahlol from entering the city.[1] After entering into a convention, Sultán Bahlol gained permission to enter the city, and he, in order to meet the necessities of the times, treated Hamíd Khán with all possible politeness and courtesy, and went daily to visit him, at the same time always keeping near his own person many Afghâns who had joined him from Roh. His determination was to make himself king, and turn Hamíd Khán out.

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[1] [This agrees with the East India Library MS., but the others say Pánípat, Lahore, Hánsí, Hisár, Nágor, and as far as the confines of Multán.]

[2] Ni'amatu-lla in the *Makhzan* mentions the *pargana* of Loní as his western boundary.

[3] [The *Makhzan* adds, "Chandáwar and Etáwa."]

[4] [The *Makhzan* adds, "'Aláu-d dín possessed only Dehlí, Pálam, and two or three other *parganas*."] The *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* records a current distich as expressive of the contempt with which the circumscribed power of the Imperial government was viewed at that time.

پادشاهي شاه عالم از دهلي تا پالم

The empire of the King of the Earth extends from Dehlí to Pálam.

[5] [*Makhzan.*]

[6] The *Makhzan* adds, that Gwálior, Dhúlpúr, and Bhadáwar had each their own Rájás (MS., p. 75).

One day Hamíd Khán gave a grand entertainment, and invited many nobles as his guests. Sultán Bahlol, who was one of the party, had instructed his Afghâns to behave in a foolish and indecorous mannner, during Hamíd Khán's feast, so that he might look on them as a set of idiots, and ceasing to regard them with any apprehension, might pay no further attention to them. When the Afghâns went into Hamíd Khán's presence, they acted in an unusual and strange manner. Some fastened their shoes to their girdles, some placed their shoes in the recess above Hamíd Khán's head. Hamíd Khán inquired what this meant. They answered, "We are taking precautions against thieves." After a short time the Afghâns said to Hamíd Khán, "Your carpet is wonderfully coloured; if you give us each a blanket from it, we will send it as a rarity to our native land of Roh, to make caps for our children, that the inhabitants of the world may know that we are in the service of Hamíd Khán, and are treated with much dignity, honour, and respect." Hamíd Khán smiled, and said in reply, "I will make you presents of the most costly articles for rarities." And as they were bringing round trays containing perfumes, the Afghâns licked the scent bottles, and ate the flowers. They opened the leaves which covered the *pán*. First they ate the lime, and when this had heated their mouths, they chewed the *pán* afterwards, and in other respects conducted themselves in an extraordinary manner. Hamíd Khán asked Malik Bahlol, "Why do they act thus?" He replied, "They are a set of clowns, and have associated but little with men; they only know how to eat and die." It became Bahlol's custom to bring some of these men whenever he went to see Hamíd Khán; but the greater portion of his attendants remained standing without. On one occasion, when Hamíd Khán was feasting Malik Bahlol, the Afgháns, in obedience to secret instructions received from Malik Bahlol, beat the door-keepers, and forced their way in, saying, "We are likewise servants of Hamíd Khán; why should we be prevented from coming to salute him?" When a tumult and disturbance had arisen, Hamíd Khán asked the reason of it. They, as they were entering, abused Malik Bahlol, and said to the minister, "We are just as much your servants as he is; he comes in, and why should not we?" When Hamíd Khán directed that they should be admitted, the Afgháns crowded in, and two of them placed themselves near every servant of Hamíd Khán. When the eating part of the entertainment was over, and many of Hamíd Khán's men had gone out, Kutb Khán Lodí drew forth a chain from his bosom, and laid it before Hamíd Khán, saying, "The best thing for you will be to retire from public life for a short time. As I have eaten your salt, I do not intend to put you to death." After this he caused Hamíd Khán to be seized, and gave him in charge to his officers.[1]

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[1] These circumstances are differently represented in the *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* [*antè* Vol. IV., p. 435].

Thus Malik Bahlol took possession of Dehlí, without hindrance or opposition; and on the 17th of the month Rabí'u-l awwal, A.H. 855[2] (19th April, 1451), at the prosperous moment and auspicious time which the astrologers learned in the stars, and experienced Bráhmans had indicated; he seated himself on the Imperial throne, and ordered the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck in his own name. He assumed the title of Sultán Bahlol; and did his best to conciliate the nobles and soldiery, and gain the goodwill of great and small, by his extreme liberality and generosity. He won the people over to his side, and when he had secured a firm hold on Dehlí, after some days, he wrote to Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, saying, "Since I was educated by your father, and consider myself as in fact your regent for this country, I will allow the royal power, which had left your hands, to remain as it was; and I will not prevent the *khutba* from being read in your name." Sultán 'Aláu-d dín wrote in reply, "As my father looked on you as his offspring, I likewise have looked on you as my elder brother, and have therefore made over the government to you, and contented myself with Badáún."[1] Sultán Bahlol, being successful and prosperous, ruled the empire with vigour. He wrested the *parganas* bordering on Dehlí from the people who had usurped them, and took them into his own possession. He also, in the first year of his reign, went to settle the province of Multán.

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[1] Ahmad Yádgár gives an account of this transaction in greater detail; but the particulars are scarcely worthy of notice.—MS. p. 7.

[2] So says Ni'amutu-lla and the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí;* but Ahmad Yádgár says 27th of Muharram. [Firishta makes it a year earlier, 854.]

Some of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín's nobles, who were dissatisfied with the government of the Lodís, wrote to Sultán Mahmúd of Jaunpúr, and summoned him to their assistance. Accordingly, in the year 855,[2] he advanced from Jaunpúr to Dehlí, which place he besieged. Khwája Báyazíd, the son of Sultán Bahlol, with other nobles, remained there to garrison the fort.[3] Sultán Bahlol,[4] on hearing this, left Dípálpúr and came and encamped in the village of Narela, fifteen *kos* distant from Dehlí. In spite of all his endeavours to make peace, Sultán Mahmúd's pride and arrogance prevented an accommodation. Sultán Mahmúd sent Fath Khán Hirwí, with 30,000 horsemen and 39 elephants, against Sultán Bahlol. These came into action in three divisions. The leading elephant of Fath Khán's army was disabled by Kutb Khán Lodí, who was an unrivalled archer, with a single shot. Daryá Khán Lodí, who had joined Sultán Mahmúd, was fighting in the same field. Kutb Khán called out to him with a loud voice, "Your mother and sisters are in the fort; it is not fit that you should do battle for the stranger, and lose sight of the reputation of your family." Daryá Khán said, "I will leave the field, provided you do not follow me." Kutb took an oath that he would not pursue him; and thus, on account of Daryá Khán's retreat, Fath Khán's troops were defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. Sultán Mahmúd, being thus foiled, and being unable to effect anything, retired to Jaunpúr.

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[1] [See Vol. IV., p. 86. 'Alau-d dín lived quietly at Badáún till his death in 883, A.D. 1478.]

[2] All other authorities say 856 H.

[3] The account of this siege of Dehlí is given in greater detail among the Extracts from Ahmad Yádgár (*suprà* page 2), whose account agrees with that of 'Abdu-lla in the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*.

[4] [This is in accordance with the MSS., but differs from Dorn, whose version makes Báyazíd come from Dípálpúr.]

Sultán Bahlol then settled himself firmly, and increased his dominions and authority. He took measures to gain entire possession of the country; and with this object in view, first proceeded into Mewát. Ahmad Khán Mewátti submitted; upon which the Sultán deprived him of seven *parganas,* but allowed him to retain the remainder. Ahmad appointed his uncle, Mubárak Khán, to be perpetually in attendance at Court. The Sultán proceeded from Mewát to Baran. Daryá Khán Lodí, governor of Sambhal, also came before His Majesty, to tender his allegiance and submission, and presented him with seven *parganas.* The Sultán went thence to Kol, and confirmed 'Ísá [illegible] in the possession of that place on the former terms. When [illegible] reached Burhánábád, Mubárak Khán, governor of Sakít, came to pay his respects; he was likewise confirmed in the possession of the districts which he held in *jágír.* Rái Partáb, chief of the *zamíndárs* in those parts, was also confirmed in possession of Bhúíngánw. From thence he went to the fort of Rápri.[1] Kutb Khán, the son of Husain, who commanded in Rápri, resisted, but his fort was speedily captured. Khán Jahán, after making a solemn promise of safe conduct to Kutb Khán, brought him into the King's presence, when he also was confirmed in his *jágírs*. From thence, Sultán Bahlol went to Etáwah, the governor of which likewise offered his homage.

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[1] ["To Rápri and Chandáwar."—*Makhzan.*]

At this period Mahmúd Sharkí, by the advice of Malika Jahán, who was the chief lady of his *harem*, and was related to Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, again assembled a force, and came against Sultán Bahlol, and encamped in the country about Etáwah. On the first day, both armies engaged in hostilities; on the second, Kutb Khán and Ráí Partáb made amicable arrangements, and agreed that the whole of the territory which had belonged to Mubárak Sháh, King of Dehlí, should be left in the hands of Sultán Bahlol, and that which Sultán Ibráhím, King of Jaunpúr, had held, should be left in the possession of Sultán Mahmúd; also that seven elephants which had fallen into the hands of Sultán Bahlol in the fight with Fath Khán should be given back to Sultán Mahmúd. Shamsábád was to be considered the property of Sultán Bahlol, and was to be made over to him by Júná Khán, the agent of Sultán Mahmúd. After this truce, Sultán Mahmúd returned to Jaunpúr, and Sultán Bahlol wrote a *farmán* at the appointed time to Júná Khán, directing him to leave Shamsábád, and give it into the hands of Ráí Karan. As Júná Khán resisted the execution of the order, Sultán Bahlol went in person to Shamsábád, took the fort and town from Júná Khán and gave them to Ráí Karan.

Sultán Mahmúd, when informed of these transactions, again went against Sultán Bahlol, in violation of his solemn en[illegible]ments. They met face to face at Shamsábád, and Daryá Khán Lodí and Kutb Khán[1] made a night attack on the army of Sultán Mahmúd. By chance, Kutb Khán's horse stumbled, and he was thrown to the ground and taken prisoner. Sultán Mahmúd confined him and sent him to Jaunpúr, where he remained captive for seven years. Sultán Bahlol, leaving Prince Jalál Khán, Sikandar Khán, and 'Imádu-l Mulk in front of Sultán Mahmúd's forces, for the purpose of rendering assistance to Rái Karan, who was in the fort of Shamsábád, went in person against Sultán Mahmúd. At this time the Sultán [Mahmúd] fell sick, and in two or three days the measure of his age was filled to the brim, and he ceased to exist. His mother, Bíbí Rájí, who was a very wise, clever and experienced woman, with the assistance of the nobles, seated Prince Bhíkhan Khán on the throne of the kingdom, and gave him the title of Muhammad Sháh. Certain of the chief nobles and grandees of the State interposed, and made peace between the two monarchs, under which it was agreed that the territories of Sultán Mahmúd should be ruled by Muhammad Sháh, and that those owned formerly by Sultán 'Aláu-d dín should be governed by Sultán Bahlol.

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[1] This was Kutb Khán Lodí, first cousin of Bahlol, and son of Islám Khán. The other Kutb Khán, frequently mentioned in this reign, was the son of Husain Khán Afghán, and governor of Rápri on the Jumná. Daryá Khán was also a first cousin of Bahlol.—*Tárikh-i Dáúdi*, MS. p. 24.

After this compact, Muhammad Sháh retraced his steps to Jaunpúr, and Sultán Bahlol went towards Dehlí. On his arrival near Dehlí, Shams Khátún, sister of Kutb Khán, and the chief lady of the Sultán's *harem*, sent to say, that as long as Kutb Khán remained the prisoner of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, it would be unlawful for the Sultán to take sleep or repose of any kind, [adding that she would kill herself].[1] This speech made such an impression on the Sultán, that he turned back from Dehlí, and set off again against Muhammad Sháh. When Muhammad heard this, he set out from Jaunpúr, with the view of meeting Sultán Bahlol; and on reaching Shamsábád, he took that district away from Rái Karan, Sultán Bahlol's governor, and reinstated Júná Khán. Although Rái Partáb had formerly been on the side of Sultán Bahlol, yet he now became alarmed on account of Muhammad Sháh's successes, and joined his party. Muhammad Sháh reached Sursení by uninterrupted marches. Sultán Bahlol encamped in the *pargana* of Rápri, which adjoined Sursení, and fighting took place for some days between the two armies.

Muhammad Sháh wrote a *farmán* to the *Kotwál* of Jaunpúr, ordering him to put his (the Sháh's) own brother, Hasan Khán, and Kutb Khán Lodí, who were both detained as prisoners, to death.[1] The *Kotwál* represented that Bíbí Rájí protected both of them, and that he had not sufficient authority to kill them. When Muhammad Sháh learnt the contents of the reply, he wrote in a perfidious, plausible and treacherous way to his mother, saying, "My brother, Hasan Khán, suffers greatly in prison; it is proper that you should come here and make peace between him and me; after which an estate shall be given to him." Bíbí Rájí set forth on receiving the letter; and when she was some stages on the road, one of Sháh Muhammad's courtiers put Prince Hasan Khán to death by order. This news reached Bíbí Rájí at Kanauj. After mourning for Hasan Khán in Kanauj, she declined to enter the presence of Muhammad Sháh. When Muhammad Sháh heard of his mother's return, he was wroth, and wrote to her, saying, "Why do you mourn on account of the execution of an individual? All the princes will meet with a like fate, and then you can mourn for them all at once!" The nobles and ministers were in continual dread of Muhammad Sháh, for he was of a very ferocious, bloodthirsty, and passionate disposition.

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[1] [*Makhzan.*]

During these transactions, Husain Khán, a younger brother of Muhammad Sháh, sent Sultán Sháh and Jalál Khán Ajodhaní to inform Muhammad Sháh that the troops of Sultán Bahlol intended to make a night attack; that 30,000 horsemen and thirty elephants had been detached for the purpose, and had taken a position on the banks of the Jharna.[2] Sultán Muhammad,[3] on receiving this news, sent a division of his troops to oppose them. Prince Husain Khán desired to take his brother Sháhzáda Jalál Khán with him, and sent a man to call him; but Sultán Sháh remonstrated against the delay, representing that Jalál Khán might come up afterwards. Upon this, they went off in the direction of the enemy. It so happened, that Sultán Bahlol's army was prepared for these movements; so that when Prince Jalál Khán, in obedience to the summons of Husain Khán, had left the army of Muhammad Sháh, and started for the Jharna, he found himself in the presence of the Sultán's troops, instead of Husain Khán's. Thereupon, Sultán Bahlol's men seized Jalál Khán, and brought him into the presence of their sovereign, who imprisoned him, determining to retain him as a hostage for the safety of Kutb Khán. [Husain Khán, when he heard of this capture of Jalál Khán, being in fear and dread of Muhammad Sháh, took to flight and went to Jaunpúr.][1] Muhammad Sháh was terror-stricken when he learnt the capture of one brother and the flight of another, fearing that the latter might go and do damage to his interests throughout the country; but being unable to offer any opposition, he went to Kanauj, and was pursued as far as the Ganges by Sultán Bahlol, who returned to Dehlí after plundering a small portion of the baggage [and capturing some elephants and horses].

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[1] In the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 25) they are called two sons of Sultán Sháh, by name Hasan Khán and Kutb Khán. The insertion of "Lodí" must be an error, though his father's name also was Sultán Sháh. These princes were evidently of the Jaunpúr family, and Sultán Sháh himself appears as one of the conspirators against Muhammad Sháh. [Still, Kutb Khán Lodí was a prisoner in Jaunpúr at this time.]

[2] The Afghán histories are not sufficiently explicit on the subject of these movements; but it appears from the Jaunpúr annals, that the conduct of the two brothers arose from disaffection to Muhammad Sháh.

[3] [The original translation and the MS. of the East India Library say, "Sultán Bahlol," but this clearly wrong. The MSS. of the *Makhzan* are correct. See also Dorn, p. 49.]

Sháhzáda Husain Khán, in the year 857, came, at Jaunpúr, into the presence of Bíbí Rájí, to pay his respects; and as she was greatly displeased with Muhammad Sháh, she, with the aid of the Sharkí nobles and grandees, raised him to the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpúr, with the title of Sultán Husain.[2] Malik Mubárak Gang, Malik 'Alí Gujarátí, and other chiefs were appointed to attack Muhammad Sháh, who had taken up a position at Rájgarh, on the river Ganges. When

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[1] *Makhzan.*

[2] This date is quite irreconcilable with the Jaunpúr history—according to which, even Mahmúd Sháh did not die till the year 862, and Muhammad Sháh's reign lasted for five months.

Sultán Husain's army approached, divers nobles who were dissatisfied with Muhammad Sháh forsook him, and joined the forces of Sultán Husain. Muhammad Sháh fled, accompanied by 100 of his body-guard, and arrived at a garden which was in that neighbourhood, where he was surrounded by the Sultán's soldiers. Muhammad Sháh, being a capital archer, took up his bow and arrows; but previous to this, Bíbí Rájí had persuaded the armourer of Muhammad to remove the points from the arrows which he had in his quiver, so he found, at the time of action, that all the arrows which he drew forth from his quiver were pointless. At last he threw down his bow, and took to his sword, with which he smote down several persons; but an arrow from the bow of destiny was sent by the hand of Malik Mubárak Gang, which struck Muhammad Sháh in the throat. The wound caused him to fall from his horse to the ground, when he attained martyrdom.

"Our mother, Nature, never bore a son whom she did not slay!
Beware, distrust the love of this murderer of her offspring!"

After these events, the Almighty established Sultán Husain firmly in the possession of the kingdom. He made peace with Sultán Bahlol, by which they were both bound to remain satisfied with their own possessions for four years. Rái Partáb was induced by Kutb Khán to side with Sultán Bahlol.[1] When Sultán Husain had made peace, and arrived near the *Hauz-i Hariya*, he sent for Kutb Khán [Lodí] from Jaunpúr, and after presenting him with a horse, a royal dress of honour, an elephant, girdles, daggers, and jewelled swords, he gave him leave to depart, and having thus treated him with all possible honour and respect, sent him to Sultán Bahlol. Sultán Bahlol, likewise, gratified Prince Jalál Khán by the kind and polite manner in which he behaved to him, and then sent him to Sultán Husain.

Some time after, Sultán [Bahlol] determined to go to Shamsábád; which place he again took from Júná Khán, and gave it to Ráí Karan. He also presented the kettle-drum and standard which he had wrested from Daryá Khán to Narsing Deo, the son of Ráí Partáb.[1] Daryá Khán took advantage of an opportunity, and, with the approval of Kutb Khán, slew Narsing Deo. Kutb Khán, Husain Khán, Mubáriz Khán, and Ráí Partáb, having entered into a conspiracy, went over to the Sharkí monarch.[2] Sultán Bahlol, finding himself too weak to resist them, went back to Dehlí; and after some time, started for Multán, with the intention of putting an end to the disturbances in the Panjáb. He left Kutb Khán Lodí and Khán Jahán in Dehlí, to act as his deputies during his absence; but whilst he was yet on the road,[3] news reached him that Sultán Husain, with a well-appointed army and war-elephants, was marching towards Dehlí. Sultán Bahlol turned back, and with all possible speed returned to Dehlí, and went out to meet the foe, with whom, after some time, he found himself face to face. Continual fighting took place between the two parties during the space of seven days, when at length, after much slaughter, by the efforts of the chiefs, a peace was brought about; and it was agreed that both kings should remain within the boundaries of their respective territories for three years.

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[1] [This sentence is found only in the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán Lodí.*]

After this truce, Sultán Bahlol abode in Dehlí for three years, and Sultán Husain returned to Jaunpúr, and attended to the affairs of his kingdom and army. During this period, Sultán Bahlol proceeded against Ahmad Khán Mewáttí, who had before been an ally of Sultán Husain. When he arrived in Mewát, Ahmad Khán was induced by the representations of the Khán-khánán, one of the chief nobles of Sultán Bahlol, to come in and pay his respects.

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[1] Firishta represents this in quite a different light:—"Partáb Ráí had formerly taken a standard and pair of drums from Daryá Khán Lodí in action; and that chief, in order to avenge himself, assassinated Narsing Ráí, in spite of the opposition of Kutb Khán, the son of Husain Khán. Mubárak Khán, apprehensive of Daryá Khán's influence at Court, fled to Husain Sháh Sharkí."—*Briggs*, vol. i. p. 556.

[2] Ni'amatu-lla represents that this conspiracy arose in consequence of the assassination of Narsing Deo (MS., p. 87; Dorn, p. 51); but there seems no connexion. [No mention is made of "Kutb Khán" in any of the MSS. of the *Makhzan*.]

[3] ["Before he reached Lahore."—*Makhzan*.]

About this period Ahmad Khán, the son of Yúsuf Khán Jalwání, governor of Bayána, broke out into revolt against Sultán Bahlol; and having caused the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck in the fort of Bayána in the name of Sultán Husain, sent intelligence of this to Sultán Husain.[1] No dispute had occurred during the period of the three years' truce; but now the Sultán marched towards Dehlí with 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants. Sultán Bahlol came out of Dehlí, and drew up his forces before the enemy in the neighbourhood of Bhatwára. Khán Jahán interposed, and effected a reconciliation between the parties; after which Sultán Husain went to Etáwah, and remained there, whilst Sultán Bahlol returned to Dehlí.

After the lapse of some time, Sultán Husain broke his oath, and again advanced against Sultán Bahlol. Sultán Bahlol left Dehlí, and both sides skirmished during several days in the vicinity of the Sarái Lashkar; they, however, ended by making peace. About this time Sultán Husain's mother, Bíbí Rájí, departed this life in Etáwah. Kalyán Mal, the son of Rái Karan Sing, Rájá of Gwálior, and Kutb Khán Lodí, went from Chandawár to condole with Sultán Husain. Kutb Khán found that Sultán Husain was inimical to and disposed to injure Sultán Bahlol, so he flattered the Sultán by telling him that Bahlol was his subject, and unable to cope with him as a rival, and that he would take no rest until he had obtained possession of Dehlí for him. After thus deceiving Sultán Husain, Kutb Khán took leave of him, and presented himself to Sultán Bahlol, and said, "We have escaped from the hands of Sultán Husain by wiles and contrivances, and have discovered that he entertains a rooted hatred to you. It is necessary for you, therefore, to look to yourself. Be on the alert."

About this time, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín departed to the mercy of God in Badáún. Sultán Husain went there for the purpose of offering condolence, but he finished by wresting Badáún from 'Aláu-d dín's son, and in doing so injured his reputation. From thence he went to Sambhal, where he confined Mubárak Khán, the son of Tátár Khán, the governor of that place, and sent him to Sáran. He then proceeded in person against Dehlí, with a large army and 1000 elephants, and arrived at the ferry of Kanjh, on the river Jumna, in the month of Zí-l hijja, A.H. 893, and encamped there. Sultán Bahlol was, at this period, in the direction of Sirhind, but came to Dehlí when he heard the news. Both parties were employed in fighting for some time, and the eastern forces were generally victorious, owing to their superior strength and numbers. In the end, Kutb Khán sent a person to Sultán Husain with a message, saying, "I am the grateful servant of Bíbí Rájí; she treated me with the utmost kindness when I was a prisoner in Jaunpúr. I think that the most advisable course to pursue at present is to make peace, and return. Let the countries on the other side of the river Ganges be ruled by you, and those on this side by Sultán Bahlol." Thus did Kutb Khán's interposition put an end to this warfare.

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[1] [Dorn's version is here defective.]

Sultán Husain, relying on the truce which had been concluded, marched away, leaving his baggage behind. Sultán Bahlol took advantage of the opportunity, pursued Sultán Husain, and plundered his baggage. A portion of the valuables and treasures, which had been laden on horses and elephants, fell into the hands of Sultán Bahlol. Moreover, forty noblemen of Sultán Husain's army, who were grandees of his kingdom, including Katlagh Khán, the *wazír*, who was one of the most learned men of the age, Odhú, the *náib*, and others like them, were made captive. Sultán Bahlol put Katlagh Khán in chains, and gave him in charge to Kutb Khán. The defeated Sultán himself also fled; Malika Jahán, the chief wife of Sultán Husain, was taken prisoner. Sultán Bahlol appointed eunuchs to keep strict guard over the wife of the Sultán; and after some time she was sent, with the greatest honour and respect, to Sultán Husain. Sultán Bahlol seized several *parganas* which belonged to Sultán Husain, such as Kampil, Pattiálí, Sakít, Kol, and

Jalálí,[1] and appointed his own governors. He then went himself in pursuit, and when the pursuit had lasted some time, Sultán Husain faced about, and posted himself in the village of Rámpanjwáran, which is attached to Rápri.. At length, a truce was agreed upon, the conditions of which were that both the Sultáns should remain contented with their old boundaries. After the conclusion of peace, both returned to their respective countries.[2]

In the next year Sultán Husain, at the instigation of Malika Jahán, forgetful of his oath, again came to attack Sultán Bahlol, at the head of a large army. A desperate battle was fought, near the village of Sonhár, and Sultán Husain, being again routed, went to Rápri. Sultán Bahlol pitched his camp near the village of Dhúpámú. An immense amount of valuable property fell into the hands of the Lodís, the possession of which tended much to increase the power and authority of Malik Bahlol.

About this time intelligence arrived of the decease of Khán Jahán Lodí, and Sultán Bahlol granted to his son the title of Khán Jahán, and conferred on him the appointments held by his father. He then went to Rápri against Sultán Husain, and was victorious, after much fighting and slaughter. Sultán Husain, being defeated, fled across the river Jumna. Whilst passing that stream, several of his wives and children were drowned in the river of mortality; this caused Sultán Husain excessive pain and affliction. He, after suffering much trouble, and repentance, went off towards Gwálior, intending to proceed from thence to Jaunpúr. On his way to Gwálior, the Bhadauryas attacked his camp. When he arrived at that place, Rái Karan Sing, the Rájá of Gwálior, showed his allegiance, and received him with regal honours. He presented an offering to the Sultán, consisting of some *lacs* of *tankas*, various descriptions of tents, with some horses, elephants, and camels, and thus proved himself one of the well-wishers of the State. He also sent a body of his own troops to accompany the Sultán as far as Kálpí.

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[1] Ni'amatu-lla omits the names, but Firishta adds those of Shamsábád and Marhera, and mentions Jalesár in lieu of Jalálí.

[2] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* represents that actual possession was the basis of this hollow truce between these perfidious princes.

Whilst this was happening, Sultán Bahlol determined to proceed to Etáwah. Ibráhím Khán, the brother of Sultán Husain, and Haibat Khán, called *Gurg-andáz*, "the wolf-slayer," who had posted themselves in Etáwah, fought for three days, after which they begged for mercy, and surrendered that fortress. Sultán Bahlol appointed Ibráhím Khán Lohání to command in Etáwah, and assigned some *parganas* of Etáwah to Ráí Dádand. He then went with a numerous force against Sultán Husain; they met at the village of Rángánw, which belongs to Kálpí, and both parties were engaged for some time in preparation for battle. The river Jumna was between them. At this period Ráí Tilak Chand, the governor of the territory of Baksar,[1] came to pay his respects to Sultán Bahlol, and took his army across the river by a ford, against the troops of Sultán Husain, who, being too weak to resist, fled to the Panna[2] country, the Rájá of which place came out to meet him, and presented him with some *lacs* of *tankas*, and 100 horses and elephants, after which he sent his own soldiers with him as far as Jaunpúr.

Sultán Bahlol collected a body of men, with the intention of gaining possession of Jaunpúr, and when he drew near, Sultán Husain, being unable to resist, retired toward Bahráích, towards which place Sultán Bahlol likewise directed his steps, and they met on the banks of the Rahab.[3] After a contest, which ended as usual in the defeat of Sultán Husain, the whole of the regalía[4] fell into the hands of the Lodís. Sultán Bahlol, after the victory, made up his mind to go to Jaunpúr, which place he took possession of. Leaving Mubárak Khán to govern Jaunpúr, and Kutb Khán Lodí and Khán Jahán, with some other nobles, in the territory of Manjhaulí, he himself proceeded in the direction of Badáún. Sultán Husain availed himself of the opportunity thus offered, and returned to Jaunpúr, with a large army; upon which the nobles of Sultán Bahlol quitted Jaunpúr and went to Manjhaulí; but finding themselves unable to hold that place, they entered into an arrangement with Sultán Husain, and amused him under various artifices, devised by Kutb Khán, until such time as succour should arrive. Sultán Bahlol sent his own son, Bárbak Sháh, to aid them, and also followed in person. Sultán Husain, being unable to do anything, went to Bihár.

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[1] Firishta has Katehr (Rohilkhand).—Briggs, vol. i., p. 559. 'Abdulla says, governor of that place (Kálpí).—*Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, MS. p. 28.

[2] "Patna" is the most common reading, but I conceive that "Panna," in Bundelkhand, is meant.

[3] Firishta says the Kálí Nadí.—Briggs, vol. i., p. 559.

[4] Firishta adds that Bíbí Khunza, daughter of the late king, Saiyid 'Aláu-d dín, and chief lady of Husain Sháh's household, was taken captive and treated with respect. Ahmad Yádgár (MS. p. 10) represents her as instigating her husband Mahmúd to hostilities against Bahlol.

When Sultán Bahlol arrived in the town of Haldí, he heard the news of the death of Kutb Khán Lodí, the son of Islám Khán, the Sultán's uncle. After passing some days in the performance of the customary mourning, he went to Jaunpúr; and having established Bárbak Sháh on the throne there, returned himself to Kálpí, which place he gave to 'Azam Humáyún,[1] the son of Prince Khwája Báyazíd. He then proceeded to Dhúlpúr by the road of Chandawár; and the Rái of Dhúlpúr came forth to meet him, and presented him with some *mans* of gold, so that the Rái was treated as a well-wisher of the State. The Sultán marched thence and came to the *pargana* of Bárí. Ikbál Khán, the governor of Bárí, having paid his respects in a fitting and respectful manner, was appointed a servant of the State. He made an offering of some *mans* of gold to the Sultán, who confirmed him in the possession of Bárí.

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[1] "Bahlol, being now old, divided his dominions among his sons. Jaunpúr was conferred on Bárbak Khán; Karra and Mánikpúr on 'Álam Khán; Bahráich on his nephew Sháhzáda Muhammad Farmulí, known by the name of Kálá Pahár (the black rock); Lucknow and Kálpí on 'Azam Humáyún, whose father, Báyazíd Khán, was assassinated by one of his own servants; Badáún was allotted to Khán Jahán, a relation, and one of his oldest officers; and Dehlí with several districts in the Doáb were conferred on his son Prince Nizám Sháh, known afterwards by the name of Sikandar, whom he now declared his heir and successor."—Firishta, vol. i., p. 560. The nobles are represented by the same historian as considering the succession to be the right of 'Azam Humáyún.

From thence, proceeding towards Alláhápúr, a dependency of Rantambhor,[1] he overran that country, and spoiled its fields and gardens. After which he came to Dehlí, where he remained, and spent some time in ease and festivity, in performing deeds of justice and displaying liberality.[2]

At the close of the rainy season and the rising of the star Canopus, he went to Gwálior, the ruler of which place, Rájá Mán, came forth to show his obedience; and after presenting an offering of eighty *lacs* of *tankas*, he was confirmed in the possession of Gwálior.[3] From that place the Sultán marched to Etáwah, from the government of which place he dismissed Rái Sangat Sing, the son of Rái Dádand,[4] and then went back to Dehlí. On the road he fell sick, on account of the excessive heat, and near the village of Maláwí,[5] which is in the territory of Sakít, in the year A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488), he departed from this transitory and troublesome existence to the regions of eternity, in obedience to the summons of the Almighty.[6] He reigned during the space of thirty-eight years eight months and eight days; and one of the most learned men of the age has made this verse in his praise:—"In the year 894 departed from the earth the mighty monarch, the vanquisher of kingdoms, the world-conqueror Bahlol."[7]

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[1] The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* assigns 887 H. as the year of the invasion of Rantambhor.

[2] Among the Extracts from Ahmad Yádgár (*suprà*, p. 4), will be found passages relating to transactions with the Rái of Údípur and Ahmad Khán Bhattí. It is impossible to assign their proper dates.

[3] Ahmad Yádgár represents that Rájá Mán died during Bahlol's reign, and that his son consented to pay an annual *peshkash* of twelve elephants and 200,000 rupees. These border Rájás were the object of constant plunder to the Kings of Dehlí, Jaunpúr, and Málwá, as each in his turn obtained the temporary predominance. [The *Makhzan* puts it rather differently, and says "the Sultán postponed the conquest of Gwálior."]

[4] [Var. "Dandú," "Dád," "Dand."]

[5] ["Jalálí" in the MSS. of the *Makhzan*.]

[6] He was buried in Júd Bágh, near Dehlí.—*Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, MS. p. 29.

[7] A very favourable estimate of Bahlol's character will be found among the Extracts from the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí* (*suprà*, Vol. IV., p. 436). Firishta is equally panegyrical:—"Bahlol Lodí was esteemed a virtuous and a mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as companions than subjects. When he obtained the crown, he divided the public treasure among his friends, and

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The proceedings of Sultán Sikandar Lodí at Gwálior and Bayána.—Rebellion in Jaunpúr.—Retreat from Panna.—Conquest of Bihár.—(A.H. 897–901.)

Sultán Sikandar then pursued his march to Kálpí, of which he dispossessed 'Azam Humáyún, the son of Prince Khwája Báyazíd, and bestowed it upon Mahmúd Khán Lodí. After which he proceeded to Baksar Chhetra, whose governor, Tátár Khán, showed the most entire homage and allegiance to him, and was confirmed in the government of Chhetra. He then directed his progress to Gwálior; from whence he despatched Khwája Muhammad Farmulí with an honorary dress to Rájá Mán, who acknowledged his authority, and sent in return a nephew of his to attend upon the Sultán. His way now led him to Bayána, where Sultán Ashraf, a son of Ahmad Khán Jalwání, presented himself before him, professing his submission. He was, nevertheless, ordered to evacuate Bayána, and to take in exchange Jalesar, Mahrera, Chandawár, and Sakít. Ashraf, in conformity with this command, took 'Umar Khán Sarwání with him to Bayáná, under the pretence of delivering the keys over to him; but when within the walls, he foolishly drew the shield of rebellion over his face, closed the gates, and put the fort in a state of defence, and was imitated by Haibat Khán Jalwání, one of his vassals, in Ágra, which was a dependency of Bayána.

The Sultán had, in the meanwhile, pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna, whither he retired in order to avoid the

could be seldom prevailed on to ascend the throne, saying, 'That it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a display of royalty.' He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom ate at home. Though a man of no great literary acquirement himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He placed great reliance on the courage of his Mughal troops, on which account they met with such encouragement among his relations and courtiers, that it is estimated there were nearly 20,000 Mughals in the service of the government during his reign. He was a wise and brave prince, and personally well acquainted with Muhammadan law. He also studied the best institutes for maintaining order in his government, which he invariably adopted. He was prudent, and, above all things, deprecated hurrying matters of State; and, indeed, his conduct throughout life sufficiently evinced how much he practised this quality."

heat, and amuse himself with fishing. When the news of these occurrences arrived, he left some of his chiefs to lay siege to A'gra, and drew his army back to Bayána, which he closely invested. Sultán Ashraf, being hard pressed, offered to surrender, and thus Bayána was conquered in the year 897[1] (1492 A.D.). Sultán Sikandar entrusted the fort to Khán-khánán Farmulí, and himself returned to Dehlí. He had arrived at this place only twenty-four days, when intelligence was brought from Jaunpúr, that the *zamíndárs* of that province, headed by the Bachgotís, had collected together a force of nearly 100,000 men, horse and foot, and deposed Mubárak Khán, the governor of Jaunpúr, and even killed his brother Sher Khán; that Mubárak Khán himself had crossed the Ganges by the ferry of Júsí, but had fallen into Mullá Khán's hands; upon which Rái Bhíd, Rájá of Panna, had seized and carried him off a prisoner. Bárbak Sháh, from his inability to offer resistance, abandoned Jaunpúr, and retreated to Muhammad Khán Farmulí, who bore the title of Kálá Pahár ('black mountain'). The Sultán marched in 899 (1493–4) in that direction, and when he arrived at Dalamau, Bárbak Sháh and all his nobles presented themselves humbly before him, and were received with royal favour and kindness. Rái Bhíd, being apprehensive of the Sultán's displeasure, sent Mubárak Khán to the Sultán; upon which, the latter proceeded to Katehr, where the *zamíndárs* had concentrated themselves in large numbers, and offered a well-contested battle; but being finally defeated, dispersed themselves in all directions, and the army of Islám captured a great quantity of booty.

He now returned victorious to Jaunpúr, and having for the second time settled the administration of the place upon Bárbak Sháh, he again set out on his return to Dehlí. He enjoyed himself in field sports during one month in the neighbourhood of Oudh; but when he reached Katehr, he received intelligence that Bárbak Sháh could not maintain himself in Jaunpúr against the attacks of the *zamíndárs;* upon which the Sultán detached Muhammad Khán Farmulí, 'Azam Humáyún, Khán Jahán, and Khán-khánán Lohání by way of Oudh, and Mubárak Khán by that of Karra, with orders to put Bárbak Sháh in chains, and send him to Court. This being faithfully executed, he gave him in charge to 'Umar Khán Sarwání and Haibat Khán, and proceeded himself to the fort of Chunár to chastise some nobles of Sultán Husain Sharkí. These, however, after giving battle, were obliged to retreat, and fortified themselves in Chunár, which being very strong and almost impregnable, he did not stop to besiege it, but proceeded towards Kantít, a dependency of Panná;[1] the Rájá of which place, Rái Bhíd, came out to meet him, and proffered his allegiance, for which the Sultán confirmed him in the possession of Kantít, and moved on to Arail and Bayák. It was at this time that Rái Bhíd, in consequence of his suspicious temper, abandoned all his camp-equipage and effects, and fled. The Sultán ordered his whole property to be collected together, and sent to the Rájá.[2] On his arrival at Arail, he ordered the gardens and habitations of that district to be laid waste; after which, he proceeded, by the way of Karra, to Dalamau, where he married the widow of Sher Khán Lohání, who was one of the most beautiful and intelligent women of the age; and then continued his march to Shamsábád, from whence, after a stay of six months, he proceeded to Sambhal, but returned again from thence to Shamsábád. On his way thither, he destroyed a place called Pareotákal, the sink and receptacle of marauders, and put to death most of that rebellious gang.

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[1] Dr. Dorn (*History of the Afgháns*, p. 56) says 898; but my copy of the *Makhzan-i Afghání* reads 897.

After spending the rainy season at Shamsábád, in A.H. 900 (1494-5), he set out in the direction of Panna, for the purpose of chastising Rájá Bhíd; but on his arrival at Khán Ghátí, he fell in with his son Bír Sing Deo, who offered battle, but, being put to flight, fled towards Panna, pursued by the army of Islám. On the Sultán's arrival at Panna, Rájá Bhíd fled towards Sirguja, but died on the road. Sultán Sikandar then penetrated as far as Phaphúnd, belonging to Panna;[1] but he was compelled to retreat to Jaunpúr, in consequence of the extreme scarcity of provisions, opium, salt, and oil. Besides which, almost all the horses perished; so much so, that ninety out of every hundred died. In consequence of this, Lakhní Chand, a son of Rájá Bhíd, and all the *zamíndárs* wrote to Sultán Husain, representing that Sikandar did not possess a single horse, all having perished. Husain, upon this, marched out of Bihár at the head of a large force, including 100 elephants, with the intention of defeating Sultán Sikandar; who, having crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Kantít, went first to Chunár, and thence to Benáres. He detached Khán-khánán to Salbáhan, the son of Rájá Bhíd, with directions to conciliate him, and induce him to accompany the Khán. Meanwhile, Sultán Husain had reached within thirteen *kos* of Benáres, and Sultán Sikandar drew near with all expedition; and having marshalled his troops, with the divine aid, commenced the engagement, supported by Salbában, who had opportunely arrived to his support. The battle was well contested; but at length the fortune of the day suddenly turned against Sultán Husain, who fled towards Patna; but being closely pursued by Sultán Sikandar at the head of 100,000 cavalry, he took the route of Bihár. After the lapse of nine days, Sultán Sikandar succeeded in reaching Husain's camp, and then heard that he had fled to Bihár. Thither also he was pursued by Sikandar, and on his ascertaining this to be the case, he left Malik Kandú behind in the fort, and sought shelter at Khalgánw, a dependency of Lakhnautí.[2] Sultán Sikandar then detached from his camp at Deóbár, a force to lay waste Bíhar. Malik Kandú, from his inability to resist the Sultán's troops, took to flight, and Bihár thus fell into the possession of the Sultán. Sikandar having left Muhabbat Khán, together with several chiefs, in Bihár, proceeded to Darweshpúr, where he left Khán-khánán in charge of his camp, and advanced himself in all haste to Tirhút, whose Rájá advanced to receive him with all humiliation, and agreed to the payment of several *lacs* of *tankas* as a fine, for the receipt of which the Sultán left Mubárak Khán behind, and proceeded a second time to Darweshpúr.

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[1] Briggs (vol. i., p. 570) reads "Kootumba," a dependency of Patna, and calls the Rájá "Bulbhudur Ray."

[2] The *Makhzan-i Afghání,* on the contrary, says (MS., p. 100) that the Sultán gave it over to be plundered, which is by far the most probable statement.

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[1] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 100) says "Kanauj." But though there is a Phaphúnd in the Doáb, which was formerly a dependency of Kanauj, this evidently refers to some other wilder district in the Bundelkhand hills. Dorn in his translation also has "Kanauj."

[2] We learn from Firishta (i., p. 572), that the fugitive was received by 'Aláu-d dín, King of Bengal, with the utmost courtesy. Under his protection he passed the remainder of his days in obscurity, and in his person the Sharkí dynasty became extinct.

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Sultán Sikandar punishes the governor of Dehlí.—His proceedings at Gwálior, Bayána, Dhúlpúr, and Mandrail.—Foundation of A'gra.—Earthquake at A'gra.—Proceedings on the Chambal.—Capture of Awantgar.—Disastrous march to A'gra. —(A.H. 906–913.)

About the same time intelligence of the mal-administration and misconduct of Asghar, the governor of Dehlí, reaching the sublime ear, Khawás Khán, governor of Máchíwára, was commissioned to apprehend and transmit him to Court. But prior to the arrival of Khawás Khán, Asghar, on the 1st of Safar, 906 H. (27 August, 1500), fled from Dehlí to Sambhal, to offer his submission; but by the high command of the Sultán, he was seized and thrown into prison. Khawás Khán repaired to Dehlí, and leaving there his son Isma'íl Khán, returned, according to orders, to Sambhal. The Sultán received him most graciously, and presented him with an honorary vest. Soon after, Sa'íd Khán Sarwání, who belonged to the seditious party, came from Lahore to pay his respects. The Sultán banished him, together with Tátár Khán, Muhammad Sháh, and the other disaffected chiefs, from his empire; and they accordingly took the route of Gwálior, and went off in haste to Málwá and Gujarát.

Rájá Mán, of Gwálior, sent one of his attendants, Nihál, with valuable presents to the Sultán; but when the envoy was admitted to him, he returned such coarse and improper answers to the questions put to him, that the Sultán, in a rage, uttered a threat[1] that he would himself command an expedition against the fort (of Gwálior) and capture it.

Meanwhile, the report of the death of Khán-khánán Farmulí, governor of Bayána, having reached the Sultán, he appointed the two sons of the deceased, 'Imád and Sulaimán, to succeed him; but as Bayána, owing to its strong fort and frontier situation, was the seat of sedition and tumult, they both came with their attendants to Sambhal, to consult with the Sultán about some affairs. Deeming their arrival inopportune, he appointed Khawás Khán governor of Bayána; and after some days, Safdar Khán was nominated governor of Ágra, one of its dependencies. To 'Imád and Sulaimán he gave Shamsábád, Jalęsár, Manglaur, Sháhábád, and some other districts. After that, he ordered 'Álam Khán Mewáttí, and Khán-khánán Loháni, *jágirdár* of Rápri, in conjunction with Khawás Khán, to reduce the fort of Dhúlpúr, and wrest it from the hands of Rái Mánik-deo. When these chiefs, in execution of the command, directed their route against that place, the *rái* came out to repel force by force, and much life was daily lost on both sides. Amongst the killed was Khwája Ben, one of the most gallant of combatants.

On account of these occurrences, Sikandar himself marched on Friday, the 6th Ramazán, 906 (March, 1501), upon Dhúlpúr; but Rájá Mánik-deo, placing a garrison in the castle, retreated to Gwálior. This detachment, however, being unable to defend it, and abandoning the fort by night, it fell into the hands of the Muhammadan army. Sikandar, on entering the fort, fell down on his knees, and returned thanks to God, and celebrated his victory. The whole army was employed in plundering, and all the groves which spread their shade for seven *kos* around Bayána were torn up from the roots. After a residence of one month in Dhúlpúr, the Sultán marched to Gwálior. There he left Ádam Lodí, with most of the nobles, and passing the Chambal, encamped for two months on the banks of the Ásí or Mendhí, where his people fell sick, owing to the badness of the water. Rájá Mán not only delegated ambassadors for peace, but expelled from the fort Sa'íd Khán, Bábú Khán, and Rái Ganesh, who had formerly deserted the Sultán, and taken refuge with him. Besides that, he sent his eldest son, Bikramájít, to wait upon the Sultán, who bestowed upon him a robe of honour and a horse, and then allowed him to depart. From thence the Sultán returned towards Ágra; and when he reached Dhúlpúr, he bestowed that district upon Rái Binaik-deo, Afterwards, he set out for Bayána, the seat of the empire, which he honoured with his presence, and spent there the rainy season.

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[1] The word in the originaland in the *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 105) is تهدید which Dr. Dorn has converted (p. 60) into the name of a fort called "Tahd."

In Ramazán of the year 910 (1504 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he raised the standard of war for the reduction of the fort of Mandráil; but the garrison capitulating, and delivering up the citadel, the Sultán ordered the temples of idols to be demolished, and mosques to be constructed. After leaving Mián Makan and Mujáhid Khán to protect the fort, he himself moved out on a plundering expedition into the surrounding country, where he butchered many people, took many prisoners, and devoted to utter destruction all the groves and habitations; and after gratifying and honouring himself by this exhibition of holy zeal, he returned to his capital Bayána.

In the same year the heat of the air became so intense, that almost all the people fell grievously sick of fevers. It had for a long time occurred to the Sultán to found a town on the banks of the Jumna, which was to be the residence of the Sultán, and the head-quarters of the army, and to serve to keep the rebels of that quarter in awe, and deprive them of further opportunity of growing refractory, for frequently the *jágirdárs* and government servants and the peasantry in general in *sarkár* Bayána had complained of the violence to which they were subject. With this view, he commissioned, in the year 911 (1505

A.D.), some judicious and intelligent men to explore the banks of the river, and report upon any locality which they might consider the most eligible. Accordingly, the exploring party left Dehlí in boats, and, as they proceeded, examined carefully both sides of the river, until they arrived at the spot where A'gra now stands; and having approved of it, communicated their selection to the Sultán. Upon this, he left Dehlí and marched to Mathura, where he took boat, amusing himself by the way with various kinds of sport. When he approached the site indicated, he observed two elevated spots which seemed suitable for building; and inquired of Mihtar Mullá Khán, who was called '*Náik*,' and commanded the royal barge, which of those two mounds appeared to him the most suitable. He replied, "That which is *A'gra*, or in advance, is the preferable one." The Sultán smiled, and said, "The name of this city then shall be called A'gra." He then repeated the *fátiha*, and in an auspicious moment issued orders for founding the city, when portions of *mauza'* Pashí and *mauza'* Poya, *pargana* Dúlí, *sarkár* Bayána, were occupied for that purpose; and the *pargana* of A'gra was henceforward added to the fifty-two *parganas* which comprised the *sarkár* of Bayána. From that period this city continued to advance in population, and became the seat of government of the Sultáns of Hind.

The Sultán, after giving orders for the construction of a fort, went towards Dhúlpúr; and on entering the fort, transferred the charge of it from Rái Bináik-deo to Malik Mu'izzu-d dín, and himself returned to A'gra, giving his nobles leave to retire to their respective *jágírs*.

On Sunday, the 3rd of Safar, 911 (July, 1505 A.D.), a violent earthquake occurred at A'gra, and even the very hills quaked, and lofty buildings were thrown down. The living thought the day of judgment had arrived; the dead, the day of resurrection. No such earthquake had been known in Hindústán since the days of Adam, nor is any such recorded in the page of history. One of the able scholars of Hind has traced its date in the word "Kází." Many people say, that on the self-same day an earthquake was felt throughout most of the provinces of Hindústán.[1]

When the rains had passed, and some time even after the rising of Canopus, towards the close of the year 911, the Sultán went towards Gwálior. He remained a month and a half at Dhúlpúr, and then went to the Chambal, where he remained several months encamped near the ferry of Gaur. Having left Prince Jalál Khán and other Kháns there, he himself advanced to wage the holy war and to plunder the country of the infidels. He butchered most of the people who had fled for refuge to the hills and forests, and the rest he pillaged and put in fetters. As scarcity was felt in his camp, in consequence of the non-arrival of the Banjáras,[2] he despatched 'Azam Humáyún for the purpose of bringing in supplies; but when he was on his march, he was attacked by the Rájá of Gwálior in an ambuscade at Chatáwar, about ten *kos* from that place. A bloody action followed, when Dáúd Khán and Ahmad Khán, the sons of Khán Jahán, displayed signal bravery; and as the Sultán's army came up from the rear to render assistance, the Rájpúts were put to flight, and many were either slain or taken captive. The Sultán bestowed the title of Malik Dád upon Dáúd, and treated him with the greatest kindness. Afterwards, in consequence of the approach of the rainy season, he bent his steps towards Ágra, after leaving some of his chief nobles at Dhúlpúr. At the capital he passed his time in pleasure and amusement.

In 912, after the rising of Canopus, the Sultán went towards the fort of Awantgar, and sent on 'Imád Khán Farmulí and Mujáhid Khán, with several thousand cavalry and 100 elephants, to reconnoitre the place, while he himself remained behind. He conferred the office of chamberlain on Kází 'Abdu-lla, the son of Táhir, of Kábul, a resident of the town of Thánesar, and on Shaikh 'Umar and Shaikh Ibráhím. Kálpí, after the death of Mahmúd Khán Lodí, had been bestowed upon his son Jalál Khán; but as quarrels arose between him and his brothers, they represented matters to the Sultán. Upon this, the Sultán sent Fíroz Aghwán to bring into his presence Bhíkan Khán and Ahmad Khán, the brothers of Jalál Khán, and on their arrival, they were received by him on the banks of the Chambal with royal favour and kindness.

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[1] [See Vol. IV., p. 465.]

[2] Briggs (vol. i., p. 579) observes that this is the first mention we have of Banjáras in Muhammadan history.

On the 23rd of the month the Sultán invested the fort, and ordered the whole army to put forth their best energies to capture it. At the time which the astrologers had declared to be propitious, he himself advanced to the attack, and the contest raged on every side. The bloodthirsty soldiers hung on the walls like so many ants or locusts, and displayed the most daring courage. All of a sudden, by the favour of God, the gale of victory blew on the standards of the Sultán, and the gate was forced open by Malik 'Aláu-d dín. After making a stout resistance, the garrison begged for quarter, but no one listened to them. The Rájpúts, retiring within their own houses, continued the contest, and slew their families after the custom of *jauhar.* Meanwhile, an arrow pierced the eye of Malik 'Aláu-d dín, and blinded him. After due thanksgivings for his victory, the Sultán gave over charge of the fort to Makan and Mujáhid Khán, with directions that they should destroy the idol-temples, and raise mosques in their places; but on its being represented that Mujáhid Khán had received a bribe from the Rájá of Awantgar, on the understanding that he was to induce the Sultán to retire from that country, the Sultán, on the 16th Muharram, 913 (28th May, 1507), seized Mauláná Juman, who was in the special confidence of Mujáhid Khán, and made over the fort to Malik Táju-d dín, and directed the Kháns who were at Dhúlpúr to imprison Mujáhid Khán. The Sultán returned towards Ágra at the close of Muharram, 913. During this march he made a halt one day, in consequence of the narrowness and unevenness of the road, in order that the people might pass through without any scramble

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or precipitation; but here the whole camp was greatly distressed for want of water, and a large number of men perished from that cause, as well as from being trampled and crushed by the beasts of burden, which were all huddled together in a confused mass. A jar of water could not be procured under fifteen Sikandarí *tankas*. Some men died from exhaustion, and some, who had found water, quenched their thirst with such avidity that they also fell victims to their excess. When an account was rendered, it was found that 800 men had perished.[1]

On the 27th of Muharram, the Sultán reached Dhúlpúr, and after some days entered Ágra, where he spent the season of the rains. On the rising of Canopus, he started on an expedition to Narwar, one of the dependencies of Málwá.

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Sultán Sikandar's proceedings at Hatkánt, Lucknow, Nágor, and Lesi-Sheopúr.

After remaining one month at the town of Lahair, where he received a visit from Ni'amat Khátún, in the year 915 (1509 A.D.), the Sultán directed his route towards Hatkánt, which he scoured of idolaters and banditti; and when he had put to the sword the rebels of that quarter, and established small posts at every place, he returned again to his capital. Soon after, information was conveyed to him, that Ahmad Khán, son of Mubárak Khán, governor of Lucknow, had associated with infidels, and even apostatized from the true faith; on which he issued a *farmán* to Muhammad Khán, a brother of Ahmad Khán, to secure and send him to Court. It was also about this time that Muhammad Khán, a grandson of Sultán Násiru-d dín of Málwá, from dread of his grandfather, sued for protection at the Imperial Court. A *farmán* was issued to Prince Jalál Khán, importing that as *sarkár* Chanderí[2] had been settled on Muhammad Khán, he was to be firmly supported in its possession, and that the Prince was to avert from him any molestation on the part of the army of Málwá. The Sultán himself went to Dhúlpúr, for the purpose of hunting; and caused a pavilion and palace to be erected at each stage between that place and the capital.

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[1] [This passage is also given in the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*. See Vol. IV., p. 466.]

[2] This means that he had held it as a *jágírdár* of Málwá, for it belonged to that kingdom, not to Dehlí. And we learn from the *Makhzan-i Afghání* and this work, that Sultán Sikandar had two years previously attempted to procure its surrender to him by Shahábu-d dín, a discontented son of the King of Málwá. Subsequently we

When, in the year 916 (1510 A.D.), his empire was firmly established and prospering, in a fortunate moment, while he was engaged in his field sports, another kingdom fell into his net. The facts were briefly as follows: 'Alí Khán and Abú Bakr, two relations of Muhammad Khán, ruler of Nágor, concerted a plot against their master, and endeavoured by stratagem to make away with him, and seize possession of his country. He, however, being informed of their treachery, prevented them from executing their plans, and determined to inflict capital punishment on them. Upon this, both of them effecting their escape, repaired to the Court of the Sultán. Muhammad, apprehensive of the evil consequences arising from the enmity of his relations, the disaffection of his intimates, and their having taken refuge with this powerful Sultán, sent not only the assurance of his allegiance, with a great many valuable rarities and offerings to him, but ordered the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck at Nágor in the Sultán's name. The report of this submission gave the monarch such joy and delight, that he sent Muhammad Khán a horse and honorary dress. He then left Dhúlpúr, and honoured the capital, Ágra, with his presence, and spent some time in a round of pleasure and fêtes, in visiting of gardens and in hunting expeditions.

It was about this time that Ágra, formerly a dependency of Bayána, was fixed upon for the residence of the sovereign; but he soon after departed from Dhúlpúr, and transmitted an order

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shall find Buhjat Khán, governor on the part of Mahmúd, King of Málwá, placing Chanderí in the possession of the Sultán; and this work also informs us (MS. p. 172) that early in the reign of Sultán Ibráhím he appointed Shaikhzáda Manjhúr to the government of Chanderí, and gave the office of *peshwá* to Sultán Muhammad, grandson of the King of Málwá. Dorn has by an oversight (p. 73) translated the corresponding passage of the *Makhzan-i Afghání*, "under *peshwá* Sultán Muhammad."

to Sulaimán, a son of Khán-khánán Farmulí, to advance with his large army towards Awantgar and the confines of Súisúpur, in support of the new convert, Husain, whose name before was Ráí Dungar. But Sulaimán excused himself, by alleging that he could not prevail upon himself to be so remote from the King's person.[1] The Sultán then went to the town of Bárí, and made over that *pargana* to Shaikhzáda Makan, having resumed it from the son of Mubárak Khán. Then, after staying intermediately at Dhúlpúr, he returned to Ágra; where, according to former custom, he issued *farmáns* to many of the chief nobles on all the frontiers to call them to Court. It was at this time that he was taken ill. * * *

Reign of Sultán Ibráhím Lodí.

Punishment of the Zamíndárs of Jartolí.—Capture of Kálpí.

About the time of 'Azam Humáyún's junction with Ibráhím Lodí, 'Umar Khán, son of Sikandar Khán Súr, having lost his life while fighting against a body of the *zamíndárs* of Jartolí, a place dependent on Kol, and receptacle of the most notorious vagabonds and rebels, Kásim Khán, governor of Sambhal, marched to that place, and inflicted the merited punishment upon them. Having put their leader to death, and suppressed the rebellion, he waited on the Sultán at Kanauj.[2] Most of the nobles in the *súba* of Oudh, Jaunpúr, and Lucknow, including Sa'íd Khán and Shaikhzáda Farmulí, came likewise to pay their respects, having abandoned the cause of Jalál Khán, and were enrolled amongst the servants of the State. In short, everything seemed to promise success to the Sultán. The Sultán soon after detatched 'Azam Humáyún Lodí, 'Azam Humáyún Sarwání, and Nasír Khán Lohání, with a formidable army, and ferocious elephants, against Jalálu-d dín, who was at Kálpí. Previous to their arrival, he had left 'Imádu-l Mulk, Malik Badru-d dín Jalwání, and Ni'amat Khátún, together with the family of Kutb Khán Lodí and his whole *harem*, in the fort of Kálpí, and marched himself towards the capital, with 30,000 cavalry and several elephants, in order that he might spread alarm throughout the province, and capture, if possible, the fort of Ágra. The nobles of the Sultán, on their arrival before Kálpí, laid siege to it, and for some days the contest was carried on with cannons and matchlocks; but, in the end, the garrison surrendered, and delivered up the keys of the fort. The town was plundered, and rich booty captured by Sultán Ibráhím's troops. * * *

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[1] The *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 113) says that the Sultán transferred his *jágír* to Makan Shaikhzáda, and adds that the Sultán, incensed at his reply, forthwith dismissed him from his service, directing him to quit the camp, but, nevertheless, conferred the revenue of Biram upon him for his future maintenance.

[2] Dr. Dorn (*History of the Afghans*, p. 72) represents this very differently. That 'Umar Khán was himself the victor, and returned triumphantly to Kanauj, and nothing is said of Malik Kásim. As my *Makhzan-i Afghání* (p. 128) corresponds with the statement in the text, I suspect there must be an omission in Dr. Dorn's manuscript.

Rebellion of Bahádur Khán in Bihár.—Of Daulat Khán Lodí in the Panjáb.—Bábar's Invasion of Hindústán.

Not long after, Daryá Khán Lohání [governor of Bihár] died; and his son, Bahádur Khán, succeeding to his father's dignity, assumed the new title of Muhammad Sháh, at the same time ordering the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck in his name. He equipped an army of 100,000 horse, and having been joined by the nobles who were disaffected against the Sultán, they united their forces on the borders of Bihár. At the same time, Nasír Khán Lohání, the governor of Gházípúr, who commanded the Imperial forces, sustained a defeat, and came in to Bahádur Khán.[1]

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[1] The original says merely, "Nasír Khán having sustained a defeat from the army of the *Sultán*, came before *him*." The *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 137) says precisely the same. The passage is very confused, but the Sultán alluded to is the new Sultán, Muhammad Sháh. Yet Dr. Dorn translates (p. 77), "Nasír Khán, after his defeat, returned to the Sultán (*i e.* Ibráhím), but was ordered to take the field afresh with a strong army, and to destroy the usurper," for which there is no authority in his original. The meaning is made altogether plain by the *Wáki'át-i Mushtáki*:— "Mián Mustafá plundered Gházípúr, whence he expelled Nasír Khán, who came to Sultán Muhammad." (MS. p. 83.) This Mián Mustafá was brother of Shaikh Báyazíd Farmulí, who subsequently made himself conspicuous under Bábar. The Mián had been sent at the head of a large army against Nasír Khán of Gházípúr, and died near the Soane. We find Nasír Khán again in possession of Gházípúr in Bábar's time.—*Memoirs*, p. 349.

In short, the whole country of Bihár was reduced under the orders of Sultán Muhammad,[1] and Ibráhím raised a large force to repress this alarming insurrection.

About the same period the son of Daulat Khán Lodí, governor of Lahore, presented himself before the Sultán: but inferring from the usual proceedings of this monarch, that he would be apprehended, he took to flight, and repaired to his father, to whom he gave a full account of the Sultán's temper, and the general dread entertained by the nobles. Daulat Khán, from these accounts, perceiving that there was no means of evading the Sultán's violence, and being sensible of his own inadequacy to oppose him, formed an alliance with Ghází Khán Lodí, and the other nobles and *jágírdárs* of the Panjáb; and renouncing his allegiance to Sultán Ibráhím, addressed through 'Álam Khán Lodí an invitation to the Emperor Bábar at Kábul, to repair to Hindústán. No sooner had this monarch perused the letter, than he despatched some of his most distinguished nobles with 'Álam Khán, in advance, to subdue the country; who, when they had taken Siálkot and Lahore, reported these conquests to the Emperor. Upon which, he himself, on the first days of the first Rabí', in the year 932 (December, 1525), entered upon a campaign to reduce Hindústán.

'Álam Khán, on his arrival at Lahore, proposed to the Mughal chiefs that, as they had been sent to render him assistance, they should advance with him at once against Sultán Ibráhím, and take Dehlí, before Bábar's arrival. But this the Mughals refusing to comply with, 'Álam Khán separated from them, and marched, at the head of 40,000 horse, upon Dehlí, which he invested. When Sultán Ibráhím received the account of these transactions, he hastened out of Ágra with 80,000 horse, and pitched his camp at a distance of six miles from Dehlí. But 'Álam Khán one night surprised him so successfully, that, his army being dispersed, and he himself, with about 5000 or 6000 men, cut off from the main body, was compelled to withdraw to some place of security. Early in the morning he received information that 'Álam Khán was standing protected by only 300 horse; whilst the rest of his troops were employed in plundering and collecting booty. That moment appeared to afford him an excellent opportunity of gaining important advantages for himself; so, with the rising of the sun, he threw himself upon his foe, like a hill of iron, who, incapable of parrying this charge, fled into the Doáb; but the greater number of his gallant men were slain, and the remainder were dispersed in all directions, which rendered the Sultán's triumph complete.

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[1] Other authorities mention that he obtained full possession of all the Eastern country from Sambhal to Bihár.

About this time Bábar Pádsháh arrived at Lahore; when Ghází Khán and Daulat Khán, in violation of the subsisting treaty, advanced against the fort of Bilwat.[1] The prime minister of the Mughal Emperor, Mír Khalífa, brought 'Álam Khán to pay his respects to the Emperor, and he was well received. After some time, Daulat Khán also presented himself in submission before the Emperor, and his example was imitated by Diláwar Khán.

The Emperor marched from Lahore towards Sámána and Sannám, and detached Tardí Beg Khán, with 4000 horse, in advance; to oppose whom, the Sultán sent Dáúd Khán, one of his principal *amírs*, at the head of 10,000 cavalry, besides a train of elephants. Upon information of his approach, Tardí Beg marshalled his troops, and concerted a night attack upon Dáúd Khán's camp; who, unable to sustain the shock of the aggressor, fell back, and his troops were dispersed in all directions, many of his men were slain, and Dáúd Khán himself, with seventy men of high rank, fell into the hands of the enemy. * * *

Sher Sháh's dying regrets.

On being remonstrated with for giving way to low spirits, when he had done so much for the good of the people during his short reign, after urgent solicitation, he said, "I have had three or four desires in my heart, which still remain without accomplishment, and cannot be eradicated except by death. One is, I wished to have depopulated the country of Roh, and to have transferred its inhabitants to the tract between the Níláb and Lahore, including the hills below Nindúna, as far as the Siwálik; that they might have been constantly on the alert for the arrival of the Mughals, and not allow any one to pass from Kábul to Hind, and that they might also keep the *zamíndárs* of the hills under control and subjection. Another is to have entirely destroyed Lahore, that so large a city might not exist on the very road of an invader, where, immediately after capturing it on his arrival, he could collect his supplies and organize his resources. Another is, to have built two fleets of fifty large vessels each,[1] as commodious as *saráis*, for the use of pilgrims from India to Mecca; and to have made them so strong, that wind and storm should not have been able to disperse them; and that all people might go to and from that holy place in ease and comfort. The last is, to have raised a tomb to Ibráhím Lodí in Pánipat, but on the understanding that opposite to it there should be another tomb of the Chaghatái Sultáns, whom I may have despatched to martyrdom; and to have constructed both with such architectural embellishments, that friend and foe might render their tribute of applause, and that my name might remain honoured upon earth until the day of resurrection. None of these aspirations has God allowed me to carry into effect, and I shall carry my regrets with me to my grave."

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[1] [The "Milwat" of Bábar. See Vol. IV., p. 244.]

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[1] This is not in strict accordance with the text, but may be gathered as the real meaning from a passage which follows in the same page. Ahmad Yádgár (MS. p. 313) says only "two ships," which is far too small for such imperial aspirations as Sher Sháh entertained; and especially as many more plied between India and Arabia for the transport of pilgrims. Dorn, who quotes this passage in his Notes from Dr. Lee's text, resolves these into "fifty to fifty-four solid edifices on the road from India to Mecca" (part ii., p. 106). I cannot at all concur in this view, and quote therefore the passages from the original:—

اراده داشتم که در راه مکه از پنجاه جهاز سرای راست کنم وبنوعی آنها
را استحکام دهم که بباد طوفان پراگنده نشوند

and again a little below:—

که در راه مکه معظمه از پنجاه پنجاه جهاز سرای اباداں سازد تا خلایق
بفراغ خاطر آمد و رفت داشته باشند

The specific number of fifty-four sounds absurd under the circumstances, and *jaház*, "ships," both in this and other authors, is too plain to be overlooked.

Resumption and transfer of jágírs by 'Adalí.—Commotion in the Council.—Flight of Táj Khán Kiránì.

One day a distribution of *jágírs* was made in 'Adalí's exchequer, which was attended by all the *amírs;* when 'Adalí dispossessed Sháh Muhammad Farmulí of his estates in Kanauj, and transferred them to Sarmast Khán Sarwaní. This induced Sikandar Khán, Farmulí's son, a young and bold man, to exclaim: "To what a pass have things come, that our estates are taken from us, and settled on the tribe of Sarwanís, who are no better than sellers of dogs!" A stormy debate ensuing from both sides, Sháh Muhammad, who was then sick, endeavoured to persuade his son not to use such abusive language. But to this he replied: "When Sher Sháh had one day cast thee into an iron cage, with the intention of putting thee to death, Islám Sháh came and induced the Sháh, at his intercession,[1] to grant thy life: and now dost thou not perceive the design of all these to ruin thee? Why should one brook such insult?" At this moment Sarmast Khán, who was a tall and robust man, placed his hand familiarly upon Sikandar's shoulders, as though to pacify him; but, in fact, with the intention of securing him in his grasp, and said: "My friend, what is the reason of such anger and exasperation?" However, Sikandar, perceiving his intention, drew his dagger, and despatched him on the spot. A general uproar and tumult pervaded the Council, and all rushed upon Sikandar to apprehend him; but he, with a drawn sword in his hand, cut down or wounded all towards whom he turned. 'Adalí, on witnessing this sanguinary scene, ran off to his private apartment, pursued by Sikandar; whom he, however, succeeded in excluding by chaining the door. The greater part of the *amirs* had previously thrown away their swords and fled; and Sikandar stalked about everywhere like a madman, and in this manner two hours elapsed. At last, Ibráhím Khán Súr, brother-in-law of 'Adalí, drew his sword and attacked Sikandar; who, being surrounded on all sides, was killed; and Daulat Khán Lohání despatched Muhammad Farmulí with one blow. The result of these transactions was a general dispersion of the *amirs*, 'Adalí's authority rapidly declined, and every one looked after his own interest alone, as soon as he had secured his personal safety by flight.

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[1] So says the corresponding passage of *Makhzan-i Afghání*, but Dorn translates: "I induced the Sháh by *my* intercession."—*Hist. of Afgháns*, p. 173.

Before this scene transpired, Táj Kiráni, a brother of Sulaimán, having, from the different expressions of the Council, foreseen what would happen, had left the Council-room, and proceeded as far as the gate of the citadel of Gwálior, by which he was about to descend, when he met Sháh Muhammad Farmulí. He explained to him the uproarious state of the Council, and said that no respect was shown to any one, and that there was no unanimity in their deliberations; it was therefore the safest way not to frequent the Council any more, but to retire into private life: he himself would not appear any more. He invited Sháh Muhammad to join him, and repair to a place affording security against misery, till affairs took a better turn. Sháh Muhammad rejected this offer, in consequence of which he was killed in that riotous Council. Táj Kiráni went to his house, and made all preparations for flight. When he had received intelligence of what had passed, he set out in the afternoon for Bengal, and 'Adalí despatched an army in pursuit of him.[1] * * *

Defeat of the Mughals at the pass of Garhi.—Humáyún's entry into Gaur.

The vanguard of the Mughal army, which, in seven divisions, had marched in advance of the main body, pitched their camp at a distance of three *kos* from the defile of Garhí; and every morning, urging their horses at full speed towards the entrance of the pass, threw their arrows and clubs at its defenders, and then retreated. A part of them, with loud voices, poured forth most bitter invectives against Jalál Khán, calling him an unmanly coward, cowering in the defile like an old woman; that if he were a man, and the son of a man, and in the least endowed with impetuosity and ardour, he would descend to the field of battle to measure strength with men, as he had not yet come in contact with Mughals. Similar invectives were repeated every day, and a great number of Afgháns perished by the fire of the cannons and matchlocks. Jalál Khán, being informed of these proceedings by his attendants, went one day to Hájí Khán, explaining to him, with the bitterest complaints, that the Mughals, coming up every day to harass them in their position by missile weapons, and then retreating, uttered the most abusive language against him, which he could not brook any longer, for his patience was quite exhausted. He himself certainly was too weak to put a stop to such injuries; but if the other chiefs would assent, they ought at once to march out and make their attack, and see what the curtain of secresy would reveal. Hájí Khán said, "This is not in accordance with your father's command, with which you are well acquainted." Jalál Khán went on to assure him that as long as his request should not be complied with, he was determined to abstain from water and food. Upon which Hájí Khán replied, that if such was his resolution, he certainly must yield; and every coward returning alive from the battle would suffer punishment by Sher Khán's order; but in case victory should crown their enterprise, all would be right. He then, in order to insure success to his enterprise, read the *fátiha*, and Jalál Khán withdrew to his own quarters.

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[1] [The details of what transpired subsequently will be found among the Extracts from the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, Vol. IV., p. 506.]

The next morning the Mughals, according to custom, charged their horses, and then retreated to their tents, and relieved themselves of their armour. The troopers then went out to forage, whilst the officers resorted to the carpet of repose. Noon had approached, when the Afghâns, opening the gate in the defile, sallied forth. A few only of the Mughals, whose horses were at hand, mounted, and put themselves in an attitude of defence; but the greater part, being disconcerted in the extreme, turned their faces to flight. The action, nevertheless, proved to be of the most obstinate nature, and Mubârak Farmulí and Abú-l Fath Langáh, besides most of the Mughal officers, fell victims to the sword. The whole camp of the Mughals, baggage, horses, camels, elephants, etc., fell into the hands of the victors; and nearly all were slain, with the exception of a very small number of Kipchí horsemen. It is related that there was no Afghân footman but obtained four or five horses, valuable robes, and many boxes of precious things, out of the spoils.[1]

Sher Khân had such a mass of wealth and treasures to carry off from Gaur, that he could not gather a sufficient number of porters for that purpose, and was at a great loss how to convey these effects to Rohtâs. In the meanwhile, he received intelligence from Jalál Khân of this victory, at which he was exceedingly rejoiced; and immediately wrote to him, to procure, for a suitable compensation, all the captured elephants, camels, oxen, in short all beasts of burthen, from any person who might possess them, and to send them, as he was in much want of them. Sher Khân, upon the occasion of that victory, made use of this adage, "That if a cock, in a fight, had been once beaten, he would, on being brought into the field a second time, set up his crowing, but never resume the fight." Jalál Khán after this exploit closed the gate, and stopped the progress of Humáyún for more than a month—a circumstance that enabled Sher Khán at his ease to transport by way of Jhârkand all his treasures to Rohtâs, whither he now likewise called Jalál Khán.

The Emperor Humâyún, upon this, made his entrance into Gaur. Sher Khân had previously fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by party-coloured carpets and costly silk stuffs, in hopes that Humáyún charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there; and his designs were unexpectedly seconded by fate, for Humáyún remained four months in Gaur, and had no leisure for any other occupation than pleasure and enjoyment.

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[1] [See Vol. IV., p. 367.]

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The Battle of Chaunsa.—Capture of Humáyún's Queen.[1]

In this conflict Muhammad Zamán, with a large force, stood forth and commenced the action; but was, in one charge, not only defeated and obliged to retreat, but killed. There was no one who could withstand; and every one who found his horse ready turned his face to flight. A bridge of boats having been previously laid over the Ganges, all the fugitives, whether horse or foot, endeavoured to escape over it. Humáyún had not yet performed his ablutions, when his troops were thrown into complete disorder; he therefore, immediately finishing them, lent all his thoughts to save his own person; for to save his favourite lady, with all the other beauties of the *harem*, was impossible. He sent Khwája Mu'azzam, with some other persons who were just at hand, in this painful situation, to rescue Begam Mariam Makáni from her dangerous position, whilst he himself hastened to reach the bridge; but it having been broken down by the throng of the fugitives, and the pressure of the great and small, he plunged his horse into the river. He was nearly drowned, but Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Ghaznaví succeeded in extricating him from that destructive element by his skilful efforts and the aid and favour of fortune. In consequence of his excellent service, Shamsu-d dín's sons were raised to high and honourable stations.

When, in the meanwhile, Khwája Mu'azzam had conveyed himself as far as the entrance of the Imperial tent, he perceived that the Afgháns were sedulously employed in massacre and plunder, and he could not find an opportunity of rescuing the veil-covered ladies. Nevertheless, he sacrificed his life in the execution of his master's command. The greater part of the Mughals perished in the river, and an immense number besides fell by the sword; whilst the Afgháns, by the rich booty they captured, had all their wants abundantly supplied. The Imperial consort likewise fell into their hands, with all her establishment.

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[1] [See Vol. IV., p. 374.]

Constructs new Rohtás.—Its cost.—Khizr Khán governor of Bengal.

Sher Sháh threatened to construct such a fort in that country that it should not only effectually restrain the Ghakkars, but also the passage of the Mughals. He therefore himself made a tour through the *hills of Girjhák Ninduna* [mountains circumjacent],[1] and finding a fit spot, he laid the foundations of the fort, which he called Rohtás.

Besides that, he sent a large force against Rái Sárang, the Ghakkar, and not only was the country subdued, *and the hill of Balnáth plundered, which was then the residence of the Dárogha of that tract*, but the daughter of its chief was taken prisoner, and conducted before Sher Sháh, who presented her to Khawás Khán; upon which Rái Sárang, they relate, sent a quantity of [hemp] *blankets* and millet to Sher Sháh, with the remark that in such only consisted their raiment and food, besides which they could afford nothing; according to others, he sent a lion's skin and some [arrows] *spears*, which he said was their only property. With this conduct, however, Sher Sháh was by no means satisfied. Sárang [Sárang's troops] being weakened by [skirmishes] *the attacks of the holy warriors, and greatly reduced and straitened,* submitted *himself in person to Sher Sháh, who ordered him to be flayed alive, and his skin to be filled with straw, and so pay the penalty of his misdeeds.*

Sher Sháh issued *farmáns* to complete the fortifications of Rohtás; but Todar Khatrí represented that the Ghakkars, to whom that country belonged, would not allow any one to work for wages; and that they had agreed amongst themselves, upon oath, to expatriate every person that should contravene their wishes. Sher Sháh, in answer, told him [that he should noways be allowed to give up that work, which he only wished to do in consequence of his greediness for gold][1] *that the work did not seem to advance under his superintendence, and that a man who was fond of money, and was alarmed about disbursing it, would never accomplish the king's designs.* Todar, on the reception of this fresh command, fixed first a golden *ashrafí* as the enormous remuneration for one stone, which induced the [Kakers] *Ghakkars* to flock to him in such numbers that afterwards a stone was paid with a *rupee*, and this pay gradually fell to five *tankas*, till the fortress was completed.[2]

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[1] The passages printed in *italics* in this Extract show the variations from Dr. Dorn's version, his reading being retained in brackets.

Sher Sháh, during his stay in the environs of [Tatta] *the river Behat*, where he amused himself with hunting, received intelligence that Khizr Khán Surk, the governor of Bengal, had married a daughter of Sultán Mahmúd, and [maintained a princely household] *sat on the roof of the palace, after the manner of the kings of Bengal, at which disrespectful conduct Sher Sháh was highly displeased.*

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[1] Besides the correction of the text, Sher Sháh's answer, as given in the *Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán*, MS. p. 178, shows that Todar's representation could not have arisen from avaricious views:—"You are too cautious about the expenditure of money, and do not desire that my words may be obeyed. It is right you should show no regret in disbursing it, for whatever is expended shall be repaid from my treasury." In the same work we are told that when the fort was finished, Todar was highly extolled for his management and supervision.

[2] From a *rupee* it fell, after some time, to ten *tankas* [the black *tanka*, equal to $\frac{1}{20}$th *rupee*], until it reached as low as a *Bahloli* [$=\frac{1}{40}$th *rupee*].—*Táríkh-i Khán-Jahán*, MS. p. 178. [See Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, pp. 360, 366.]

XXXVI.

HUMÁYÚN-NÁMA

OF

KHONDAMÍR.

[This is the last work of the historian Khondamír. It records an event in Zí-l ka'da at the end of 940 H., and the writer died in the following year 941 (1534-5 A.D.).[1] The book seems to have received little notice, and remains almost unknown. It is in all probability the same as the *Kánún-i Humáyúní* quoted by Abú-l Fazl in the *Akbar-náma*. It shows that Khondamír had become quite a courtier in his old age, and had abandoned the studies of the historian to become a royal panegryist. His work also shows that he was high in favour at Court, and he gives specimens of odes and verses which he composed on occasions of royal festivity. He records how various attendants of the Court received titles of honour descriptive of their characters, and that which he received was *Amír-i Akhbár*, "the noble historian." Notwithstanding the high-flown strain of eulogy in which the work is written, it contains some points of interest, and a few Extracts follow.

Sir H. Elliot did not procure a copy of the MS., and the Editor has had no copy to consult. The Extracts which follow have been selected from what appears to be a complete translation made by Sir H. Elliot's private *munshi* from a manuscript in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.]

EXTRACTS.

Origin of this Work.

When this humble and insignificant slave, Ghiyásu-d dín, son of Humámu-d dín, *alias* Khondamír,—may God facilitate all difficulties to him!—obtained the honour of meeting this great king, and the rays of royal kindness shone on the surface of his hopes and circumstances, he conceived the desire and entertained the idea in his mind that he would describe, as a memorial for future days, some of the works and inventions of this monarch; because the histories of kings, by means of the black water of ink, which has the effect of the water of life, are immortalized, and the great names and writings of clever authors, by virtue of their praises of celebrated kings, are stamped on the page of time. For instance, the excellencies of Mahmúd were described by 'Utbí and 'Unsurí, and the poems of Mu'izzí and Anwarí celebrated the character of Sanjar.

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[1] [See *antè* Vol. IV., p. 143.]

"Who would remember Hakím Anwarí,
Had he not spoken about Sanjar and his works?
Because 'Utbí conferred praises on Mahmúd,
Therefore he obtained the object of his desire.
Sharaf was celebrated in the world,
Because he wrote the eulogy of Tímúr Gúrgán."

Although the compiler of this book, on account of his having little knowledge and possessing no ability, withheld his tongue from commencing the history of this renowned monarch's exploits and deeds, and did not allow the pen which possessed two tongues to describe the character of this most prosperous king, yet he always entertained that desire in his faithful heart, and the intention never forsook his mind. One night which was full of light, this insignificant man (the author), having obtained the honour of being present in His Majesty's Court at Gwálior, was ordered to sit down, and the fingers of the generosity of that sun of the heaven of glory opened the gates of kindness to him, and the tongue of that king of kings, who was as dignified as Alexander the Great, pronounced these pleasing words: "It seems proper and desirable that the inventions of my auspicious mind, and the improvements of my enlightened understanding, should be arranged in a series, and written down, in order that in future ages the light of these happy works may shine among the people of countries near and remote." Consequently the writer, who was wishing for a long time that such an order might pass, engaged, like his pen, in writing these very interesting subjects; and having commenced to mention the wonderful inventions, he has imparted eloquence to the pen which possesses two tongues. He hopes that through the favour of the Almighty God, these pages, which contain useful things, will meet the approbation of the most clever characters of the high Court, and that they will view these lines of the book of eloquence with the eye of acceptance, and overlook the mistakes which may have been committed therein by the deficient tongue of the pen.

Accession of Humáyún.

In the beginning of Jumáda-l awwal, A.H. 937, when the King, who was as dignified as Sulaimán, whose seat is now in Paradise, viz. Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar, left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven, the celestial herald of the Supreme Lord raised the pleasing cry, "We made you king on the earth," to the ears of this rightful prince, and the hand of the kindness of the Creator of souls and substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World.

> "The hope which was excited by prosperity is now realized;
> The desire which the world entertained is satisfied."

On Friday, the 9th of the said month, in the *Jama' masjid* at Ágra, the *khutba* was read in the name and title of this noble king, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.

Auspicious Omens.

Among the other wonderful accidents which happened to the great Nawáb, one was that in the year in which the late king, who was as dignified as Sulaimán and destined to enter paradise, marched with prosperity from Kábul towards Kandahár, he left this sun of the heaven of royalty and power (Humáyún) in trust of the government duties. One day the latter rode on his horse, and went to ramble about in the forest, hills, gardens, and meadows. On the road he wished to take an omen, and having called the great Mauláná, Masíhu-d dín Rúhu-lla, who was his tutor, he told him it had just entered his mind that he should ask any three persons who might first come before him their names, and take an omen from them. The Mauláná said it would be proper if he asked only one man's name; but the King was firm in his resolution. After they had gone a little distance, they saw a man about forty years of age; and on their asking him his name, he replied, "Murád Khwája." After him another person, driving an ass loaded with wood, came before them; and when they inquired of him for his name, he said, "Daulat Khwája." On this it passed from the secret-telling tongue of the King that if the name of the third person who might happen to meet them should be Sa'ádat Khwája, it might be considered a very curious accident; and the star of success, according to the omen, would rise from the horizon of prosperity. At this moment a boy, who was leading cattle to graze, came in sight; and when they asked him what was his name, he answered, "Sa'ádat Khwája." This excited, of course, great wonder and surprise in all the people who accompanied the King, and they were all sure that this prosperous prince would soon, by the Divine assistance, attain the highest pitch of fortune and glory; and the hand of the favour of God would open to him the gates of success in all his sacred and worldly hopes.

Classification of the People.

When the auspicious throne of royalty was filled by this dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and inhabitants of the kingdom were divided into three classes. The brothers and relations of the King, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men, were called *Ahl-i Daulat* (officers of the

State), because it is evident that—according to the words, "There can be no dominion without men"—no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and heroes.

> "Kings, with the assistance of their army,
> Place their feet upon the throne of empires.
> He alone can obtain wealth and rank
> Who is assisted by his army."

The holy persons, the great *mushaikhs* (religious men), the respectable *saiyids*, the literati, the law officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men, formed the second class, and were denominated *Ahl-i Sa'ádat* (good men), because to observe, honour, and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

> "Virtue is the gift of God:
> It is not in the power of the mighty man to obtain it.
> If you wish to obtain fortune,
> You must associate with virtuous men."

Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and most lovely, also clever musicians and sweet singers, composed the third class, and the appellation of *Ahl-i Murád* (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take great delight in the company of such young-looking men, of rosy cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sound of the musical instruments, such as the harp, the sackbut, and the lute.

> "The hope of the heart of lovers
> Is never realized but when they meet persons whose
> cheeks are rosy.
> He who is fond of hearing songs and music
> Has the gates of happiness opened for himself."

Apportionment of Time.

According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day for each of these three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for pious men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the tree of the hope of this estimable body of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-resembling Court. The reason why these two days were appointed for this class was, that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the *saiyids*, the learned men, and the strict followers of the Muhammadan law. Sundays and Tuesdays were fixed for the State officers; and all the government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, the destroyer of enemies, sat in the public court, and consequently all the nobles and plebeians were able to obtain the honour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom according to the will of God, is attached the fates of all rulers and kings; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence it is evident that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public court-hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties, was very proper. Amongst the other customs which were introduced by this just and generous King, and were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he adorned the throne of royalty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing their noise, came to see him; and when he left the Court, the gunners fired guns to let the people know that they might retire. Also on those days the keeper of the wardrobe used to bring some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurer several purses of money, and they placed them in the Court in order that rewards and robes might be given to any one from them, and no delay should take place. Also that several persons who resembled Bahrám, having put on coats of mail, and taken blood-drinking swords in their hands, stood before the throne to seize and punish those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days some of the old companions and chosen friends were convened, and a band of musicians and singers was called, and they were all satisfied in their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon, and Wednesday of Mercury; and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the moon, and hear sweet songs and delightful music. On Fridays, as the name (*juma'*) imports, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.

Symbols of Office.

Another invention of this King was, that he got three arrows of gold made, and called them each after the name of the three classes above mentioned. Each of these was given to one of the most confidential persons of the respective classes, and this person was to manage all the affairs of that class. As long as the man who was entrusted with the arrow conducted the duties attached to him with such care as to insure the pleasure of God and satisfaction of the King, he was maintained in the trust. But when he was intoxicated by the effect of the wine of arrogance and pride, or when his foresight was obscured by the dimness of negligence, and he did not look after his business, but through his misfortune thought only of collecting riches, then the arrow of his wishes failed to hit the point of success, and he was ordered to be removed from office by the pen of destiny for his insolent deeds. * * *

Gradations of Rank.

Among the customs introduced by this King, one was, that of the distribution of arrows, by means of which the distinction of ranks and stations among servants of the throne was marked. The pen of eloquence thus writes a full detail of this particular head. According to the different standards of gold, the ranks of all the people composing the three classes were divided into twelve orders or arrows, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. The twelfth arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was put in the auspicious quiver of this powerful King, and nobody could dare to touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relations and brethren, and all the Sultáns who were in the government employ. Tenth, to the great *mushaikhs, saiyids*, and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the courtiers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the *harems* and to the well-behaved female attendants. Fifth, to young maid-servants. Fourth, to the treasurers and stewards. Third, to the soldiers. Second, to the menial servants. First, to the palace guards, camel-drivers, and the like. Each of these arrows or orders had three grades; the highest, the middle, and the lowest.

Government Departments.

Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of government into four departments, after the number of the four elements, viz. the *A'tashí, Hawáí, A'bí*, and *Khákí;* and for conducting the business of these departments he appointed four ministers. The department to which belonged the artillery and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken from fire, was called *A'tashí;* and the superintendence of this department was placed under Khwája 'Amídu-l Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the ovens of the hearts of those who were employed on these works. The duties connected with the wardrobe, kitchen, stable, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Hawái* department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwája Lutf-ulla. The *Sharbat-khána*, *Súji-khána*, the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the *A'bí* department, and its superintendent was Khwája Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, resumption of *Khálisa* lands, and some household affairs formed a department which was called *Khákí*, and this was placed under the management of Khwája Jalálu-d dín Mirzá Beg. Formerly one of the nobles was ordered to look after each department. For instance, Amír Násir Kulí supervised the fire department, and he always used to put on red clothes. After his death, the cypress of the garden of dignity and grandeur, Mír Nihál, was appointed to the same duty. But in the days when the compiler wrote these pages, the supervision of all the four departments was entrusted to the care of the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amír Wais Muhammad.

Building of Dínpanáh.

Another great work of this just and generous King was the city of Dínpanáh, which was really the asylum of religious men. The musk-resembling pen perfumes the minds of good people by writing an account of its foundation. In the month of Sha'bán, A.H. 939 (1533 A.D.), when the fort of Gwálior was made the object of envy to the high revolving heavens by the royal presence, the great King one night sat there on the Imperial throne, and having ordered all his great courtiers and learned companions to sit down, conversed with them on various topics. In this discourse he poured from his tongue the secrets of the pearls of these words, that long time since it was his intention to found near the capital of Dehlí a large city, the ramparts of which from their loftiness might open the tongue of reproach and scorn at Khawarnak and Sawír, the palaces of Bahrám, and that the keeper of its bastions might claim equality with Saturn. Also that in this city a magnificent palace of seven storeys should be erected, surrounded by delightful gardens and orchards, of such elegance and beauty, that its fame might draw people from the remotest corners of the world for its inspection. That the city should be the asylum of wise and intelligent persons, and be called Dínpanáh. Those who were present in the assembly which resembled paradise, opened their tongues in approbation and applause of such a scheme. At the same time, it was discovered by the most witty and clever Mauláná Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Mu'ammáí, that the numerical value of the words *Shahr-i pádsháh Dinpanáh* was 940, and he said that if the city were built in that year it would be a very remarkable fact. The same moment these words were brought to the notice of the King, who, as well as all the officers of the high Court, was greatly struck with them. All persons that were present at the time began to sing with their tongues the following stanza before His Majesty, who understood the excellencies of poetry well:

> "The picture which your imagination draws on your mind,
> Nothing contrary to it is done by the hand of destiny.
> What your understanding writes on a leaf
> Agrees with the book of the Will of God."

In short, the King accordingly fixed the resolution in his enlightened mind. After, under the protection of the Almighty God, he had returned from Gwálior to Ágra, he turned the reins of his world-travelling horse, in the beginning of the month of Zí-l hijja, A.H. 939, towards the city of Dehlí. When he had reached the city, which was as beautiful as heaven, safe under the care of God from all evils, and had taken omens and religious advice, a rising ground adjacent to the banks of the stream of Jumna, about three *kos* from the city, was selected for the foundation of the city of Dínpanáh.

In the middle of the month of the sacred Muharram, A.H. 940, at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers, all the great *mushaikhs* (religious men) the respectable *saiyids*, the learned persons, and all the elders of the city of Dehlí, accompanied the King, who was as generous as the ocean, to the spot, prayed the Almighty God to finish the happy foundation of that city, and to strengthen the basis of the King's wealth. First, His Majesty with his holy hand put a brick on the earth, and then each person from that concourse of great men placed a stone on the ground, and they all made such a crowd there that the army, people, and the artists, masons, and labourers found no room or time to carry stones and mud to the spot. On the same date work was also commenced in the King's own palace.

At this time, *i.e.* the latter part of the month of Shawwál of the same year, the walls, bastions, ramparts, and the gates of the city of Dínpanáh are nearly finished.

XXXVII.

TÁRÍKH-I RASHÍDÍ

OF

HAIDAR MIRZÁ DOGHLAT.

[THE writer of this valuable work was the son of Muhammad Husain Mirzá, who was the eldest son of Haidar Mirzá Doghlat, Amír of Káshghar. Muhammad Husain married the younger sister of the Emperor Bábar's mother. So our author, Haidar Mirzá, was first cousin of Bábar, and he seems to have inherited from his mother no small share of that ability and vigour which distinguished his more eminent relative. His father, Muhammad Husain, was put to death at Hirát in 914 (1508 A.D.), under the orders of Shaibání Khán. Haidar Mirzá himself was also doomed, but he was concealed and saved. In the following year Bábar sent for him to Kábul, and there received him with considerate and generous affection, of which the Mirzá speaks in the warmest terms of gratitude. "It was a sad day," says he, "that deprived me of my father; but, through the unremitting kindness of the Emperor, I never felt the loss. * * During the whole time of my stay with him, he always conducted himself towards me with parental observance and affection."

Haidar Mirzá was as bold and adventurous as Bábar himself, and played a notable part in widely distant places. He was actively engaged as a military leader in Badakhshán and Káshghar, and seems to have there given proofs of eminent military talents. Nor was he at all deficient in that literary ability which distinguished his cousin. He saw much, and he observed and recorded what passed under his own eyes, and what he learnt from diligent inquiry. "The *Táríkh-i Rashídí*," says

Mr. Erskine,[1] well deserves to be published in the original or translated. It is the production of a learned and accomplished man; and, in the two latter parts, of a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes."

"The history of the Kháns of the Mughals, and of the Amírs of Káshghar, subsequent to Tímúr Tughlik Khán, forms the proper subject of the first two books. These details are the more valuable as the succession of the Mughal Kháns and of the Amírs of Káshghar from that period is not contained in any other work with which I am acquainted." In the writer's own time, "Central Asia was in a transition state, which ended in the settlement of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana, of the Kirghiz confederacy in Mughalistán, and of the Chaghatáí Turks in India. The minute details which the author gives of his own sufferings, and of the sufferings of his nearest relations, during the period that followed the ascendancy of Shaibání Khán in Máwaráu-n nahr and Khurásán, of their escapes, adventures, successes, and discomfitures, let us more into the condition of the country and feelings of the inhabitants of these states and of Káshghar at that crisis, than perhaps any other monument extant. A portion of the last book relates to the history of Kashmír and Hindústán, and the whole work is interspersed with geographical accounts of countries, especially to the east of Máwaráu-n nahr, little known in Europe. The rise and fall of several tribes, or associations of tribes, in the desert, are recorded with much clearness and a perfect acquaintance with their external and internal policy. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the Commentaries of Bábar, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

Haidar Mirzá's notices of India are fragmentary, and are confined to what passed under his own observation; but they give a vivid picture of the disorder and incapacity which marked the early reign of Humáyún, and were the causes of his downfall. In the course of his adventurous life Haidar Mirzá had served in Kashmír, and while he was acting as governor of Lahore on behalf of Prince Kámrán, a number of malcontent nobles of that country endeavoured to obtain his aid in dethroning their unpopular ruler. He entered warmly into the project, but the troubles of Hindústán delayed its execution. After passing into the service of Humáyún, and witnessing the disastrous rout of Kanauj, described in one of the following Extracts, he endeavoured to induce Humáyún to secure a refuge and a vantage-ground in Kashmír. The Emperor was inclined to follow his advice, and sent some forces to enter upon the conquest of that country. But his plans were thwarted by his brother Kámrán, and he was compelled to fly beyond the Indus. Haidar Mirzá soon showed the practicability of the advice he had tendered. With a force of only 4000 men he marched against Kashmír, and evading the troops drawn up to oppose him, he made his way secretly by unfrequented routes to Srinagar the capital, and captured it without opposition in Rajab, 947 (November, 1540). The whole country fell into his possession, and he successfully resisted the attempts of the dethroned prince to recover his kingdom, although Sher Sháh aided the exile. Haidar Mirzá ruled the land which he had won with great wisdom and ability, and so recruited its resources that it was restored to prosperity and happiness. He reigned for eleven years, and was eventually killed in a night attack by a party of conspirators in 958 (1551 A.D.). To his honour be it recorded, he did not in his prosperity forget his unfortunate kinsman the Emperor Humáyún, but urged him to come to Kashmír, and to make that country a *point d'appui* for the recovery of his lost empire.

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[1] See Vol. I., p. 193.

The MS. used is a small 4to. belonging to the Nawab of Jhajjhar, containing 729 pages, of fourteen lines each. There is a transcript of this MS. among Sir H. Elliot's MSS. It seems to differ occasionally from the MS. used by Mr. Erskine, as may be seen by comparing the following Extracts with those given by Mr. Erskine.]

EXTRACTS.

Defeat of Humáyún at Kanauj.

[When all the brothers were assembled, they conferred together upon the state of affairs. The discussion was protracted, but no profitable decision was arrived at; in fact, nothing was proposed that was worthy of the occasion, for as it is said, "When Fortune's adverse, minds are perverse." Kámrán Mirzá was very anxious to return, but Humayun disregarded all his representations. Seven months were wasted in weary indecision, until the opportunity was lost, and Sher Khán was on the Ganges ready for war. In the midst of this confusion Kámrán Mirzá became very ill. The climate of Hindústán had brought on some serious disorders.[1] When he had thus suffered for two or three months, he lost the use of his hands and feet. As no medicine or treatment relieved him, he became the more desirous of departing to Lahore. At length his maladies so increased, that he made up his mind to return thither. This departure of Kámrán Mirzá was the turning-point in the rise of Sher Khán and the downfall of the Chaghatáí power. The Emperor greatly urged him to leave some of his officers and forces as auxiliaries, but Kámrán Mirzá, on the contrary, did all he could to induce all the men of Ágra to go away with him, and strenuously rejected the proposal to leave his own army behind. Mír Khwája Kalán, who was his prime minister, also exerted himself to the same purpose. Kámrán Mirzá sent him on in advance, and then followed in person.

While this was passing, Sher Khán advanced to the banks of the Ganges, and passed his army over. Kutb Khán, his son, marched towards Etáwa and Kálpí. These territories were the *ikta's* of Husain Sultán, who was one of the Uzbek Sultáns, and Yádgár Násir Mirzá, son of Násir Mirzá, the brother of the Emperor Bábar. Part of Kálpí belonged to Kámrán Mirzá, and he had sent to that district Iskandar Sultán as his representative. These three persons marched against Kutb Khán, who was slain in the battle, and they gained a complete victory. The Emperor now marched from Ágra towards the Ganges against Sher Khán. [The writer goes on to explain at length his reasons for leaving Kámrán, and joining the Emperor.] Although Mirzá Kámrán would not consent to my parting from him, I remained behind without his consent. Kámrán Mirzá himself, shamefully leaving only Iskandar Sultán with about 1000 men as auxiliaries, went off to Lahore, taking with him all the men of Ágra he could carry with him; thus giving strength to the enemy and preparing defeat for his friends. The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Khán on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, of the house of Tímúr, and grandson by a daughter of Sultán Husain (of Khurásán), had come to India to wait upon the Emperor Bábar, and had been received with every mark of kindness and kingly favour. After Bábar's death he had several times revolted against Humáyún; but being unsuccessful, he had sought forgiveness, and had been pardoned. Now having colluded with Sher Khán, he deserted. A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Khán, and so could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kámrán's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore.

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[1] [The various complications are specified.]

Among the equipments which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (*gardún*), each dawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (*zarb-zan*), which discharged a ball (*kalola*), of 500 *miskáls* weight. I myself several times saw that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (*be-khatá*) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass, and weighed 5000 *miskáls*, and the cost of each was 200 *miskáls* of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a *parasang*.

As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case we could not at least be accused of having abandoned an empire like Hindústán without striking a blow. Another consideration was, that if we passed the river, desertion would be no longer possible. We therefore crossed over.

Both armies entrenched themselves. Every day skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for a camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such a deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was proposed to move to a rising ground which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose. I said that we would on the morrow try the enemy on the touchstone of experience, for he ought not to attack while we were on the march, as the arraying of an army at the time of marching is contrary to sound judgment.[1] The morrow was the 10th of Muharram, and we must keep our forces well under control until we see if the enemy comes out of his trenches and advances against us. Then at last a regular pitched battle will be fought between us. The proper plan for us is to place the mortars (*deg*) and swivels (*zarb-zan*) in front; and the gunners, nearly 5000 in number, must be stationed with the guns. If he does come out to attack us, there is no time or place more suitable than this for battle. If he does not come out of his entrenchments, we must remain drawn up till about mid-day, and then return to our position. Next day we must act just in the same way. Then the baggage must move to the new position, and we must follow and occupy the place. This scheme of mine met with general approbation.

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[1] در وقت کوچ او مقابلہ نباید کہ بوقت کوچ مصاف خلاف راي باشد [Mr. Erskine or his MS. makes better sense of this passage, but the words of our MS. will not admit of the interpretation. His version runs thus: "I represented that when we did march, it would be desirable to divert the attention of the enemy by engaging them in skirmishes, as it would not do to be drawn into a general action, when the army was marching to change its ground."]

On the 10th Muharram, 948 H., we mounted to carry the plan into effect, and formed our array. As had been determined, the carriages (*gardún*) and mortars (*deg*) and small guns (*topakchiyán*) were placed in the centre. The command of the guns was given to Muhammad Khán Rúmí, the sons of Ustád 'Ali Kulí, Ustád Ahmad Rúmí, and Husain Khalífa. They placed the carriages and mortars (*deg*) in their proper positions, and stretched chains between them. In other divisions there were *amírs* of no repute, men who were *amírs* only in name. They had got possession of the country, but they had not a tincture of prudence or knowledge, or energy or emulation, or nobility of mind or generosity —qualities from which nobility draws its name. The Emperor had posted the author of this work upon his left, so that his right flank should be on the Emperor's left. In the same position he had placed a force of chosen troops. On my left, all my retainers were stationed. I had 400 chosen men, inured to warfare and familiar with battle, fifty of whom were mounted on horses accoutred with armour. Between me and the river (*júí-bár*) there was a force of twenty-seven *amírs*, all of whom carried the *túgh* banner. In this position, also, were the other components of the left wing, and they must be judged of by the others. On the day of battle, when Sher Khán, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these twenty-seven *túgh* banners not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance upon them. The soldiership and bravery of the *amírs* may be conceived from this exhibition of courage.

Sher Khán came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him (*peshtar i o*) were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatáí force as about 40,000, all mounted on *tipchák* horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the *amírs* and officers of the army was such as I have described. When Sher Khán's army came out of its entrenchments, two divisions (*jauk*), which seemed to be equal to four divisions, drew up in that place, and three divisions advanced against their opponents. On our side I was leading the centre, to take up the position which I had selected; but when we reached the ground, we were unable to occupy it: for every *amír* and *wazír* in the Chaghatáí army, whether he be rich or poor, has his *ghuláms*. An *amír* of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and *ghuláms*, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatever place there was a conflict, the *ghuláms* were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror.[1] In short it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the chariots, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Those who were behind so pressed upon those who were in front, that they broke through the chains. The men who were posted by the chains were driven beyond it, and the few who remained behind were broken, so that all formation was destroyed.

Such was the state of the centre. On the right Sher Khán advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line they all pressed towards the centre. The *ghuláms* whom the commanders had sent to the front rushed to the lines of chariots, the whole array was broken, and the *mír* was separated from his men, and the men from the *mír*. While the centre was thus thrown into disorder, all the fugitives from the right bore down upon it. So before the enemy had discharged an arrow, the whole army was scattered and defeated. I had estimated the Chaghatáí army as numbering 40,000 men, excluding the camp followers (*ghulám*) and workmen (*shágird-pesha*). They fled before 10,000 men, and Sher Khán gained a victory, and the Chaghatáís were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded. Not a gun was fired, and the chariots (*gardún*) were useless.

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[1] [This idea is expressed by a simile borrowed from falconry.]

When the Chaghatáís took to flight, the distance between their position and the Ganges might be nearly a *parasang*. All the *amirs* and braves (*bahádurán*) fled for safety to the river, without a man of them having received a wound. The enemy pursued them, and the Chaghatáís, having no time to throw off their armour and coats, plunged into the river. The breadth of the river might be about five bowshots. Many illustrious *amirs* were drowned, and each one remained or went on at his will. When we came out of the river, His Majesty, who at mid-day had 17,000 workmen in attendance upon his Court, was mounted upon a horse which had been given to him by Tardi Beg, and had nothing on his head or feet. "Permanence is from God, and dominion is from God." Out of 1000 retainers, eight persons came out of the river; the rest had perished in the water. The total loss may be estimated from this fact. When we reached Ágra, we made no tarry, but, broken and dispirited, in a state heart-rending to relate, we went on to Lahore. On the new moon of Rabí'u-l awwal, 947 H., the princes, *amirs*, and people had drawn together at Lahore. The throng was so great that it was difficult to move about, and still more difficult to find a lodging. Every one acted as his fears or his interests led him.]

XXXVIII.

TAZKIRATU-L WÁKI'ÁT

OF

JAUHAR.

THESE are the private Memoirs of the Emperor Humáyún written by his *áftábchi*, or ewer-bearer, Jauhar. They have been translated into English by Major Stewart, and published by the Oriental Translation Fund Lond. (1832). [The MS. used by Stewart bore the above title, under which the work has become generally known, but in Sir H. Elliot's copy of the MS. the author is made to name the work *Humáyún Sháhi.* It is also called *Tárikh-i Humáyún.*] These Memoirs afford much amusement from the *naïve* and simple style in which they are written. The author was a constant attendant upon the Emperor, both during his adversities and successes, and is so devoted an admirer of his patron, that he rarely sees anything to reproach in his conduct. He gives the most trivial details with the utmost candour and gravity, thinking nothing too insignificant to relate of so great an Emperor. "Let no one," says Dion, after recording (lib. lxxii. 18, 18) some of the public exposures and debaucheries of Commodus—"Let no one reprove me for degrading the importance of history because I write such things. In another case I would not have written them; but *since they were done by an Emperor*, and I myself saw and heard them, I thought it right to conceal nothing, and to transmit these matters for the information of posterity, as if they had been of the utmost consequence."

Of himself Jauhar says, "I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person; it therefore occurred to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the events to which I had been an eye-witness, that it may remain as a record of the past interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 995 (A.D. 1587), and have named it the *Tazkiratu-l Wáki'át*, 'Relation of Occurrences.' It is not my intention to narrate all the occurrences which have taken place during the late reign, but I shall confine myself to those operations in which His Majesty was personally concerned. I shall therefore commence this work with Humáyún's ascending the throne, and shall conclude with his return from Persia and his regaining the sovereignty. I shall further explain with what fortitude and perseverance the Emperor encountered so many hardships and difficulties, and through the favour of the Almighty God, thereby recovered his dominions, in the hope that this book may hand down the name of the author to posterity, and inform mankind of these extraordinary events."

[The Memoirs bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental biographers are prone. But the fact of their having been commenced full thirty years after the death of Humáyún greatly diminishes their claim to be considered a faithful and exact account of the occurrences they record. They are not contemporary records of the events as they occurred, but reminiscences of more than thirty years' standing, so that, whatever the sincerity and candour of the writer, time must have toned down his impressions, and memory had doubtless given a favourable colour to the recollections he retained of a well-beloved master. The conversations and observations attributed to the various personages who figure in his Memoirs must therefore contain quite as much of what the author thought they might or ought to have said as of what really was uttered.

When Humáyún recovered Lahore, he immediately divided the appointments of the province among his adherents, and Jauhar was appointed collector of the village of Haibatpúr. Before he departed, the King told him a familiar story as a warning against extortion. Jauhar made a courtly reply, and proceeded to his charge. Upon arriving in the district, he found that it had been the custom of the Afghán farmers to give their wives or children in pledge to the Hindú bankers for money advanced on account of the collections. Therefore, the first thing he did was to collect all the grain that had been hidden in dry pits, and having sold it, he paid the bankers and liberated the families of the peasants. On hearing of this affair, His Majesty was much pleased, and promoted him to the collectorship of the villages belonging to the Afghán chief, Tátár Khán Lodí. Soon after he had an opportunity of displaying his energy and determination. The Panjáb having been left without troops, in consequence of Humáyún's onward march, a body of 400 Afgháns entered the province of Lahore, and began to plunder. The collectors met to consult, and by Jauhar's advice they collected all the men they could, and placing themselves under the command of a brave and active young man, they fell upon them by surprise, defeated them, and took five of their chiefs prisoners. Jauhar does not tell us what position he held when he wrote his Memoirs, but it is evident that he became a man of some mark. Abú-l Fazl mentions his appointment to the district of Haibatpúr, and subsequently speaks of him as "Mihtar Jauhar, treasurer of the Panjáb."]

EXTRACTS.

Humáyún's conquest of Chunár.

His Majesty then inquired from his ministers and nobles what intelligence there was of Sher Khán Afghán, where he was, what he was doing, and what he was intent upon? He was informed that Sher Khán had taken the fort of Rohtás and

Bahrkunda, that he had been for some time besieging the capital of Bengal, and was upon the point of taking it. Upon hearing this untoward news, His Majesty exclaimed to his nobles, "To what a pitch the daring of these Afghâns has reached; please God, we will to-morrow march to the fort of Chunár." His Majesty then questioned Rúmí Khán as to the powers of resistance of the fortress, and he replied that by the Emperor's good fortune, and the favour of the Almighty, they would take the fortress by force. Thereupon the Imperial forces marched towards Chunár, and on the *Shab-i barát* they came to five *kos* distance from the fort. The engineer (Rúmí Khán) then debated with himself how he could find out the exact condition of the fortress, what bastion he ought to attack, and on which side he should mine. He had a slave named Khaláfát, whom in furtherance of his plan he so flogged that the weals were visible upon his body. He then directed him to go into the fortress, and say that he was the slave of Rúmí Khán, and that his master had so beaten him without any cause that he had fled and sought protection with them. So he was to find out the particulars of the fortress and return. He acted in accordance with these instructions. When the Afghâns saw his condition, and the marks of the chastisement plainly visible on his body, they believed him, and strove to heal his wounds. One day the slave proposed to the Afghâns, that if they saw no objection they should show him the defences of the fortress, and he would advise as to the best means of resisting the guns which Rúmí Khán had planted, so that the garrison might be safe. The Afghâns complied with this proposition. After staying a few days in the fortress, and making his observations, the slave made his escape, and returned to his master, whom he acquainted with the exact condition of the fortress. He advised him to attack the bastion on the river-side, and to construct a mine on that same side. Rúmí Khán brought up his guns, and battered that bastion, and he placed other batteries under his various officers. * * *

Rúmí Khán then sought His Majesty's permission to construct a floating battery, by means of which he proposed to cut the garrison off from the water, and prevent them from being able to maintain life. The royal order was given for him to do what he deemed expedient. Under this authority he employed himself for six months in constructing a battery upon three boats, so high that on the top of it all the soldiers of the garrison were plainly discernible. When it was completed, he sought the royal authority to move his battery, make it fast to the fortress, and carry the place by storm. Permission being given, the attack was kept up till mid-day, and the royal army lost nearly 700 men. For all their efforts they could not take the place, and the garrison by their fire smashed one portion of the battery.[1] Next morning Rúmí Khán again prepared his battery. The Afgháns saw that the assailants were resolute and vigorous, and that the place must soon fall, so they proposed to capitulate. Under His Majesty's command the garrison marched out, and the royal forces took possession of the fortress. Rúmí Khán, being very irate and furious, cut off both hands of 300 gunners and others who had formed part of the garrison. When His Majesty was informed of this, he was very angry with Rúmí Khán, and declared that no injury ought to be inflicted on men who had surrendered. After the capture of the fort a grand banquet was given and great rejoicings were made; rewards were distributed and great honours were bestowed. His Majesty then asked Rúmí Khán as to the fortress and to the way he would deal with it. The Khán replied, that if the place were in his hands he would not allow a Bengálí to approach within a *kos* of it. And upon His Majesty asking who ought to be placed in command of it, he replied, that he knew of no one fit for the position but Beg Mírak. Upon this advice His Majesty placed Beg Mírak in command of the fortress. This counsel so incensed all the nobles against Rúmí Khán, that they conspired against him, and caused poison to be placed in his cup, so that he died.

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[1] [*Mukhálifán az marátib-i sar-kob mikdár-i yak sar-kobrá ba zarb-i zang dar ham shikastand.*]

Humáyún in Bengal.[1]

The King moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afgháns. After cleansing and repairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into *jágírs* among his officers; after which he very unaccountably shut himself up in his *harem*, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khán had killed 700 Mughals, had laid siege to the fortress of Chunár, and taken the city of Benares; and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Rohtás.

Defeat of Humáyún at Chúpa-ghát.[2]

As soon as the peace was concluded, the treacherous Sher Khán summoned his principal officers and said to them, "Is there any of you brave enough to go and storm the Mughal camp?" At first not one of the Afghán officers would undertake the task. At length a person called Khawás Khán[3] said, "If he would give him a detachment of good soldiers and a number of war-elephants, he would attempt it, and exert himself to the utmost;" adding, "this is a business of chance; but let us see to whom God will give the victory."

Sher Khán was much pleased with Khawás Khán's proposal, and gave him his choice of all the troops and several war-elephants; but although the detachment marched from the camp at ten o'clock of the morning,[1] the artful general loitered about till night. In the mean time Shaikh Khalíl sent off a messenger to His Majesty, cautioning him to be on his guard; but "when fate descends, caution is vain." * * *

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[1] [Stewart, p. 13.]

[2] [Stewart's Translation, p. 17.]

[3] [Of the *Khássa-khail.*—MS.]

The King would not believe the information, or that Sher Khán would be guilty of such a breach of honour and religion, and passed the night without taking any precautions. But just as the sun rose next morning, the Afgháns entered the rear of our encampment, made a dreadful uproar, and caused the greatest confusion both among the troops and followers. His Majesty, on hearing the noise, ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten, and in a short time about 300 cavalry assembled around him. In a few minutes one of the enemy's war-elephants approached; on which His Majesty made a sign to Mír Bajka, who was celebrated for his valour, and who with his two sons, Garg 'Alí and Tatta Beg, one of whom carried the King's double-barrelled gun and the other the royal spear, to attack the elephant; but as none of them had the heart to do it, His Majesty snatched the spear from the hand of Garg 'Alí, spurred on his horse, and struck the elephant with such force on the forehead that he could not draw out the spear again. In the mean time an archer who was seated on the elephant discharged an arrow, which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him. His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed; and the Afgháns having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost; when your friends forsake you, flight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants,[2] he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leathern bag (*masak*) with air, offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river. On reaching the northern bank, he asked the man his name; he said, "Nizám." The King replied, "I will make your name as celebrated as that of Nizámu-d dín Auliya (a famous saint), and you shall sit on my throne." * * *

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[1] [The MS. says, *namáz-i digar*, "afternoon prayer."]

[2] [The MS. says, "He came to the bank of the river, and his elephant *Gard-báz* was along with him. He ordered the elephant-driver to break down the bridge, and then he urged his horse into the stream, with the intention of swimming over; but the current was rapid, and the horse was carried away from him."]

Soon after the King had remounted his throne, the water-carrier who had enabled him to cross the Ganges paid his respects; and His Majesty, remembering his royal promise, seated him for two hours upon the throne, and desired him to ask for whatever he wished.

Humáyún's defeat at Kanauj.[1]

After the battle had raged for some time, information was brought to His Majesty that the Prince Hindál had discomfited the Afgháns opposed to him, but that the left under 'Askarí was compelled to retreat. Mirzá Haidar represented that in order to let the fugitives pass, it was requisite to loose the chains of the carriages (*'arába*), which formed a barricade in front of the centre. His Majesty unfortunately complied with this advice, and the chains being unloosed, the runaways passed through the line of carriages in files.

During this time, an Afghán clothed in black advanced and struck the King's horse on the forehead with a spear, on which the animal turned round and became unmanageable.[2]

His Majesty afterwards related that as soon as he could control his horse, he saw the Afgháns employed in plundering the carriages, and wished to have charged them, but some person caught the reins of the steed, and led him to the bank of the river. Here, while undetermined how to act, he saw an old elephant which had belonged to the late Emperor. He called to the driver to bring the elephant to him, who did so. He then mounted, and asked a eunuch who was in the *howdah*, what was his name. He replied, "Kafúr." His Majesty then ordered the driver to carry him across the river, but the fellow refused, and said the elephant would be drowned. On which the eunuch whispered, that he suspected the driver wished to carry them over to the enemy; it would therefore be advisable to take off the fellow's head. The King said, "How shall we then make the elephant cross the river?" The eunuch replied, that he understood something of driving an elephant. Upon hearing this, His Majesty drew his sword and so wounded the driver that he fell off into the water, and the eunuch stepped down from the *howdah* on the neck of the animal, and caused him to pass the river. His Majesty further related, that when he arrived near the bank, it was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. At length, some of the camp colour-men,[1] who were on the look out for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards A'gra. * * *

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[1] [Stewart, p. 21.]

[2] [Instead of this paragraph, the words of Sir H. Elliot's MS. simply say, "A man clothed in black came and seized my bridle (*jilau*), and so turned the reins (*'inán*) of my horse."]

The King having been joined by the Princes Hindál and 'Askarí and the Mirzás Yádgár Násir, etc., proceeded joyfully towards A'gra. When they reached the village of Bhain-gánw, the peasants, who were in the habit of plundering a defeated army, stopped up the road, and one of them wounded Mirzá Yádgár with an arrow. On which the Mirzá said to the Prince 'Askarí, "Do you go on and punish these villagers, while I stop to dress my wound." The Prince was displeased at this request, and gave the Mirzá some abuse, on which the other retorted in harsher language, and the Prince struck him three times with his horsewhip, which was returned with interest on the other side. When intelligence of this unpleasant fracas reached the King, he said, "They had better have vented their spite on the robbers than on each other. What has happened cannot be recalled, but let us hear no more of it." In short, the King reached Ágra in safety.

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[1] [The word is *túgh-bándn*, "nobles of the *túgh*-banner."]

Battle of Kipchák.[1]

One of the scoundrels of the enemy approached the King, and struck him on the head with his sword, and was about to repeat the blow, when His Majesty, looking at him, said, "You wretch, how dare you?"—upon which the fellow desisted; and some other officers coming up, led the King out of the battle; but he was so severely wounded, that he became weak from loss of blood, and therefore threw off his *jabba* (quilted coat), and gave it in charge of an Abyssinian servant; but his servant being obliged to make his escape from the battle, threw away the *jabba*, which having been found by some of Kámrán's followers, it was brought to the Prince, who immediately proclaimed that the King was killed.

At this time there only remained with His Majesty eleven persons, including servants, and the author of these pages. We therefore took him out of the battle; and as his own horse was unquiet, we mounted him on a small ambling steed, two of the chiefs supporting him on either side, and endeavouring to console him by anecdotes of former princes who had suffered similar adversity, and encouraged him to exert himself, as it was probable the enemy might pursue him. On hearing this, he resumed his fortitude, and proceeded towards the pass of Sirtun. On the march we were joined by some of the chiefs, and at nightfall reached the entrance of Sirtun. As it was then very cold, and His Majesty suffered much from weakness, a sheepskin cloak was brought and put on him.

In the morning we reached the top of the pass; and as it was then getting warm, the King dismounted on the bank of the river, performed his ablutions, and washed his wound; but as there was no carpet for prayer to be found, the humble servant, Jauhar, brought the cover of a stool of scarlet cloth, and spread it for His Majesty, who knelt thereon, and performed his devotions, and sat down facing the *kibla* (Mecca). * * *

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[1] Stewart, p. 94.

The King again mounted, and rode on to Parwán, where he alighted. At this place the only tent that could be procured was a small *shamiyána* (canopy), sufficient only to screen one person; under this His Majesty lay down and slept. In the morning the author of these pages awoke His Majesty, and told him it was the hour of morning prayer. He said, "My boy, as I am so severely wounded, I cannot bear to purify myself with cold water." I represented that I had got some warm water ready for him; he then arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. He afterwards mounted his horse, but had not ridden far when he complained that the clotted blood on his clothes hurt him, and asked of the servants if they had no *jáma* (coat) they could lend him. Bahádur Khán replied, he "had a *jáma*, but it was one His Majesty had discarded and given to him, and he had worn it." The King said, "Never mind that, bring it." He then put it on, and gave the dress which was stained with blood to this humble servant, Jauhar, the *áftábchi*, and said, "Take care of this dress, and only wear it on holy days."

From Parwán we proceeded to Kahamrúd, where Táhir Muhammad had the honour of paying his respects. He had pitched an old tent for the King, and had prepared an entertainment for him; but the blockhead did not bring any present, not even a spare dress. His Majesty ordered his followers to partake of the dinner, but went himself to the edge of a fountain, where they pitched an old tent, grimed with smoke and soot, for him; but as there was no necessary tent, the humble servant went and procured two hurdles, which he fixed up as a privy: At this time an old woman came and offered His Majesty a pair of silk trousers. He said, "Although these are not proper for a man to wear, yet, as my own are defiled with blood, I will put them on." He then inquired what the woman had for her support; and on being informed, wrote an order to the collector not to demand any tribute from her in future.

Surrender of Kábul to Kámrán.[1]

When His Majesty left Kábul, he bestowed the government on Kásim 'Alí, who had formerly been a servant of Kámrán's; but notwithstanding this circumstance, he for some time refused to give up the fortress, till assured by Kámrán that the King was dead, who in proof thereof produced the *jabba* or quilted coat; in consequence of which the Prince was allowed to enter the fort, and again took possession of the young Akbar. * * After remaining a month and twenty days at Andaráb, * * the King determined on marching to oppose the rebels; but he first assembled all his chiefs, and proposed to them to take the oath of allegiance. Hájí Muhammad Khán said, "It was also incumbent on His Majesty to take the oath of confederacy." The Prince Hindál said, "Such a proceeding was highly improper." But the King said, "If the chiefs wished it, he would take the oath to satisfy them." In short, the oaths were ratified on both sides; and, to give the ceremony more solemnity, the King fasted all that day.

Kámrán surrendered by the Gakhars, and blinded.[2]

The King received letters from Sultán A'dam, chief of the Gakhars, stating that "the Prince Kámrán was now in his territory, and that if His Majesty would take the trouble of coming there, he would give him up." * * * The Prince arrived, and advanced with great humility. The King, however, received him graciously, and pointed to him to sit down on the bed on his right hand. His Majesty then sat down on the bed also, having the young Prince Akbar on his left hand. Sultán A'dam, 'Abdu-l Ma'álí, and the other chiefs were also seated in due order. After some time, His Majesty called for a water-melon, one-third of which he took and divided with his brother. * * * Preparations having been made for an entertainment, the whole night was passed in jollity and carousing. * * * [Four days after], the business of Mirzá Kámrán was taken into consideration, and it was resolved, in the first place, to remove all his servants from him. Then the King ordered five of his own people [*names*], and his humble servant Jauhar, to attend upon the Prince, and he said to me, "My boy (*ghulám*), do you know where you are sent?" I said, "Yes, and I know Your Majesty's (wishes)." He replied, "Your business is to take care of the interior of the tent, you are desired not to sleep for a moment." * * *

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[1] Stewart, p. 99.

[2] Stewart, p. 103.

Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindústán, but before his departure determined that the Prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the Prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Sultán 'Alí, the paymaster, ordered 'Alí Dost to do it. The other replied, "You will not pay a Sháh-Rukhí (3*s.* 6*d.*) to any person without the King's directions; therefore, why should I commit this deed without a personal order from His Majesty? Perhaps to-morrow the King may say, 'Why did you put out the eyes of my brother?' What answer could I give? Depend upon it I will not do it by your order." Thus they continued to quarrel for some time. At length, I said, "I will go and inform the King." On which I with two others galloped after His Majesty. When we came up with him, 'Alí Dost said, in the Chaghatáí Turkí language, "No one will perform the business." The King replied in the same language, abused him, and said, "Why don't you do it yourself?"

After receiving this command, we returned to the Prince, and Ghulám 'Alí represented to him, in a respectful and condoling manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The Prince replied, "I would rather you would at once kill me." Ghulám 'Alí said, "We dare not exceed our orders." He then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the *farásh* seizing the Prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down, and thrust a lancet into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him. He then said, " Why do you sit upon my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes. He then could not forbear, and called out, " O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion upon me in the next."

* * *

The author of these pages, seeing the Prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a very melancholy mood. The King having seen me, sent Ján Muhammad, the librarian, to ask me, "If the business I had been employed on was finished, and why I had returned without orders?" The humble servant represented that "the business I had been sent on was quite completed." His Majesty then said, "He need not go back, let him get the water ready for me to bathe."]

XXXIX.

TA'RI'KH-I ALFI'

OF

MAULA'NA' AHMAD, AND OTHERS.

This work comprehends a History of Muhammadan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijra era. It is from this circumstance that it obtains its name, *Alf* signifying in the Arabic language one thousand. The Emperor Akbar directed its compilation by several learned men,[1] and may have perhaps fixed upon this particular period of one thousand years, in conformity with a notion he is said to have entertained and expressed, that the Muhammadan religion would be abolished, after lasting that period.[2]

At the commencement of the work, many different authors were employed, but, subsequently, the chief labour devolved upon Maulána Ahmad, the son of the Kází of Thatta,[3] and the author of *Khulásatu-l Hayát*, "the Essence of Life." An interesting account of the different parties engaged on it is given by 'Abdu-l Kádir Badáúní in the following passage from his *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh.*

"About this time (A.H. 990), Mullá Ahmad, of Thatta, a bigot, who had the impertinence[4] to call himself a physician, came from the Dekhin, and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, were *Fárúkís* of the Hanífah sect, and Mullá Ahmad used, in consequence of his apostacy, to shower anathemas upon those unfortunate persons. * * * In the time of Sháh Tahmásp he associated in 'Irák with some heretic Íránians, but he even exceeded them, notwithstanding their notorious heresy. When Sháh Ism'aíl II. deserted the faith of his father, and became a Sunní, and persecuted the heretic Shí'as, Mullá Ahmad accompanied Makhdúm Sharkí (an uncompromising Sunní, who wrote the *Kitábu-n Nawáfiz*) on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thence he proceeded to the Dekhin, and afterwards to Hindústán, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines,[1] and invite converts to the Shí'a persuasion; but in a short time he met the penalty of his evil deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faízí, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him, when I saw him one day in the *bázár*, where some 'Irákis took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this, he addressed me, and said, 'I see the mark of a Shí'a stamped on your forehead.' 'Just as much,' I replied, 'as I see Sunní stamped upon yours.' The bystanders laughed, and were much gratified at the retort. I shall, please God! notice the close of his life in the proper place."

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[1] Two hundred years before a similar scheme was executed by Guthrie and Grey, and there was one before theirs. See *Gesch. d. sch. Redek. Persiens*, p. 353. *P. Cyclop.* vol. xi., p. 197.

[2] Troyer and Shea, *Dabistan*, vol. iii., p. 98.

[3] His birthplace is differently given by others. Dr. Bird calls him son of Nasrallah of Nineveh. General Briggs calls him Mullá Ahmad of Nineveh. See *History of Guzerat*, p. 88. Firishta, vol. i., p. xlix. *Dabistan*, vol. ii., p. 160.

[4] The author of the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará*, who was himself a Shí'a, speaks more tenderly of these absurdities. He says the Mullá was partial to religious controversy, and rarely missed an opportunity of indulging his propensity, even in mixed societies.

"The year 1000 of the Hijra era, which is in general use, being now completed,[2] the Emperor Akbar ordered a history to be written of all the Muhammadan kings, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled *Alfi*. He further ordered the word *Rihlat* (death) to be substituted for *Hijra* (flight) in the different dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the decease of the Prophet to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world."

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[1] The *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* does not give so sorry an account of his claim to be a physician, as will be seen below.

[2] This is said in the paulo-post future sense, because the order for the composition of the *Táríkh-i Alfi* is recorded as one of the events of 990 H., and we find 'Abdu-l Kádir going to Lahore to revise it in 1000 H. The translation of the *Mahábhárata* was also ordered in 990 H.

"He assigned the first year to Nakíb Khán, the second to Sháh Fath-ulla, and so on to Hakím Humám, Hakím 'Alí, Hájí Ibráhím Sirhindí (who had just then arrived from Gujarát), Mirzá Nizámu-d dín, and myself; so that by such distribution thirty-five years were finished in the course of a week."

"During the period that I was compiling the events of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of Khalif 'Umar, the model of purity (may God be propitious to him!), I had just completed an account of the foundation of Kúfa, and the destruction of Madá-ín, from the ruins of which the new city was embellished, and the marriage of Ammi Kulsúm, the daughter of the Amíru-l muminín 'Alí[1] (may God be propitious to him!), as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Nasíbín, and the large black scorpions which were made use of to effect its capture, when, one night, Mírzá J'afar Ásaf Khán thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts.[2] Notwithstanding this, Shaikh Abú-l Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakhshí confirmed my assertions. Shortly afterwards, when I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the *Rauzatu-l Ahbáb* and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Nakíb Khán to verify the accuracy of the statement, which, by God's grace, being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention."

"At the recommendation of Hakím Abú-l Fath, the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullá Ahmad of Thatta, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices—a fact which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changíz Khán, when Mirzá Fúlád, one night, pretending that the King had sent for Mullá Ahmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahore, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. For this act he was sentenced to death."

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[1] Sprenger calls her the fifth child of Muhammad, and spells her name "Omm Kolthum." Muhammad had both wife and daughter of the name. Reinaud, Blacas, vol. ii., p. 128. *Univ. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 176. Ockley, p. 270. Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, p. 133. Weil, vol. i., 144, and for others, see Index to Weil, "Umm Kolthum."

[2] See note in Appendix.

"The remainder of the work was written by Ásaf Khán, up to the year 997[1] H. In the year 1000 H.[2] I was ordered to proceed to Lahore, to revise the composition, to compare it with other histories, and to arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I compared the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Ásaf Khán."[3]

In another part of his History (A.H. 1003), 'Abdu-l Kádir again speaks of the *Táríkh-i Alfí* being divided into three books, two composed by Mullá Ahmad, "the heretic, may he meet with his deserts!" and the third by Ásaf Khán (J'afar Beg).[4] Major C. Stewart, however, in his Catalogue of Típú Sultán's Library, says it is divided into five books, and that it extends from A.D. 622 to 1592. The error of making it commence from A.D. 622 arises from his supposing that its dates refer to the Flight, instead of the Death, of Muhammad [making a difference of ten years and two months]. This alteration of a universal era, and the substitution of one especially for this work, is a very objectionable feature of the *Táríkh-i Alfí*, excellent as it is in many other respects.

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[1] Not having seen the last part of the History, I am not able to ascertain whether it extends only to 997 H. The *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* uses the same expression. Bird's *Guzerat*, p. 88, says it was completed in 995 H. The Hyderabad copy goes to 974 of the *Rihlat*, and a copy belonging to Wiláyat Husain goes to 984 of *Rihlat* or 994 H.

[2] In another portion of his History he says, that he presented the first volume of the edition, which had been revised by him, in the 39th year of the reign, corresponding with A.H. 1003, in which labour, his friend, Mullá Mustafá, a famous copyist of Lahore, had been associated with him. He was then asked by Akbar to revise the second, as it was full of the religious opinions of Mullá Ahmad, but he excused himself from doing more than merely revising the style, without altering the sense, or correcting the dates; in order that his enemies might not say he had been introducing his own sentiments instead of those of the author, and substituting one set of prejudices for another. As the *Táríkh-i Alfí* is quoted in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, which is brought down only to the end of the 38th year of the reign, corresponding with 1002 H., it is evident it must have been available before 'Abdu-l Kádir had revised it.

[3] Respecting him see *Mirát-i Jahán-numá*, p. 692, and *Bagh-i m'ání*, s.v., where he is said to have written the annals of 400 years. See also *Ikbál-náma Jahangiri*, third volume, *Mirát-i 'Álam.* Sprenger's *Bibl.*, p. 57.

[4] *Tabakát-i Sháh Jahán*, f. 257, 286.

It will be observed that 'Abdu-l Kádir promised to relate further particulars of Mullá Ahmad in their proper place, and he fulfils that promise in the following passage, which affords as amusing an instance of *odium theologicum* as is to be met with in any country.

"During this month (Safar, 996 A.H.) Mirzá Fúlád Birlás persuaded the heretic Mullá Ahmad, who was always openly reviling the first *Khalifs*, to leave his own house at midnight under some pretence, and then assassinated him. The chronograms of which event are, 'Bravo! Fúlád's stiletto!' and 'Hellish hog!'[1] and indeed when I saw that dog in the agonies of death, I observed his countenance to be exactly like that of a hog: others also observed the same. (May God protect me from such a dreadful fate!)[2] Mirzá Fúlád, was bound alive to the leg of an elephant in the city of Lahore, and thus attained martyrdom.

"When Hakím Abú-l Fath sent some one to inquire of him, whether sectarian prejudices had induced him to kill Mullá Ahmad, he replied that had that been the reason, he would have selected a more noble victim than the Mullá. The *Hakim* reported this speech to the King, who remarked that Mirzá Fúlád was an implacable villain, and ought to suffer death. He therefore ordered him to be drawn, while yet living, by an elephant, although he was very nearly obtaining a pardon through the intercession of the ladies[1] of the royal household. The Mullá expired three or four days after the Mirzá.

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[1] Id., f. 225.

[2] A Shí'a, who marked the rubrics on the margin of the copy I have used, takes a most summary revenge, by heading this passage thus: "The assassination of the blessed Mullá Ahmad by the ruthless dagger of an accursed son of a pig."

"It is said, that when the Shí'as were bathing the Mullá previous to burial, they fixed, according to the observances of their religion, a tent peg in his back, and dipped him several times in the river, and that when he was buried, Shaikh Faizí and Shaikh 'Abú-l Fazl appointed watchmen to guard his tomb; notwithstanding which, when the Court departed for Kashmír, the people of Lahore disinterred his vile carcase, and burnt it."

The author of the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* adds a few particulars respecting Mullá Ahmad, in his biography of Fúlád Khán. He says that the accomplice of Mirzá Fúlád personated one of the royal messengers, and summoned the Mullá to the King's presence; that when the Mullá had left his house, he was attacked, and had one of his hands cut off by a sword; that the assassins, mistaking it for his head, ran off, satisfied that their work was accomplished; that he fell from his horse, and when he had recovered a little, picked up his own hand, and went to the house of Hakím Hasan for succour; that when Fúlád Khán was seized, he confessed the crime before Abú-l Fazl, Khán-khánán, and Ásaf Kkán.

He says also that Mullá Ahmad went in his twenty-second year to Meshhed, and thence to Yezd and Shíráz, where, under the instructions of the physicians Kamálu-d dín Husain and Mullá Mirzá Ján, he entered on a course of medical study, and read the *Kulyát-i Kánún* of Avicenna, and the *Sharh-i Tajríd*, with all the commentaries. He then went to Kazwín, where he had an interview with Sháh Tahmásp, and when Sháh Ism'áíl the Second was converted to the Sunní doctrine, he went to 'Irák-i 'Arab and Mecca, and after mixing with several celebrated scholars in those parts, proceeded to the Dekhin, to the Court of Kutb Sháh of Golconda, and in the twenty-seventh year of Akbar's reign came to Fathpúr Síkrí, where he received orders to compile the *Táríkh-i Alfí.*

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[1] The *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* says "by the nobles of the State." The determination to carry the sentence into effect shows the stern justice of the Emperor. The Birlás tribe had served his for eight generations, and Mirzá Fúlád had himself been selected by Akbar to accompany an embassy to 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, in the twenty-second year of the reign. *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iii., pp. 333, 340; *Shajrat ul Atrak*, p. 61; *Matláu-s Sa'dain*, p. 250; *Hist. Genealog. d. Tatars*, p. 152.

He used to read out his composition to Akbar, who asked him upon one occasion, why he had dwelt so long upon Khalífa 'Usmán's reign. He replied openly, says the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará*, before all the Túrání nobles, who were Sunnís, that that period is the "*Rauzatu-s Shuhadá*"[1] of the Sunnís, and to abridge it would give offence.

The inconvenience respecting the introduction of a novel era in the *Táríkh-i Alfí* has already been noticed. Another very serious accusation has been laid against this work, of leaving out several important events during the period it embraces; and the omission of the decisive battle of Cadesiah in A.D. 636, which preceded the final subjugation of Persia, has been especially commented on as a proof of carelessness. But a much greater objection to be made to the *Táríkh-i Alfí* is the plan of the work: it is constructed in the form of Annals, like the tedious Historical Library of Diodorus; and thus we are compelled to turn over page after page of this voluminous history, before we can trace the connexion of events in any particular country which may happen to be the subject of our investigation. Nothing but an excellent Index could remedy such a defect. There is confusion also sometimes about the dates. And protracted affairs are grouped under one year, the exact dates of their various phases not being sufficiently stated.

The compilers appear to have availed themselves of all the best sources of information open to them; for there is no historical work, Arabic or Persian, of any celebrity amongst modern European scholars, which they do not quote; often applying a very judicious criticism in selecting the most trustworthy records, and rejecting the fabulous legends with which so many of them abound. The authorities quoted on Indian affairs are few, but more may be mentioned in the Preface, which was written by Abú-l Fazl, according to his own acknowledgment.

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[1] The *Rauzatu-s Shuhadá*, "the garden of martyrs," is the name usually given to works recounting the tragical fate of the sons of 'Alí. The author evidently considers the remark of the Mullá to be witty and severe. He also quotes the retort, of which 'Abdu-l Kádir boasts above, at p. 151.

The work is not often quoted, but it was greatly used by Haidar Rázi.

I have seen no notice of the existence of this work in European libraries.[1] Parts of it are to be met with in India, but not one library, which I know of, contains a perfect copy. It is a work of great size. The portion I have seen was a folio of 1646 pages, with 40 lines to a page, and it was very incomplete. At Haidarábád there is a copy in two volumes, which, though imperfect, contains, in the first volume, 1336 pages of 19 lines each, and, in the second, 2066 pages of 31 lines each. One of the best manuscripts is in the possession of the Nawáb of Murshidábád, which is thus described:

The second volume consists of 976 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 127 to 500, after the death of Muhammad.

The third volume consists of 640 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 501 to 672.

The fourth volume consists of 1092 pages of 21 lines, and contains the events from the year 673 to 974.

Two more volumes therefore are required to make this work complete. I was anxious to make further inquiries about the Nawáb's copy, but the librarian seemed indisposed to furnish any more information respecting it, and gave evasive answers; evincing thereby a suspicion, which, if anywhere, is certainly excusable in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, where commercial profligacy has brought the European character into very low repute.[2]

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[1] [There are several volumes of the work in the Library of the East India Office.]

[2] It will be observed at p. 154 that the author, Mullá Ahmad, was inveigled out of his house by a man who personated one of the royal messengers. This official is called in the original by the Turkish word *Cháús*, which was, and is, except metaphorically, rarely used in India. *Cháús*, or *Cháwush*, signifies a Lictor, a king's

[The Extracts which follow afford ample means of judging of the character of the work. The earliest of them, preceding the reign of Akbar, appeared with some others in Sir H. Elliot's original publication, and they record events which have been passed over without notice by the historians quoted in the earlier volumes of the present work. The passages relating to the reign of Akbar have been selected and translated by the Editor as interesting in themselves, and as affording the means for comparing the *Tárikh-i Alfi* with the *Tabakát-i Akbari.* The two works are generally very much in accord, but their language and style are different. Still the resemblance of the two works is such as to induce a belief that one author had access to the work of

Sergeant, an Officer of the Court. His proceedings upon this occasion confirm the bad reputation of a class, from which, only a few years afterwards, we were enabled to coin our expressive word *chouse.* In A.D. 1609, a *Cháús* from the Grand Signior committed a gross fraud upon the Turkish and Persian merchants resident in England, by cheating them out of 4000*l.* (Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, iv. 27). Hence, from the notoriety of the circumstance, came the expression to *chouse*, just as in the present century we have got to *burke*, and some other very significant terms.

The authors of the period caught gladly at the expression, and familiarized it to after ages by making frequent use of it. Richardson gives the following instances:—

> Gul or Mogul,
> Tag rag, or other hogen-mogen, varden,
> Ship-jacks, or *chouses.*
> Ford, *Lady's Trial*, ii. 2.

Dap. What do you think of me, that I am a *Chiaus* ?
Face. What's that ?
Dap. The Turk was here. As one would say, do you think I am a Turk ?
Face. Come, noble doctor, pray thee, let's prevail; this is the gentleman, and he is no *Chiaus.*
Ben Jonson, *Alchemist*, i. 1.

> He stole your cloak and pick'd your pocket,
> *Chous'd* and caldes'd ye like a blockhead.
> Butler, *Hudibras*, ii. 3.

It is obvious to remark, that if, in the age of our forefathers, cheating to the extent of only 4000*l.* was sufficient to consign a whole class to an immortality of infamy, how many more expressive words, dissyllables as well as monosyllables, might not the transactions of 1847–48 encourage us to add to our vocabulary, since even 40,000*l.* is not sufficient to satiate the voracity of a Calcutta *Cháús.*—See Churchill (chap. viii. p. 248), where Captain Robert Coverte (1609) says, "The governor put him in a house with a chouse or keeper." See also Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 348 *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. x., p. 202; Gibbon, chap. lvii., note 49; Cantemir's *Oth. Emp.*, p. 17; [Trench's *English Past and Present*, p. 62.]

the other, or that both works were based upon the same original materials. The MSS. used by the Editor have been a small one prepared for Sir H. Elliot, containing only the passages relating to India; and a fine large one belonging to the Library of the East India Office, written in a variety of hands. This commences with the year 485 H., and is not quite complete at the end. Unfortunately the rubrics of the dates have been filled in only in the earlier part of the volume.]

EXTRACTS.

Anno 68 *after the death of Muhammad* (Hijra 78 = 697 A.D.).[1]

When 'Abdu-lla, the son of Abúbakr, arrived at Nímroz, Hajjáj sent a message, requesting him not to linger in Sijistán, but to march without delay towards Kábul, as signs of rebellion and disaffection had exhibited themselves in the chief, Ráíbal.[2] He had formerly entered into a treaty with the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay a tribute annually into the treasury, and as long as he found the Muhammadans powerful, he paid the tribute, but whenever they were engaged in other affairs, or exhibited weakness, he withheld it. 'Abdu-lla, in obedience to the commands of Hajjáj, turned towards Kábul with the armies of Kúfa and Basra, and as fast as the Muhammadans advanced, Ráíbal retreated towards Hindústán. Dádah Sharaíh, one of the officers of 'Abdu-lla, pursued Ráíbal seventeen *parasangs.* At this time, the ruler of Kábul sent persons to some of the nobles and well-wishers of the State, desiring them to secure those roads, by which the Muhammadans had entered the country, in such a manner that they should neither obtain any supplies, nor have the opportunity of retracing their steps. The consequence was, that after a few days such a famine broke out in the Muhammadan camp, that every one despaired of life. Upon this, 'Abdu-lla said to Sharaíh Háni, "It is advisable for us to treat with the infidels, and to offer them 70,000[1] *dirhams* to remove from our way, so that we may betake ourselves to a place of security." Sharaíh replied, "Whatever amount you offer to the infidels, the *díwán* will place to your individual account." 'Abdu-lla rejoined, "Such a demand even would be preferable to the alternative of starvation in these dreadful places." Sharaíh said, "My age exceeds a hundred years, and I never expected to arrive at this period of existence. It has long been my prayer before the throne of God that I might suffer martyrdom, and the time for its accomplishment has now arrived." Saying this, he mounted his horse, and exclaimed, "O Musulmáns, ye who have a desire to be martyrs, follow me!" Upon which, a few men came forward, and joined him, and with boldness rushing to the battle-field, they charged the infidels, and kept on fighting till they were slain.

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[1] [Muhammad died on the 12th Rabí'u-l awwal, in the eleventh year of the Hijra, A.D. 632, or according to some writers ten days earlier. The era of the *Rihlat* or death is, therefore, ten years two months, and a few days in arrear of the Hijra. So an equation of ten years will generally bring the two into agreement.]

[2] See Vol. II., p. 416.

'Abdu-lla, after paying 70,000 *dirhams* to the enemy, returned with his followers. When they arrived at the Muhammadan frontier, food was served out to them; and so famished were they, that those who satisfied their appetite died immediately. When this was known, they appeased their hunger more moderately, and were thus by degrees restored to their former strength.[2]

Anno 426 *after the death of Muhammad*[3] (436 H.=1044 A.D.).

One of the events of this year was, that three of the principal Rájás of Hind, having formed a confederacy, with an intent to deliver Lahore from the Muhammadans who had risen up in rebellion against Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, laid siege to the city. Upon seeing this, the commander of the Muhammadan forces in Lahore again made submission to Maudúd, and collected together the entire Muhammadan force. When the Rájás learnt that the Muhammadans had again submitted to Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, two of them, in dread of him, withdrew to their country, but the third, whose name was Deopál Harnáma, delayed his retreat a little, in order to try his strength with the Muhammadans. The latter, when satisfied of their superiority, made a sally, compelled the Rájá to fly before them, and killed many infidels in the pursuit. The Rájá retired within a stronghold, which the Muhammadans invested and pressed vigorously. The fort was a small one, and the troops which accompanied the Rájá to that place amounted to 5000 horsemen and 70,000 foot soldiers. The infidels found themselves on the verge of destruction, and sent deputies to the Muhammadans begging for quarter; but the Muhammadans would not consent, unless the infidels surrendered every one of their fortresses. At length, when the infidels had no other alternative than to yield, they accepted the conditions, and saved their lives. The property and treasure of all their forts fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, together with 5000 Muhammadans who were imprisoned in them. These, having been set free, joined the victorious army.

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[1] In another passage this is 700,000 in the original.

[2] See Niebuhr, vol. iii., p. 211; Price, vol. i., p. 263; Weil, vol. i., p. 449.

[3] [See Vol. IV., p. 201.]

When the Muhammadan army had settled affairs with Rájá Deopál Harnáma, who was superior to all the kings of Hind in power and grandeur, they directed their attention to another Rájá, named Máb Bálrí, who, when he received the intelligence thereof, set his troops in order, and advanced with a determination to fight with the Muhammadans. Upon the meeting of the two armies, the fire of battle was kindled; and notwithstanding the inferiority of the Muhammadan forces, which did not amount to one-tenth of those opposed to them, by the help of Providence their victorious banners prevailed. The Rájá was sent to perdition, and 5000 of his army fell on the field of battle. The Muhammadans took considerable booty and many prisoners. When the chiefs of Hind were informed of these circumstances, they gave in their submission, and by assenting to pay tribute, kept themselves free from the destructive swords of the Muhammadans.

Anno 471 *after the death of Muhammad*[1] (481 H.=1088 A.D.).

When Ibráhím, son of Mas'úd, was satisfied that there was no apprehension of any opposition from the Saljúkians, he despatched an army towards Hindústán, and conquered several places that had not been captured by his predecessors, notwithstanding their power. One of the places which submitted to the conqueror was the fort of Júd,[2] which surpassed all others in strength and extent. It was situated 120 *parasangs* distant from Lahore, and at the time when Ibráhím commenced operations against the fort, there was a garrison in it of 10,000 men, who fought long and valiantly against the invader. Finding Ibráhím's efforts and resources to capture the fort very great, the garrison became dispirited; and although they had sufficient supplies and plenty of water, they nevertheless surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared. After capturing this fort, Ibráhím directed his attention towards another, called Damál,[3] which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindústán; on one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be impassable; and on the other, a large thorny jungle, into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The jungle was, moreover, infested with venomous serpents and flies, and abounded with elephants of enormous size. It was inhabited by a race of Hindús of gigantic form, and it was the most celebrated of all the places in Hindústán. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations. Ibráhím, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God, soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen.

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[1] [The conquests recorded in this Extract are not mentioned either in the *Tabakát-i Násirí* or the *Habíbu-s Siyar*, but they are related by Firishta, who places them in the year 472 (1079 A.D.).]

[2] [Firishta says it was "Ajodhan."]

[3] [Called by Firishta "Rúpál" or "Rúdpál."] Probably the place subsequently called Núrpúr, which has a fort built of stones and mud on an eminence about 200 feet high, at the base of which flows a small river, a feeder of the Rávi, which it joins about thirty miles lower down.—Thornton's *Gazetteer*, vol. ii., p. 83.

Ibráhím next marched towards Derapúr, in Hindústán, a place which many great emperors had found it impracticable to conquer. Several trustworthy histories state that this place was inhabited by the descendants of the people of Khurásán, who, for their disloyal and rebellious conduct, had been long before banished the country by Afrásiab, Emperor of Túrán. This place was densely populated, and was of considerable strength. There was a large reservoir of water in it, the diameter of which was half a *parasang;* and though both men and beasts used to drink of the water throughout the year, yet no decrease was perceptible. During the time the people alluded to dwelt in this place, the rulers of Hindústán never dared to attack it, from a conviction of its impregnable strength. When Sultán Ibráhím heard the account of this country, he resolved to conquer it, and marched against it with a large army. The inhabitants heard of his approach, and made ready to oppose him. A fierce struggle ensued, but Ibráhím at length gained the victory, and slew many of them. Those who escaped fled to the jungles. Nearly 100,000 of their women and children were taken prisoners, and an incalculable amount of booty was secured.

Anno 592 *after the death of Muhammad*[1] (602 H.=1205 A.D.).

It is mentioned in authentic histories that when Shahábu-d dín was defeated by the Turks of Khitá, on his return from Khwárizm, it was currently reported throughout the kingdom, that Shahábu-d dín had been missed in the field of battle, and there was no certainty whether he had perished or escaped. Consequently, enemies rose up on all sides, and every one encroached upon his territories. Among other enemies, one named Ráí Sál, who lived in the mountains between Lahore and Kábul, having united with a number of Kokars, who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shahábu-d dín, excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercepted the communications between Lahore and Ghazní, so that no one could pass from one to the other.

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[1] [See Firishta, Briggs, vol. i., p. 182.]

Upon the return of Shahábu-d dín to Ghazní in safety from his campaign, he was informed of these transactions, and consequently resolved to proceed to Hindústán, and punish the rebellious spirits of that country. For this purpose, he sent an order to Amír Muhammad, son of Abí 'Alí, whom he had appointed Governor of Lahore and Múltán, desiring them to despatch the tribute of the year 601 H. as soon as possible, as it was necessary to make preparations for an expedition to Khitá. Muhammad, son of 'Alí, wrote in answer, that the tribute of the year had been collected and was ready, but that the Kokars and Rái Sál,[1] who were in possession of the hills of Júdí, had stopped the communication between Lahore and Ghazní in such a manner that nobody could travel on the road. When this account reached the ears of Shahábu-d dín, he wrote to Kutbu-d dín, his slave, who was the commander of the army of Hind, desiring him to send some person to the Kokars to dissuade them from persisting in such evil courses, and to inform them, that if they repented of their disobedience and came again under allegiance, he would pardon their past offences.

When Kutbu-d dín Aibak, according to the order of Shahábu-d dín sent a person to the Kokars, desiring them to submit themselves and to be obedient to the Sultán, the son of Kokar[2] replied, that Kutbu-d dín had nothing to do with the matter, that Sultán Shahábu-d dín should have sent a special messenger of his own, and further, that if he were really alive, he should have sent direct for the tribute, when the Kokars would have despatched it to him. The ambassador replied, "You are not of sufficient consequence for Sultán Shahábu-d dín to send any messenger to you; it is a great honour to you that he has sent even me, who am his slave's slave." The son of Kokar replied, "This is a mere story, Shahábu-d dín is no longer alive." The ambassador rejoined, "It may easily be ascertained by your sending any one of your confidential servants who can go to Ghazní, and see with his own eyes whether Shahábu-d dín be alive or not." In short, the son of Kokar being determined not to listen to the ambassador, remained firm in his rebellious disposition. When the ambassador of Kutbu-d dín returned, and gave an account of what he had seen and heard, Kutbu-d dín communicated the circumstances to Sultán Shahábu-d dín, who ordered him to collect the several armies of Hindústán, to proceed against the Kokars, and to utterly exterminate the rebel tribe. When this mandate reached Kutbu-d dín, he was engaged in preparing his forces, and was about to march against that nation. In the mean time, Shahábu-d dín deferred his expedition to Khitá, and caused his army to return. Complaints of the violence and oppression of the Kokars were frequently coming in, accompanied with such accounts of their great and increasing power, that he considered it his duty to repulse these people and punish them severely, before marching his forces to any other quarter. For this reason Shahábu-d dín gave up the idea of proceeding to Khitá, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ghazní.

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[1] [*i.e.* the chief of the Kokars.]

[2] Tod, vol. ii. p. 25.

On the 5th of Rabí'-ul awwal of the same year, Sultán Shahábu-d dín set forth from Ghazní towards Hindústán. After some days he arrived at Persháwar, and learned that the Kokars had taken up a position between Jílam and Sodra,[1] with a large army. Having marched from Persháwar on Thursday the 25th of the said month, he attacked them unawares, and the battle lasted from morning till the time of afternoon prayer. The Kokars fought so valiantly, that the Sultán, with all his kingly power and glory, was very near being compelled to retreat; but Kutbu-d dín Aibak arrived unexpectedly with the army of Hindústán, and began to make havoc among the Kokars. His forces were fresh and vigorous, and the Kokars, being unable to withstand them, took to flight. The Muhammadans pursuing, dealt slaughter among them in a manner which defies all description. Those who escaped the sword fled to the forest. The Muhammadans set fire to their retreat on all sides, and the infidels, resolving to perish in the flames rather than surrender to the Muhammadans, threw themselves into the fire. In this manner all who had taken refuge in the woods perished. When the mind of the Sultán was relieved from the anxiety of this outbreak, he marched towards Lahore, and gave leave to his soldiers to return to their homes, ordering them to march to Khitá after a few days' repose.[1]

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[1] Sodra above Wuzeerábád. Jílam therefore is the town and not the river, and the scene could not have been far from our glorious field of Goojerat.—See *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, vol. i., p. 799.

Anno 698 *after the death of Muhammad*[2] (708 H.=1308 A.D.)

In this year Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, King of Hindústán, proceeded to Siwána[3] on a hunting expedition, when the chief of that place took to his fort and offered opposition. The fort was soon captured, and this was the first occasion that it had been taken. Sámal Deo,[4] the chief (*Mukaddam*), perished, with several thousands of Hindús. In the same year, the fort of Kálwar came into the possession of 'Aláu-d dín's officers. The detail of the case is this: Káthar Deo, governor of the fort of Kálwar,[1] had upon one occasion gone to the Sultán to pay his respects, when the Sultán boasted that there was no *zamíndár* at that time in Hindústán who had power to withstand his troops. Upon this, Káthar Deo, with exceeding folly, replied, that he would die rather than submit tacitly to such an assumption. The Sultán being enraged at this, dismissed him, and he returned to his own country. The Sultán then sent a female slave, named Gul Bihisht, against him. Gul Bihisht had a son called Malik Sháhín, who accompanied her on the expedition, and they besieged Káthar Deo. Just as the garrison were beginning to despair, Gul Bihisht happened to die, and Káthar Deo, sallying from the fort, attacked Malik Sháhín and killed him. Upon the death of both the son and mother, the command of the army devolved on Kamálu-d dín, who took the fort, and put Káthar Deo to death.

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[1] This tribe is variously denominated by Muhammadan authors, Kúkar, Kokar, Gakkar, Ghikar, Ghakar. The last appears to be the most correct. Shortly after this expedition they were converted to Islám, their chieftain having obtained his release from captivity by becoming a proselyte, and promising to use his endeavours to convert his tribe. They often appear subsequently upon the stage of Indian history, and rarely but as turbulent and rapacious marauders. Their descendants have somewhat receded from their old haunts, and now occupy the country to the south and east of the upper course of the Behat. They call themselves descendants of the Kaiánians, but polyandry and some other of their customs would seem to indicate a Tartar origin. Elphinstone in his Cabul, page 78, says that on the spot they call themselves Gukkhúr; Khokars are quite different. But it is evident that in this passage, as in others, the Kokars are meant for the Ghakars. In one of Khúsrú's poems they are called Khokars, where nothing but Ghakars can be meant. Khúsrú's *Khazain.*

[2] [Zíáu-d dín Barní does not record the matters described in this Extract, but see Firishta, Briggs, vol. i., p. 370.]

[3] Tod (vol. ii., p. 298) places this Siwána in Mewar, not in Hurriana. *It is* described in the London *Geograph. Journal*, vol. iv., p. 129.

[4] [" Sítal Deo," Firishta.]

Gwalior.

[The campaign against Gwalior was one of the events of this year (the third of the reign). The fort of Gwalior is one of the most renowned in Hindústán, and Salím Khán Afghán (Islám Sháh) made it his residence. Up to the present time it remained in the hands of the Afgháns, and 'Adalí had placed Suhail,[2] one of Salím's slaves, in command of it. At this time, when His Majesty took up his residence at Ágra, he gave the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Gwalior as a *jágír* to Kiyá Khán. After a while, the Khán collected an army and invested Gwalior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Suhail was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. So he sent a messenger to Rám Sháh, who belonged to the family of

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[1] ["Nahr Deo, Rájá of Jalwar," Firishta.]

[2] [The MS. calls him "Babhal," but the other authorities have the more likely name "Suhail."]

Rájá Mán Singh, the old ruler of Gwalior, offering to surrender to him the fort, the ancient seat of his ancestors, on receipt of a suitable payment. Suhail at the same time acknowledged that he was unable to cope with the Imperial forces. Rám Sháh, who had been watching for such a chance, took with him the money that he had, and went to Gwalior. Kiyá Khán, the *jágirdar*, attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Rám Sháh was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the Ráná of (Udipúr)].[1]

Málwa.

[In this year the Emperor sent Bahádur Khán, brother of Khán-zamán, to effect the conquest of Málwa, which was in the possession of Báz Bahádur Afghán. Sultán Bahádur Gujaráti had wrested this country out of the hands of the Khiljí monarchs, and the Emperor Humáyún took this country from Gujarát. When, by the will of fate, Hindústán passed into the hands of the Afgháns, Málwa also came into their possession, for the Gujarátís were unable to hold it. Shujáwal Khán,[2] one of the *khássa-khail* of Sher Khán (Sher Sháh), was appointed governor of the province. After the death of Sher Khán, Shujáwal Khán went to visit Salím Khán (Islám Sháh), and dissensions having arisen between them, he fled to Málwa. Salím Khán marched to Málwa against him, and Shujáwal Khán, being unable to resist, fled to the mountains of Dhúngarpúr. Finally, after vows and compacts were made, he joined Salím Khán, who took him to Hindústán, and divided Málwa among other *amírs*. In the reign of 'Adalí, Shujáwal Khán recovered Málwa, and there died. He was succeeded by his son Báz Bahádur, and when the Afgháns were scattered over Hindústán by the conquering Chaghatáis, Báz Bahádur established himself as permanent ruler of Málwa. When Bahádur Khán marched against him, the affairs of Bairam Khán-khánán came to a crisis, and the campaign in Málwa was stayed.]

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[1] [Surrender of the fort to Akbar.—See *Tabakát-i Akbari.*]

[2] [More correctly "Shujá'at Khán."]

Conquest of Garha (Year 958 Rihlat; 968 H.=1560 A.D.).[1]

[Khwája 'Abdu-l Majíd, who had received the title of A'saf Khán, was appointed governor of Karra, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hind since the rise of the faith of Islám. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Rání*, and all the dogs of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. A'saf Khán had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the Rání, he levied an army to conquer the country. The Rání came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the Rání, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver, and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. A'saf Khán gained the victory, and stopped his advance at the *táluk* of Chaurágarh, where the treasures of the rulers of Garha were kept. The son of the *Rání* shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, A'saf Khán sent fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.]

Capture of Chitor (Year 965 Rihlat; 975 Hijra=1567 A.D.).

[When the Emperor marched from Gágrún against the Ráná, he had only 3000 or 4000 horsemen with him, for he hoped that the smallness of the force might induce the infidel to try the event of a battle. But the Ráná knew his own strength, and while the Emperor was at 100 *kos* distance from his country, he fled with his family to the distant hills. He felt at ease about Chitor, because the Emperor's force had but little siege apparatus, and it did not seem likely that he would attempt to reduce the place. But the fort was set in order, great quantities of provisions were stored, and the garrison consisted of 8000 veterans, including the Ráná's own men, with their wives and families. When the Emperor entered the Ráná's territory, and was informed of his flight, he wished to pursue him; but he ascertained that the Ráná had gone to a place far in the hills and jungles which it was impossible to reach. So the Emperor determined to attack Chitor, which is an exceedingly strong fortress. When he came near the fort, the rains were so heavy, that for a time the fort was invisible; but as the weather cleared, he got a view of the place. The fortress is situated in the midst of a level plain, which has no other eminences. The circuit of this mountain at its base is six *kos*, and the ground upon which the walls of the fort stand is nearly three *kos*. Upon the top of the hill there is a fountain, but not content with that the constructors of the fort formed large reservoirs of stone and mortar, which get filled in the rainy season. So with these supplies the garrison are never short of water. The eastern side of the fort, and towards the north, is faced with hard stone, and the garrison felt quite secure as to that portion. On the other sides if guns (*top*), swivels (*zarb-zan*), catapults (*sang-r'ad*), and *manjaniks* are able to reach the fortress, they cannot do so much harm. Travellers do not speak of any fortress like this in the whole habitable world. At this time, all the space of three *kos* at the top of the mountain was full, and the houses of the people rose several storeys over each other. Great numbers of men guarded the battlements at the top of the walls, and great quantities of ammunition were stored in the fortress. His Majesty carefully reconnoitred the place on every side, and saw that it would not fall without a long siege. When the garrison perceived the small number of men with the Emperor, and thought of their fortress being six *kos* in circumference, they uttered cries of derision. The batteries were apportioned out among the *amirs*, and *bakhshis* were appointed and sent to those *amirs* who had not yet come up. Every day some one arrived and went to his battery, so that in a short time the whole fort was invested.

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[1] [The *Tabakát* and the *Akbar-náma* place this event three years later. See *infrà*.]

Ásaf Khán went under orders to take Rámpúr. He took the place, and having plundered and ravaged the country, he returned victorious. Husain Kuli Khán went to attack Udipúr, the capital of the Ráná and of his ancestors. He ravaged the country with fire and sword, and returned bringing great spoil and numerous prisoners from the fastnesses of the mountains.

From day to day the brave assailants carried their attacks closer to the fort on every side, and a great number of them suffered martyrdom, for the fort was very strong, and made a most excellent defence. Orders were given for digging ditches and for constructing *sábáts*,[1] and nearly 5000 builders, carpenters, stonemasons, smiths, and sappers were collected from all parts. *Sábáts* are contrivances peculiar to Hindústán; for the strong forts of that country are replete with guns, muskets, and warlike apparatus, and can only be taken by means of *sábáts*. A *sábát* is a broad (covered) way, under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress secure from the fire of guns and muskets. Two *sábáts* were accordingly begun. The one which was opposite the royal quarters was so broad that two elephants and two horses could easily pass along it, and so high that an elephant-rider could carry his spear. The *sábáts* were commenced from the middle of the hill, which is a fortress upon a fortress.[2] The people of the fort had never seen a *sábát*, and were puzzled, but they endeavoured to stop the work. Seven or eight thousand horsemen and numerous gunners exerted themselves to the utmost in attacking them. And although the *sábáts* had thick roofs of cow and buffalo hides to protect the workmen, no day passed without a hundred men more or less being killed. The bodies of the slain were used instead of stones and bricks. His Majesty's kindness and justice would not allow any man to be pressed for the work, but heaps of *rupees* and *dáms* were scattered as hire, and each man went to work for what he could get. In a short time one *sábát* reached the walls, and was so high that it overlooked them. On the top of it a seat was constructed for the Emperor, from which he could see at his ease the efforts of his warriors, and from which he could also take a part in the fight if so minded. While the men of the garrison were endeavouring to interrupt the progress of the *sábáts*, the sappers formed several mines under the walls, and wherever stones were met with, the stonemasons opened a way through with their iron tools. Two bastions in front of the royal battery were completely undermined, and, according to order, both mines were filled with gunpowder. Three or four hundred brave men of the Imperial army were posted ready armed near these bastions, to rush in as soon as the explosion took place, before the defenders could rally to resist them. Both mines were fired, and one which took effect blew the bastion from its foundations into the air, and every stone fell at a distance. A great breach was visible, and the storming party instantly rushed forward shouting their war-cry. A strong party of the garrison came forward to oppose them, and while the contest was at the hottest, and a great number of the faithful and of the infidels were struggling upon the other bastion, the mine exploded, and blew friend and foe together into the air, scattering their limbs in all directions.[1] The quantity of gunpowder used was so enormous that stones of fifty and a hundred *mans* were hurled to the distance of two and three *kos*. Many corpses also were found within a radius of two *kos*. Saiyid Jamálu-d dín and * * * other braves of the Imperial army perished. Vast numbers of the garrison were killed. The vast quantities of dust and smoke prevented all movement in the Imperial army for a time; stones, corpses, and limbs fell from the air, and the eyes of the soldiers were injured. The enemy, concealing their loss, showed a brave front. When the Emperor perceived the state of affairs, he exerted himself more strenuously to take the place. He ordered the *sábát* in front of Shujá'at Khán's battery to be pushed forward. The garrison was sore distressed, and ready to succumb, but no one had the courage to propose surrender to the Emperor. For he had determined that he would capture by storm this the strongest fortress of Hindústán, so that in future no other fortress should dare to resist the Imperial army. He took his position on the top of the *sábát*, and his brave soldiers kept up such a discharge from their bows and muskets that no one could escape from the place. His Majesty also had his own musket, deadly as the darts of fate, with which he killed every moving thing that caught his eye. On the 5th Sha'bán, 955, the assault was made by the Emperor's command. The walls had been breached in several places, and the signs of victory were in favour of the assailants. Jaimal, the commandant of the fortress, an infidel yet valiant, all day long struggled bravely in every part, inciting his men to fight and resist. At the time of evening prayer he came in front of the royal battery, where His Majesty, holding his musket, discharged it as often as light blazed out in the bastion. It so often happened that Jaimal was standing in that tower when His Majesty discharged his piece into a lighted place. The ball struck Jaimal in the forehead and killed him on the spot. When the men of the garrison saw their leader fall, they felt that all further resistance was useless; they gave up fighting, and after first burning the body of Jaimal, they performed the *jauhar* at their own homes. *Jauhar* is the name of a rite among the Hindus. When they know for certain that there is no escape, they collect their wives and children, goods and chattels, heap fire-wood around the pile, and fire it with their own hands. After the burning is accomplished, they rush into the fight, and give themselves over to death. This they esteem a great act of devotion. The great flames of the *jauhar* and the lull of the conflict on the bastions and walls showed the assailants that the garrison was reduced to extremity, so they began to make their way into the place in parties. Some of the boldest of the infidels, who had no wives and families, stood to their posts resolved to sell their lives. The Emperor witnessed the prowess of his warriors from the top of the *sábát*. Under his orders three elephants were taken through the breach into the city, and one of them, named Madkar, on that day killed many infidels, and although he received many wounds, never turned tail. The second elephant, named Jagna, was surrounded by infidels, and died of the numerous wounds he received from spears and swords. In the last watch of the night the assailants forced their way into the fortress in several places, and fell to slaughtering and plundering. At early dawn the Emperor went in mounted on an elephant, attended by his nobles and chiefs on foot. The order was given for a general massacre of the infidels as a punishment. The number of fighting men in the fortress exceeded 8000.[1] Some of them repaired to the idol temple, and there fought to the last. In every street and lane and *bázár* there was desperate fighting. Every now and then a band of infidels, having thrown away all hope of life, would rush from the temple with swords and shields towards their own homes, and so were the more easily despatched by the warriors they encountered. By mid-day, nearly 2000 had been slain. Under the favour of heaven, Zarb 'Alí Tawáchí was the only person ot note in the Imperial army who was killed, which was a very marvellous fact. Those of the fortress who escaped the sword, men and women, were made prisoners, and their property came into the hands of the Musulmáns. The place being cleared of infidels, His Majesty remained there three days, and then departed, leaving the government of the country in the hands of Ásaf Khán.]

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[1] [See the Extracts from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, *infrà;* also Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 330.]

[2] واز کمر کوهي که قلعه بر قلعه است شروع در سابات ساختن نموده شد

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[1] [Badáúní tells us that the matches were not properly adjusted.]

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[1] [Abú-l Fazl states that there were 40,000 peasants on service in the place in addition to the 8000 Rájputs forming the garrison.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii., p. 407.]

Conquest of Rantambhor (966 Rihlat; 976 Hijra = 1568 A.D.).

[The Emperor then marched against Rantambhor, and encamped before the fortress at the end of the month of Sha'bán. The place was held by Rái Súrjan, who had bought it of Hijjáz Khán, a servant of Salím Khán (Islám Sháh). On several occasions before, rulers of Hindústán had besieged this fort for five or six years, and Súrjan Rái, confident in its strength, stored it with necessaries and closed its gates, but he had the fact of the fall of Chitor before his eyes. The Emperor reconnoitred the fort, gave directions for the placing of batteries, closed the ways of ingress and egress, and commenced the construction of *sábáts.* Near to the fort is a hill called Ran,[1] which commands it; but in consequence of the height of the hill and the difficulty of the ascent, no one had as yet been able to get guns up on it. His Majesty now directed that some guns (*top*) and swivels (*zarb-zan*) should be placed on the hills, such pieces as 200 pairs of bullocks would have drawn with difficulty on heavy ground. In a few days from ten to fifteen guns, capable of discharging stones of fifty, forty, and twenty *mans*,[2] were dragged up the hill by the labour of porters. The first shot discharged struck the house of Súrjan Rái, and made him very apprehensive. Every shot destroyed several houses, and the garrison was so frightened that all spirit of resistance disappeared. Súrjan Rái being helpless, sent his sons Dúdh and Bhoj out to obtain terms. His Majesty, pitying their condition, promised that Súrjan Rái should be forgiven if he came and waited on the Emperor. Joyfully the two young men returned to their father with the promise of safety. Súrjan Ráí begged that one of the Emperor's *amírs* should be sent to conduct him to the presence, and Husain Kuli Khán, governor of the Panjáb, was sent into the fort on this duty. On the 3rd Shawwál, Súrjan Ráí came out and waited upon the Emperor. He offered a large tribute, and gave up the keys of the fortress, which were made of gold and silver. He asked for three days' grace for his followers and people to remove their families and property out of the place, which was granted, and at the end of this time the fort with its munitions was surrendered to the royal officers. Thus this strong place was taken in one month, and was placed under the command of Mihtar Khán.]

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[1] [Firishta calls this hill "Madan," which is probably an error, as Abú-l Fazl, Badáúní, and Faizí all agree with the author of the *Táríkh-i Alfi* in calling it "Ran."]

[2] [Badáúní is more moderate, and says "five or seven *mans.*" He tells us that 700 or 800 labourers were employed in dragging the guns. Text, vol. ii., p. 107.]

XL.

TABAKÁT-I AKBARÍ

OF

NIZÁMU-D DÍN AHMAD, BAKHSHÍ.

[1] THE author of this work styled it *Tabakát-i Akbar-sháhí,* and it is so called by 'Abdu-l Kádir Badáúní in his *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh;* but the name by which it is best known in literary circles is *Tabakát-i Akbarí.* It is also called, after the name of the author, *Táríkh-i Nizámí,* and the author himself observes it as a fortunate coincidence that the word *Nizámí* represents the date of its composition. In the *Rauzatu-t Táhirín* it seems to be called *Táríkh-i Sultán Nizámí.*

This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognized by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely. Badáúní, the author of the *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh,* professes his work to be simply an abridgment of this, and acknowledges himself to be chiefly indebted to it for the relation of all events down to A.H. 1002[2] (1593 A.D.). Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete.

The *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* says, "This work cost the author much care and reflection in ascertaining facts and collecting materials, and as Mír Ma'súm Bhakarí and other persons of note afforded their assistance in the compilation, it is entitled to much credit. It is the first history which contains a detailed account of all the Muhammadan princes of Hindústán. * * From this work Muhammad Kásim Firishta and others have copiously extracted, and it forms the basis of their histories, deficiencies being supplied by additions of their own; but the *Tabakát* occasionally seems at variance with the accounts given by the celebrated Abú-l Fazl. It is therefore left to the reader to decide which of the two authors is most entitled to credit."

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[1] [This article is chiefly the work of Sir H. Elliot, and appeared in the old volume, but it has been re-cast by the Editor, and several additions have been made from Col. Lees' article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. iv. (N.S.), and from other sources.]

[2] The author of the *Táríkh-i Salátín-i Afághana* copied the reign of Humáyún verbatim. See *suprá,* p. 2.

European authors also hold the work in high esteem. Mr. Erskine considers Nizámu-d dín to be perhaps the best historian of the period, and Col. Lees is unable to conceive the reason why his work has not attracted more attention.

The *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* gives the following account of our author.

Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad was the son of Khwája Mukím Harawí, who was one of the dependents of His Majesty Bábar, and who, at the latter part of that king's reign, was raised to the office of *díwán* of the household.[1] After the death of Bábar, when Gujarát was conquered by Humáyún, and the province of Ahmadábád was entrusted to Mirzá 'Askarí, Khwája Mukím was appointed *wazír* to the Mirzá. He accompanied Humáyún to Ágra, when that monarch fled with precipitation after his defeat by Sher Khán Súr at Chaunsa. The Khwája subsequently served under Akbar.

His son, Nizámu-d dín, was incomparably upright, and excelled all his contemporaries in administrative knowledge, as well as in the clearness of his intellect. It is stated in the *Zakhíratu-l Khawánín*, that, at the opening of his career, he was appointed *díwán* of the household by Akbar, but this statement has not been found in any other work.

In the twenty-ninth year of Akbar's reign, when the government of Gujarát was entrusted to 'Itimad Khán, Khwája

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[1] He is spoken of in Bábar's Memoirs.

Nizámu-d dín was appointed to the office of *bakhshi* of that province, and when Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát engaged in hostilities, 'Itimád Khán left the Khwája's son, together with his own, to protect the city, he himself with the Khwája having quitted it, with the object of bringing over Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán from Karí, which is situated at the distance of forty miles from Ahmadábád; but during their absence the city fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the house of the Khwája was plundered. After this, in a battle which was fought with those turbulent people, the Khwája used his best exertions to quell the insurrection with his small body of troops, in conjunction with Shahábu-d dín Khán and 'Itimád Khán, but without success; and he therefore retreated to Pattan.

On the occasion of (Mirzá Khán) the Khán-khánán's attack upon Muzaffar Gujarátí, at Bír Ganj, about six miles from Ahmadábád, the Khwája was appointed at the head of a detachment to attack the enemy from the rear, but in this action he again did not achieve any great success, though he used his best exertions. Nizámu-d dín continued for a long time *bakhshi* of the province of Gujarát, and his services will be found recorded in his history of Akbar's reign.

In 998 A H., and the thirty-fourth year of the reign (1589-90 A.D.), when the government of Gujarát was entrusted to Khán-i 'Azam the Súbadár of Málwa, and Jaunpúr was bestowed upon Khán-khánán in lieu of his *jágír* of Gujarát, Nizámu-d dín Ahmad was summoned to the King's presence; upon which occasion, with a number of camel-riders, he accomplished 1,200 miles by forced marches, and arrived at Lahore[1] on the festival of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the coronation. His camel-riders and retinue being an object of great attraction and wonderment, the King expressed a desire to inspect them; and as he was much gratified at this exhibition of the Khwája's taste and ingenuity, he conferred great honours upon him.

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[1] The *Wáki'át-i Mushtákí* (MS. fol. 204 v.) says, that the party completed this distance of 600 *kos* in twelve days, *i.e.* at the rate of 100 miles a day.

In the thirty-seventh year of the reign, when A'saf Khán Mirzá Ja'far Bakhshí-begí was ordered to destroy Jalála Raushání, the Khwája was appointed to the post of *bakhshí.* In the thirty-ninth year of the reign, corresponding with 1003 H., when the King was out on a hunting excursion, the Khwája was attacked with a severe fever at Shahám 'Alí, which reduced him very much. His sons obtained permission from the King to convey him to Lahore, but as soon as they arrived at the banks of the Rávi, the Khwája expired, and "the crocodile of death dragged him into the sea of annihilation."

'A'bid Khán, one of Nizámu-d dín's sons, was favoured with frequent marks of distinction by His Majesty Jahángír, and was employed by him in various capacities. The office of *bakhshí* of the *súba* of Gujarát, which devolved on him by hereditary right, was resigned, owing to a disagreement between him and 'Abdu-lla Khán Fíroz Jang, governor of that province, by whom he was most shamefully treated. After resigning the appointment, he took only two sheets, the one wrapped round his waist, and the other round his head, as if prepared for burial, and went thus before Jahángír, accompanied by several Tákíya Mughals. This mark of his humiliation was approved of by the King, and he was pardoned. He was afterwards appointed an immediate attendant of the King, through the recommendation of the heir-apparent, and was subsequently promoted to the office of *díwán* of that prince. While holding this employment, he, with Sharíf Khán Bakhshí, and several others of the body-guard, was killed at Akbar-nagar in Bengal, in a battle fought by the prince on the burial-ground where the body of the son of Ibráhím Khán Fath Jang was interred. 'A'bid Khán had no son. His son-in-law, Muhammad Sharíf, was for a short time governor of a strong fortress in the Dekhin, and was afterwards appointed *hájib* (chamberlain) of Haidarábád, in which capacity he passed the remainder of his days till his death.[1]

'Abdu-l Kádir Badáúní, who, like many others, was as staunch a friend as he was a bitter foe, gives a very favourable account of Nizámu-d dín. He says that in carrying into effect his projects of economy, Nizámu-d dín gave offence to Kálíj Khán, but that he received such unqualified support from the Emperor, who entertained the highest opinion of his zeal and integrity, that his opponent, together with his adherents, were soon provided for in distant posts, instead of being kept at Court, to frustrate the endeavours of Nizámu-d dín to introduce reform into the departments under his control.

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[1] *Ma-asiru-l Umará,* s.v. Khwája Nizámu-d dín.

"Nizámu-d dín," continues 'Abdu-l Kádir, "left a good name behind him. I was especially attached to him by the ties both of religion and friendship. When he died, tears of sorrow fell from my eyes, and I beat my breast with the stone of despair. After a short time, I bowed in resignation to the heavenly decree, but was so much afflicted by the bereavement, that I vowed I would never thereafter cultivate a new friendship with any other man. He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003, and was buried in his own garden at Lahore. There was not a dry eye at his death, and there was no person who did not, on the day of his funeral, call to mind his excellent qualities, and who did not hold between his teeth the back of the hand of grief. The following Chronogram records the date of his death: Mirzá Nizámu-d dín has departed; in haste, but with honour, has he gone to his final doom. His sublime soul has fled to the celestial regions, and Kádirí has found the date of his death in these words, 'A jewel without price has left this world.'"[1]

The author of the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* assigns as his reasons for composing his work, that he had "from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation." He found that in "the wide plains of Hindústán, which form an empire of vast extent," the "governing classes had assumed the title and discharged the duties of rulers" in many of its divisions, "such as Dehlí, Gujarát, Málwa, Bengal, and Sindh," and "the authors of their times have written histories of their affairs, and have bequeathed them as memorials to posterity. * * * It is most extraordinary, therefore, that not a single work containing a complete compendium of the affairs of this (entire) division (of the world) has yet been written by any historian; neither have the events connected with the centre of Hindústán, the seat of government of this Empire, the capital Dehlí, been collected in one book. The work which is best known is the *Tabakát-i Násiri* which Minháju-s Siráj compiled, commencing with Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Ghorí, and concluding with Násiru-d dín bin Shamsu-d dín: from thence to the time of Sultán Fíroz is written in the history of Ziá-i Barní; but from that time to to-day, because for the greater portion of the time there was much disturbance in India, and the people had the misfortune to be deprived of a powerful Imperial government, I have only met with a few detached and incomplete compilations. I have not heard of a single history that comprises an account of the whole of India; and now since the whole of the inlying and outlying provinces of Hindústán have been conquered by the world-subduing sword of God's vicegerent, and all the fractions of the earth have been united in one grand whole, and many kingdoms beyond the confines of Hindústán, which none of the great sovereigns who preceded His Majesty had ever acquired, have been included in his Empire, and it is to be hoped that the seven climes will yet come under the shade of the standard of the good fortune of that illustrious personage, and thus be protected and secure peace and prosperity, I conceived the idea of compiling, in a simple style, a history which should embrace an account of all the kingdoms of Hindústán, from the times of Subuktigín, 367 A.H. (which is the date of the introduction of *Islám* into Hindústán), up to 1001 A.H., or the thirty-seventh year of the Iláhí era, dividing it into chapters, according to the several dynasties which reigned, closing each chapter with an account of the conquest by His Imperial Highness of the particular province under notice. This abridgment of all the victories of His Imperial Highness will be given in the proper place; the account of these victories in full detail being found in the *Akbar-náma*, which *'Allámi* Abú-l Fazl has compiled with so much ability."[1] He quotes twenty-nine different works as his standard authorities, and in the instance of the *Táríkh-i Mubárak-Sháhí* he copied his original very closely.[2] Though he states in his Preface, as above, that he brings down the history to the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's reign (A.H. 1001), in the body of the work he records the events of another year, and expresses a hope that he may live to carry on the work to a later period.

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[1] *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh.* [Abú-l Fazl also, in the *Akbar-náma*, alludes to the general mourning that followed the death of this distinguished author; and says that the Emperor was deeply affected by it, and offered prayers for his soul.]

Nizámu-d dín was a good Musulmán, and no allusion is made in his pages to Akbar's wanderings from the fold. But with the information derivable from other sources a tolerably accurate inference may be drawn from the gradual diminution and eventual cessation of the records of Akbar's pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints.

Sir H. Elliot adopted the Table of Contents given by Stewart in his Catalogue of Tipú Sultán's Library, although he found that it contained both more and less than he had seen in other copies. The following table is borrowed from Mr. Morley, who had the advantage of several MSS. to compare. It agrees, as he says, with the author's own account of the contents in his introduction, and the only difference found is in the order of sequence of the books.

CONTENTS.

Introduction.—History of the Ghaznivides from the time of Subuktigín to that of Khusrú Malik bin Khusrú Sháh, King of Lahore, who was conquered by Sháhabu-d dín Muhammad Ghorí in A.H. 583 (A.D. 1187), and was subsequently put to death by his order.

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[1] [Col. Lees, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. iii. (N.S.), p. 450.]

[2] [See Vol. IV., p. 6.]

Book I.—History of the Kings of Dehlí from the time of Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Ghorí; comprising: The history of Kutbu-d dín Aibak; Taju-d dín Yaldúz; Násiru-d dín Kubácha; Baháu-d dín Tughril; The first four Khiljí Princes of Lakhnautí; Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh; A'rám Sháh and his successors at Dehlí; The house of Tughlik; The Saiyids; The Afghán Kings of Dehlí, from Bahlol Lodí to the defeat of Ibráhím, son of Sikandar Lodí, by Bábar, in A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525); Bábar; Humáyún; Sher Sháh (who expelled Humáyún), and his successors, to the extinction of the Afghán power at Dehlí, and Akbar's succession to the throne, continuing the history of Hindústán to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign, 1002 A.H. (1593 A.D.)

Book II.—A concise history of the Kings of the Dekhin, comprising: The Bahmaní dynasty, from 'Aláu-d dín Hasan, who founded the monarchy in A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347), to its extinction in A.H. 935 (A.D. 1528); The Nizám-sháhí Kings of the Bahrí dynasty of Ahmadnagar, from the foundation of the monarchy to A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), when Burhán Nizám Sháh was still reigning; The 'A'dil-sháhí Kings of Bijápur, from the origin of the dynasty to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when Ibráhím 'A'dil Sháh II. was on the throne; The Kutbu-l Mulkiya Kings of Golconda, from their origin to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when Muhammad Kuli Kutb Sháh was regnant.

Book III.—The history of the Kings of Gujarát, from the beginning of A.H. 793 (A.D. 1390), to A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572). when that kingdom became a province of Akbar's empire.

Book IV.—The history of Málwa, from A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406), to its incorporation with the kingdom of Gujarát in A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530); and a continuation of the history to A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569), when Báz Bahádur submitted to Akbar after a reign of sixteen years.

Book V.—History of Bengal, from the time of Sultán Fakhru-d dín in A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340) to A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), when Dáúd bin Sulaimán Kiráni was defeated by Akbar's forces and slain, and Bengal was annexed to the empire of the Mughals.

Book VI.—The history of the Sharkí dynasty of Jaunpúr, from the commencement of A.H. 784 (A.D. 1382), the time of the accession of Khwája Jahánu-sh Sharkí, the first independent King of Jaunpúr, to the extinction of the monarchy in A.H. 881 (A.D. 1476), when Sultán Husain bin Mahmúd Sháh Sharkí was defeated by Sikandar bin Bahlol, King of Dehlí.

Book VII.—History of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmír from A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315) to A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), that is, from the time of Shamsu-d dín Sháh Mihr to the period when Yúsuf Sháh agreed to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor.

Book VIII.—History of Sind, from A.H. 86 (A.D. 705), but more especially of the dynasties of the Jáms and Arghúns, to the submission of Mirzá Jání Beg to Akbar, and the final annexation of the whole province to the Mughal empire in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592).

Book IX.—The history of Multán, from the Muhammadan conquest under Muhammad Kásim, but more particularly of the independent monarchy established by Shaikh Yúsuf in A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), to the time when the province was annexed to the Mughal empire.

Conclusion.—A concise statement, comprised in a few lines, of the area of Akbar's empire, the number of cities and villages therein, and of its revenue.

The compiler of the *Sahíhu-l Akhbár* attributes another work on Indian History under the name of *Táríkh-i I'rich* to the author of the *Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

The Extracts from this work which follow are of considerable length. The reigns of Humáyún and Akbar have been translated by the Editor in full, and supply a complete translation of this the most important portion of the work.

The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* is one of the commonest histories procurable in India, but (says Sir H. Elliot) I have met with no remarkably good copy. In the Bodleian Library it is the only work on Indian History noticed by Uri, except an imperfect one on the reigns of Humáyún, Akbar, and Jahángír.[1] There are several complete or partial copies in the Library of the East India Office.

The *Tabakát-i Akbari* ends with a promise, which does not appear to have been fulfilled. As several copies, procured from distant places, concur in this reading, and as the author continued almost till the day of his death the history of Akbar's reign, it seems probable that he never wrote the Conclusion which he promised in his Preface, as it is now comprised in ten lines. It gives merely the computed area, populousness, and revenue of Hindústán, respecting which the author observes: "Be it not concealed, that the country of Hindústán is comprised within four climates, and is now included in the dominions of the Emperor Akbar. Its length from the Hindú Koh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *kos*. Its breadth from Kashmír to the hills of Barújh (Broach), which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujarát, is 800 *kos* Iláhí. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kamáún to the borders of the Dekhin, which amounts to 1000 Iláhí *kos*. The soil is well adapted for cultivation, and within each *kos* are several inhabited villages. At the present time, namely A.H. 1002, Hindústán contains 3200 towns, and upon each town there are dependent 200, 500, 1000, or 1500 villages.[2] The whole yields a revenue of 640 *krors* (640,00,00,000) *murádi tankas*.[3]

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[1] Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Orient Catal.*—Codd. MSS. Pers. xli. lii. liv. The MS. called *Tárikh-i Sher Sháhi*, No. 1581, E. I. O. Coll., is a portion of this *Tabakát-i Akbari*. The passage with which it concludes just precedes that with which the *Tabakát-i Akbari* terminates. Mr. Morley's mention of the year 1002 as the date of its composition led to this identification. See Dorn's *Hist. of Afghâns*, Pref. xii.

[2] One MS. omits the 1500.

[3] [Mr. Thomas estimates the value of the *tanka murádi*, here quoted, at 20 to the *silver tanka*. The current tanka of account at this time was the *Sikandari tanka* of Sikandar bin Bahlol. So that the sum total here specified of 640,00,00,000 ÷ 20 amounts to 32,00,00,000 *silver tankas* or *rupees* (or £32,000,000). *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, pp. 366, 384, 388, and *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, p. 7.]

Of the towns, 120 are large cities." He then finishes with these words: "As the particulars of the towns are not included in this summary, a detailed list of the towns shall be drawn up in alphabetical order."

EXTRACTS.

HAZRAT KHÁKÁN-I SA'ÍD MUHAMMAD HUMÁYÚN SHÁH, SON OF BÁBAR SHÁH GHÁZÍ.[1]

When the Emperor Bábar departed from this fleeting world at Ágra for his everlasting abode in Paradise, Muhammad Mukím Harawí, father of the author of this history, was one of the officials of his late Majesty, and had been promoted to the position of *díwán* of the household. Amír Nizámu-d dín 'Alí Khalífa was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young Prince Humáyún, and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not content with the accession of the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. Mahdí Khwája was son-in-law of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mír Khalífa, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdí Khwája. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs.

It happened that one day Mír Khalífa went to see Mahdí Khwája, who was in his pavilion. Mír Khalífa and Muhammad Mukím, the father of the author, were the only persons present with the Khwája. When the Mír had sat for a moment, his late Majesty, in the pangs of his disease, sent for him. After he had gone, Mahdí Khwája continued standing in the pavilion, and the author's father remained standing with due respect behind him. The Mahdí was considered to be a man of suspicious temperament, and being unaware of my father's presence, when Mír Khalífa had gone, he stroked his beard, and said to himself, "Please God, I will flay thee!" As soon as he had said this, he perceived my father, and being greatly moved he took him by the ear, and said, "O Tájik, the red tongue uses its sharp point to no purpose." My father took leave and departed. He went with all haste to Mír Khalífa, and said, "Notwithstanding the existence of such intelligent princes as Muhammad Humáyún Mirzá and his brothers, you have shut your eyes against loyalty, and desire to transfer the sovereignty to another house; the end of all this will be this." He then told him what Mahdí Khwája had said. Mír Khalífa instantly sent off to fetch Prince Humáyún, and he sent an officer to Mahdí Khwája with an order in His Majesty's name, directing him to retire to his house. The officers hastened to the Khwája, who was just about to sit down to dinner, and without any ceremony sent him off to his house. Mír Khalífa then issued a proclamation that no one was to visit or hold communication with Mahdí Khwája, and that he was not to attend the *darbár*.

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[1] His full name was "Nasíru-d dín Muhammad Humáyún," but he is commonly called "*Jannat Áshyání.*"

On the death of the Emperor Bábar, Prince Humáyún, who arrived from Sambal, ascended the throne at A'gra, with the support of Amír Nizámu-d dín 'Alí Khalífa, on the 9th Jumáda-l awwal, 937 H.[1] (29th January, 1530). The date of his accession is found in the words *Khairu-l mulúk.* The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and nobles were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which were held under the late sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and content. On the same day Mirzá Hindál arrived from Badakhshán, and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do khazána*) of former kings, and as the gold was divided by coffers (*kishti*), the date was found in the words *kishti-zar.*[2] The territories were then divided. Mirzá Hindál received the district of Mewát[1] in *jágír*. The Panjáb, Kábul, and Kandahár were settled as the *jágír* of Mirzá Kámrán. Sambal was given to Mirzá 'Askarí.[2] Every one of the *amírs* also received an increase of his *jágír*.

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[1] He was born on the 4th Zí-l ka'da, 916 H. (6th February, 1511).—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 149.

[2] Badáúní notices this, and says that coffers full of gold were distributed as gifts on the day of ascending the throne. Vol. i., p. 344.

After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty proceeded to Kálinjar, the *Rájá* of which place expressed his fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[3] In those days Sultán Mahmúd, son of Sultán Sikandar Lodí, with the assistance of Baban Báyazíd, and the Afghán nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpúr and its dependencies. Humáyún now marched to subdue him, and having achieved successes, he returned victorious to Ágra.[4] There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2000 of them were presented with outer garments of gold brocade with gilt buttons.

At this time Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, son of Badí'u-z Zamán Mirzá, son of Sultán Husain Mirzá Babakrá, who had originally come from Balkh to seek a refuge with his late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayána, and in the custody of Yádgár Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yádgár Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát. About the same time Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion. His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát, demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance. This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarát and chastise Sultán Bahádur. He proceeded to Gwalior, and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl says "Alwar," which amounts to much the same thing.

[2] "and Badakhshán to Mirzá Sulaimán."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 151.

[3] According to Badáúní, he conquered (*musakhkhar*). Kálinjar. Vol. i., p. 344. See Extract from the *Akbar-náma*, *infrà*.

[4] "Leaving Sultán Junaid Birlás as governor of Jaunpúr."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 152.

At this time Sultán Bahádur had marched with the forces of Gujarát and Málwa to besiege the fort of Chítor, and was carrying on war against Ráná Sánká. He had sent Tátár Khán Lodí, one of his chief nobles and a very brave officer, to effect the conquest of the fort of Bayána and the dependent territory. Having reduced the fortress, he threatened A'gra, whereupon the Emperor sent Prince Hindál against him. On learning the approach of the Prince, the greater part of Tátár Khán's forces deserted him and dispersed. With 300 men who remained he advanced against the Prince, and made a fierce onslaught upon the Prince's own division, in which he and every one of his followers perished. Bayána and its dependencies then reverted to the possession of the Emperor. When Sultán Bahádur heard of this, he was greatly alarmed and confounded. The Emperor being determined to chastise still further his enemy, he marched from A'gra,[1] and at the same period Sultan Bahádur laid siege a second time to Chítor. [*Victory of Prince Kámrán at Kandahár.*]

When Sultán Bahádur was informed of the march of the Emperor, he held a council of war. Many of the officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khán, who was the chief of his nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musulmáns were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him among Musulmáns until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. When the Emperor had passed through Málwa, and had come to Sárangpúr, he was informed of this; so he rested there. Sultán Bahádur carried on the siege of Chítor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front towards the Imperial army.

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[1] At the beginning of Jumáda-l awwal, 941 H.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 159.

When the Emperor heard this, he marched forward, and the two armies faced each other at Mandisor,[1] one of the dependencies of Málwa. The tents were hardly pitched, when Saiyid 'Alí Khán and Khurásán Khán, who commanded Sultán Bahádur's advanced guard, were defeated by the royal forces, and fell back upon their main body. The army of Gujarát was greatly dispirited, and the Sultán called a council of war. Sadr Khán advised giving battle on the morrow, as the troops were elated by the conquest of Chítor, and their eyes had not yet been seared by the sight of the Mughals. Rúmí Khán,[2] who commanded the artillery, was adverse to a pitched battle, because the guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*) were of little use (in the field). They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Rúm, no other potentate could equal them. He therefore counselled the entrenching[3] of the army and the carrying on of warfare daily. If the Mughals advanced, they might be met with a discharge of the guns and rockets and a large number of them would be killed. Sultán Bahádur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.

For two months the two armies remained confronting each other. Frequently during the day brave men desirous of fame sallied out in search of adventures; but the Mughal soldiers seldom ventured within range of the guns and rockets. Then the Emperor posted his troops around the position of the enemy, to cut off his supplies of grain and fodder and fuel. These dispositions caused a famine to ensue in the enemy's camp. Grain was not to be procured, the grass all around was consumed, and the imperfectly armed Gujarátís, through fear of the arrows, dared not venture far from the camp. The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Sultán Bahádur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of his pavilion and fled towards Mandú with five of his most trusty adherents, one of whom was governor of Burhánpúr, and the other was Kádir Sháh, governor of Málwa.[1] When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight. The date of this event is found in the words *Zill Bahádur.*

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[1] On the banks of a large tank.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i. p. 160.

[2] A Turk of Constantinople: but the title was sometimes given to artillerymen who were not European Turks.

[3] Abú-l Fazl says, "a barricade of carriages (*hisár-i arába*) with a ditch outside." —*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 161.

On the Emperor being informed of the flight of his enemy, he mounted and went off in pursuit. Having come up with Sadr Khán, who was retreating with a body of men towards Mandú, he made an attack upon him, thinking that it was Sultán Bahádur himself. He had not with him more than 3000 men, for the rest were engaged in plundering. Many of the Gujarátís were slain. His Majesty hastened on to Mandú, and Sultán Bahádur was besieged in the fort. The siege was carried on for some days, till one night a party of the royal army scaled the walls and got into the fort. Sultán Bahádur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed, and the Gujarátís took to flight. Sultán Bahádur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarát, and Sadr Khán and Sultán 'Álam (Lodí) threw themselves into the fort of Súngar, which is the citadel of Mandú. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khán was placed in confinement,[2] and an order was given for cutting off the foot of Sultán 'Álam.

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[1] See *infrà* Extract from *Akbar-náma.*

[2] Such is the statement of one MS., not of the other. Abú-l Fazl says, on the contrary, he was received with great kindness. Sultán 'Álam had rebelled and deserted, so his foot was cut off and he was set at liberty. The fort was not surrendered without much negociation and strong assurances of personal safety.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 164.

Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarát. Sultán Bahádur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Chámpanír,[1] and these he carried off with him to Ahmadábád. When the Emperor left Chámpanír and marched towards Ahmadábád, Sultán Bahádur again took flight, and proceeded towards Kambáyat (Kambay). The city of Ahmadábád fell into the hands of the Mughals, and being plundered yielded enormous spoil. The Emperor again started off with all speed in pursuit of Sultán Bahádur. When the latter reached Kambay, he hastily exchanged his tired horses for fresh ones, and hurried off to the port of (Díú).[2] The Emperor reached Kambay on the evening of the day in which the fugitive had quitted it.[3] Next day, a person[4] came forward in a friendly way and gave information that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were that night going to make a nocturnal attack upon the pursuers. The Emperor questioned him as to his motive for giving this information. He replied, that his son was a prisoner in the hands of the victors, and he was in hopes, if the Emperor was successful, that he might obtain freedom for him. The Emperor passed the night in the greatest watchfulness, and when it was near dawn, 5000 or 6000 footmen[5] made an attack upon the royal forces. The men were on the alert, and came out of their tents and assembled outside the camp. What was left in the camp was plundered. When the morning dawned, the Mughals fell upon the Gujarátís on all sides, and put many of them to the sword.[6]

Jám Fíroz, formerly ruler of Tatta, having been defeated by the Arghúns, had fled to Gujarát.[1] He had given his daughter to Sultán Bahádur. When the latter was defeated, the Jám fell a prisoner into the hands of the Emperor. On the night of this attack, his guards, fearing he might escape, put him to death. Sadr Khán Gujaráti, who had surrendered himself at the fort of Súngar, was also put to death on this night.

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[1] He set fire to the town before leaving Chámpanír.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 164.

[2] Having previously burnt a hundred war *ghrábs*.—*Ib.* 164.

[3] "and encamped on the shore of the sea."—*Ib.* 165.

[4] An old woman, according to Abú-l Fazl.—*Ib.* 166.

[5] "Bhils and Gowárs."—*Ib.* 167.

[6] This attack was made by Malik Ahmad Lád and Rukn Dáúd, two of Sháh Bahádur's nobles, who had great influence among the Kolís and Gowárs of Kolíwára. Enraged at this attack, Humáyún ordered Kambay to be plundered and fired.—*Ib.* 166.

Next day the Emperor marched towards Chámpanír, and invested the fort. Ikhtiyár Khán, the commandant of the fort, made preparations for resistance. One day the Emperor was going round the fort, when he spied a number of people who had come out of the jungle, and who, being frightened at the sight of him, fell back into the cover. He sent a party in pursuit, and captured several of them. It then appeared that, with the help of the (neighbouring) *zamíndárs*, they had conveyed grain and butter into the fort. In this place (where they had introduced the provisions) the fort was very high,[2] perpendicular, and dangerous. But His Majesty conceived that where provisions had been passed, he also might find an entrance. He carefully examined the place, and then returned to the camp.

It then occurred to him that the strength of this part of the fort was such, that the garrison probably felt quite secure about it, and took little care to guard it. He had a number of steel spikes prepared. In the day he attacked the fort on all sides, and at night he repaired with 600 men to this place. They drove the spikes right and left firmly into (the scarp of the rock), and by means of them climbed up into the fort. The garrison, being quite at ease about this part of the fort, did not observe their entrance. When thirty-nine persons, the last of whom was Bairám Khán, had gone up, His Majesty also resolutely ascended.[3] By daybreak 300 men had got in. There they found great stores of corn and butter, and other provisions, for the people of the fort. As soon as it was light, the besieging army advanced against the fort. The Emperor and his party then came down, shouting their battle-cry. On reaching the gate they opened it, and gave admission to the assailants. So this strong fortress was taken. Ikhtiyár Khán retreated into the citadel, which is called Múliyá. Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.

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[1] See Vol. I. of this work, pp. 234, 309, 313.

[2] "Sixty or seventy *gaz* in height."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 168.

[3] The *Akbar-náma* (vol. i., p. 168) says that when thirty-nine had gone up, Humáyún wanted to proceed, but Bairám Khán persuaded him to wait till the whole ascent was clear. Bairám Khán then went up, and Humáyún followed, being the forty-first man.

Ikhtiyár Khán then came out of the citadel and surrendered. He held a high position among the Gujarátís, and was kindly received by the Emperor, who made him one of his personal attendants.[1] The treasures of the Kings of Gujarát, which had been accumulating for many years, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The gold was divided among the soldiers, so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rúm and Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the Kings of Gujarát had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarát.

The agriculturists of the country sent a person with a message to Sultán Bahádur, to inform him that as several of the districts were not occupied by the Mughal agents, they would themselves make the proper collections, if he would send an army to protect them. Accordingly, Sultán Bahádur sent one of his slaves, 'Imádu-l Mulk,[2] who was distinguished for courage and justice. 'Imádu-l Mulk set about collecting forces, and by the time he reached Ahmadábád many soldiers of the army and of the *zamindárs* had gathered round him, to the number of about 50,000 horse and foot.[3] He encamped within sight of Ahmadábád, and began to collect the revenue. When information of this was brought to the Emperor after the fall of Chámpanír, he made a second large distribution of gold out of the plunder of Gujarát among the soldiers. He then placed the fort of Chámpanír in charge of Tardí Beg, and marched towards Ahmadábád. The command of the vanguard was given to Mirzá 'Askarí, Mirzá Yádgár Násir, and Mír Hindú Beg, and they went on one day's march in advance. In the vicinity of Mahmúdábád,[1] which is twelve *kos* from Ahmadábád, 'Imádu-l Mulk attacked Mirzá 'Askarí, and was defeated. Many men fell on both sides.

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[1] Ikhtiyár Khán was a descendant of the *kázis* of the town of Naryád, and was a man of great knowledge and experience. He had a high reputation as a statesman, and was an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was of some repute also as a poet.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 167. Erskine, vol. ii., p. 65.

[2] A Circassian.

[3] Mujáhid Khán of Junagarh joined him with 12,000 horse.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 169.

The author of this work heard from his father, who was then *wazír* of Mirzá 'Askarí, that at mid-day, when it was intensely hot, the Gujarátís came hastily out of Ahmadábád. Mirzá Yádgár Násir had marched about half a *kos* on the right flank of Mirzá Askarí, and Mirzá Hindú Beg had encamped at the same distance on his left. The Gujarátís came on with such speed that the Mirzá had no time to array his forces, so he retired with a party of his men into a thorn brake, where he stood fast. Heedless of this disposition of the Mirzá's, the Gujarátís dispersed in search of plunder, and gathered a large booty. Mirzá Yádgár Násir and Mirzá Hindú Beg came up in due order with their forces, and the Gujarátís took to flight. Mirzá 'Askarí now came forth from the thorn brake, and pursued the Gujarátís to Ahmadábád. More than 2000 men were killed in the battle.

After this the Emperor bestowed Ahmadábád and its dependencies upon Mirzá 'Askarí in *jágír*,[2] Nahrwála Patan upon Mirzá Yádgár Násir, and Broach upon Mirzá Hindú Beg.[3] Tardí Beg received Chámpanír, and Kásim Husain obtained Baroda. Khán-jahán Shírází and other nobles also received grants.[1] The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhánpúr, and from thence to Mandú.

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[1] "Between Naryád and Mahmúdábád."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i, p. 171.

[2] None but Mirzá 'Askarí's men were allowed to enter the city.—*Ib.* 172.

[3] A large force was left under the command of Hindú Beg, with which he was to render assistance wherever it was required. Kásim Husain received Broach.—*Ib.* 172.

After a time one of the nobles of Sultán Bahádur prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausárí, which is near to Surat, and proceeded to collect forces. He took possession of Nausárí, and having associated Rúmí Khán[2] of Surat with Khán-jahán Shírází, they marched against Broach.[3] Kásim Husain, being unable to withstand them, fled to Chámpanír. The Gujarátís then rose and carried on offensive movements on every side.

One night Mirzá 'Askarí in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, "I am a King, and the shadow of God." Ghazanfar, who was one of his companions, and foster-brother of Kásim Khân, said in an undertone, "So thou art; but not for thyself." The convives smiled, and the Mirzá having found out what they were laughing about, got angry, and threw Ghazanfar into prison. In a few days he made his escape,[4] and went and joined Sultân Bahádur, whom he incited to attack Ahmadábád, assuring him that he was acquainted with all the plans of the Mughals, who were anxious to retreat, and only wanted a pretext for so doing. He advised him to make the Mirzá prisoner, and march against the Mughals; and he expressed his willingness to submit to punishment if they made any real resistance. Sultán Bahâdur, with the assistance of the *zamíndárs* of Súrath,[5] got together a force and marched against Ahmadábád.

Just at this period Amír Hindú Beg had counselled Mirzá

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[1] See *infrà* Extract from the *Akbar-náma*, "Return of Humáyún."

[2] This was the common title given to Osmanlí Turks, who were in high repute as engineers and gunners, but it was not confined exclusively to them. This Rúmí Khán is not the same as the Rúmí Khán Khudáwand Khán who left Sultán Bahádur after his defeat at Mandú, and directed the siege of Chunár for Humáyún.—See *infrà*, p. 199.

[3] See Extract from *Akbar-náma.*

[4] With 300 horse.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 174.

[5] Súrath is one of the divisions of Kattiwár, and must not be confounded with the town of Surat, though the names are no doubt identical.

'Askarí to have the *khutba* recited and coin struck in his name, and to set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mirzá 'Askarí did not accept this advice. After much debate and deliberation, it was determined that Mirzá 'Askarí, Mirzá Yádgár Násir, Amír Hindú Beg and some other nobles should leave Ahmadábád, and form a camp in the rear of Asáwal,[1] opposite Sarganj. Sultán Bahádur also came down to Sarganj and faced his enemies. By chance a cannon ball from the camp of the Mirzá knocked down the tent of Sultán Bahádur. This greatly disturbed him, and he summoned Ghazanfar to his presence, intending to bring him to punishment. Ghazanfar asked that his punishment might be postponed until the Sultán had set his army in array, for he had heard that Mirzá 'Askarí intended to retreat during the night. When night came Mirzá 'Askarí, with the approval of the *amírs*, retreated towards Chámpanír, leaving everything superfluous behind them.[2] They halted at ten *kos* distance, and Sultán Bahádur pursued and came up with them. Mirzá Askarí and the *amírs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired.

When they reached Chámpanír, Tardí Beg[2] exhibited hostility towards them, and shutting himself up in the fort, sent a messenger to Humáyún, to inform him that Mirzá 'Askarí had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Ágra and proclaim himself King. But before Mirzá 'Askarí retreated from Ahmadábád, the newswriters and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mír Hindú Beg had made to the Mirzá for his assuming the crown, and although he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entertained hostile designs. The Emperor set off with all speed from Mandú to Ágra, and was met upon the road[3] by Mirzá 'Askarí, who waited upon him, and told him the facts of the matter. Sultán Bahádur obtained possession of the fort of Chámpanír by the capitulation of Tardí Beg.

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[1] A suburb of Ahmadábád.

[2] See Extracts from the *Akbar-náma*, *infrà*.

[3] "Near Chitor."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 176.

At the beginning of this year, Sháh Tahmásp, in revenge of Sain Mirzá, marched to Kandahár, and Kalán Beg evacuated the fort and proceeded to Lahore. It is said that Kalán Beg had built for himself a Chinese house of great elegance, and when he fled it was furnished with fine carpets and beautiful vases. This greatly pleased the Sháh. Leaving Kandahár in charge of his nobles, the Sháh proceeded to 'Irák. After this, Mirzá Kámrán marched from Lahore against Kandahár, and the Turkománs, being unable to resist him, evacuated the place and went to 'Irák. Kandahár thus once more fell into his hands.

The Emperor Humáyún remained for a year at Ágra and took his pleasure. When Sultán Bahádur was defeated, he sent away Muhammad Zamán Mirzá to Hind, in order that there might be no difficulty about him, and when Mirzá Kámrán marched against Kandahár, Zamán Mirzá laid siege to Lahore, but upon hearing of the Emperor's return, he went back again to Gujarát.[1]

Sher Khán Afghán, who had got possession of the provinces of Bihár and Jaunpúr and the fort of Chunár, greatly increased his power and forces while the Emperor was engaged in Gujarát and Málwa. To curb his proceedings, the Emperor marched against him on the 14th Safar, 942 H. (12th August, 1535). When he pitched his tents before the fort of Chunár,[2] Rúmí Khán, who had quitted the service of Sultán Bahádur,[3] and had been received into that of the Emperor, undertook the reduction of the fortress. He received full authority to do whatever he deemed necessary for the capture of the place, and every assistance was to be given to him. Rúmí Khán reconnoitered the fortress, and found that every part of the place which abutte[illegible] on the land was exceedingly strong and quite impregnable. [illegible] therefore turned his attention to the river, and prepared a lar[illegible] vessel on which he began to build a scaffold.[1] When the structure was finished, he found that the vessel would not carry it, so he had two other vessels lashed one on each side of it. Still they were insufficient to convey the scaffold. The help of another vessel was obtained, and the scaffold being now movable, it was brought close up to the fort, and the place was captured.[2] When the officers of the garrison saw that the place was no longer tenable, they made their escape at night in boats. Rúmí Khán received many rewards.[3] The gunners of the fort were maimed by His Majesty's orders.[4] At this time, Sher Khán Afghán was carrying on war against the ruler of Bengál,[5] who fled wounded before him, and sought refuge with the Emperor Humáyún. The Emperor then marched against Bengál. Sher Khán then sent his sons[6] Jalál Khán and Khawás Khán to secure Garhí, which was situated on the road to Bengál. This Garhí is a strong place.[7] On one side of it there is a high mountain and a large jungle quite insurmountable, and the river Ganges runs near to the other side. The place stands between Bihár and

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[1] According to Abú-l Fazl he went to Sind, but was stopped and turned aside by Sháh Husain, son of Sháh Beg Arghún. He then went and invested Lahore during Kámrán's absence, but fled as soon as Kámrán returned, and having no other resource he went back again to Gujarát.

[2] Which was under the command of Kutb Khán, son of Sher Sháh.

[3] After the defeat of Sultán Bahádur at Mandú.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 183.

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[1] مقابل سرکوب. Abú-l Fazl calls the structure a *sábát.*—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 183.

[2] بیکبار مقابل کوب را بقلعه متصل ساخته مفتوح گشت

[3] He was appointed governor of the fortress, but died a few days afterwards, poisoned, as Abú-l Fazl says, out of envy at his promotion. Beg Mírak succeeded him as governor of Chunár.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 184.

[4] Abú-l Fazl says that 2000 men surrendered and received quarter from Humáyún, but that Muyíd Beg, one of his attendants, caused their hands to be cut off, averring that it was by the Emperor's order, although he had really directed kind treatment. Our MSS. have the words *ba-hukm,* "by order," but perhaps, as Erskine suggests, it should be *be-hukm,* without the order.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 183.

[5] Saiyid Mahmúd Sháh. Abú-l Fazl calls him Nasib Sháh, but he was dead.—See Vol. IV., p. 355.

[6] So in the original, but Khawás Khán was not Sher Khán's son.

[7] "The gate of Bengál."—*Akbar-náma.* It is the Teria-garhi or Tiliagulley of the maps.

Bengál. The Emperor sent Jahángír Beg Mughal against Garhí.

Hindál Mirzá accompanied the Emperor to Mungír, and afterwards he was sent towards Ágra against Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, Ulugh Mirzá, and Sháh Mirzá, who had fled from His Majesty, and were creating disturbances in the country. Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, when he found that he met with no success in Gujarát, sent ambassadors to the Emperor at Ágra, suing for pardon.[1]

When Jahángír Beg arrived at Garhí, Jalál Khán,[2] son of Sher Khán, and Khawás Khán marched forth and defeated Jahángír Beg as he was descending (the defiles). Jahángír Beg was wounded, and returned to join the Emperor, who marched in person to the gates of Garhí. Unable to make further resistance, Jalál Khán and Khawás Khán fled. The Emperor then left Garhí, and continued his march into Bengál. Sher Khán was unable to resist him, so he went off by way of Jhárkand[3] to Rohtás. The Emperor remained three months in Bengál,[4] and changed the name of the city of Gaur to Jannatábád.

In the year 943 (1536 A.D.), Mirzá Hindál, finding opportunity at Ágra,[5] was induced by turbulent advisers to set himself up in opposition to the Emperor.[6] He killed Shaikh

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[1] This outbreak, according to Abú-l Fazl, occurred before the march to Chunár, and Muhammad Zamán joined the Emperor while on his march thither.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 176.

[2] All three MSS. had "Jalál Khán," but in two of them "Kutb Khán" has been substituted. See Vol. IV., p. 367.

[3] The *Akbar-náma* calls it "Chahárkand." It was at this time that Sher Khán got possession of Rohtás (see *suprà*, Vol. IV., p. 361). According to Abú-l Fazl, "Rájá Chintáman brahman was master (*hákim*) of the fortress." He accredits the *doli* story, and says that 600 *dolis* went in with two men in each.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 186.

[4] The *Akbar-náma* (vol. i., p. 186) says Humáyún liked the climate of Bengal, and rested there in pleasure and dissipation, regardless of his army.

[5] According to the *Akbar-náma* (vol. i., p. 186), he had gone there without leave.

[6] His supporters said, "If you will cause the *khutba* to be read in your name, we will faithfully serve and support you; if not, we will go to Mirzá Kámrán, where we shall have our wishes gratified."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 187.

Bahlol,[1] one of the great Shaikhs of the time, and learned in theology, to whom the Emperor was much attached. He was executed upon the pretence of his being in league with the Afgháns, but in reality it was brought about by the leaders of the revolt in order to widen the breach between Mirzá Hindál and the Emperor. The *khutba* was now read in the name of Hindál. When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahángír Beg in charge of Bengál, with a reinforcement of 5000 chosen men, and set off for Ágra.

At this time Muhammad Zamán Mirzá, son of Badí'u-z Zamán Mirzá, returned from Gujarát with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him, and did not utter a word of reproach. Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengál destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chaunsá. The *amírs* who had been left in Jaunpúr and Chunár came to wait upon the Emperor. Sher Khán, having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.

When Mirzá Kámrán returned to Lahore from Kandahár, and heard of the rebellion of Mirzá Hindál, of the difficulties of the Emperor, and of the growing strength of Sher Khán, he formed the design of securing Ágra. Mirzá Hindál proceeded to Dehlí, and there Fakhr 'Alí and Mirzá Yádgár Násir[2] shut themselves up in the fortress, and in spite of all his efforts, Hindál was unable to take the city. So when Mirzá Kámrán came near to Dehlí, Mirzá Hindál felt himself constrained to join him.[3]

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[1] Abú-l Fazl calls him "Shaikh Phúl," and says he had been sent by Humáyún express from Bengál to use his influence in inducing Hindál to desist from his rebellious designs.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 188.

[2] On hearing of Hindal's proceedings, Mirzá Yádgár Násir had left Kálpí and hastened by way of Gwalior to Dehlí, and prepared the city for a siege.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 189.

[3] The *Akbar-náma* (vol. i., p. 190) states, what is more likely, that on Kámrán's reaching Sonpat, Hindál hastened back to Ágra, from whence, on Kámrán's approach, he retired to Alwar.

Fakhr 'Alí came out on the top of the fortress, and seeing Mirzá Kámrán, he told him that Mirzá Yádgár Násir would not surrender Dehlí, so the best thing he could do would be to go on to Agra, and if he obtained possession of that city, Dehlí would be given up to him. Mirzá Kámrán consequently marched on towards Agra, and when he approached that city, Mirzá Hindál separated from him, and went away in the direction of Alwar.

The news of Mirzá Hindál's rebellion, and of the arrival of Mirzá Kámrán at Dehlí, was brought to the Emperor at Chaunsá, and greatly increased his distress. Sher Khán now sent to the Emperor a *darwesh* named Shaikh Jalíl, whom he called his *murshid*, to propose terms of peace. He offered to give up all the territory except Bengál, to swear upon the Holy Book that he would live in peace, and that the coin should be struck and the *khutba* read in the name of the Emperor. These proposals were received with the greatest satisfaction. But next morning Sher Khán fell upon the royal army unawares, and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.[1] Prior to the attack, the Afgháns had taken possession of the bridge and had broken it. They also came out on the river in boats, and despatched with their spears every man of the royal army whom they found endeavouring to escape by water. Muhammad Zamán Mirzá was drowned. His Majesty rode his horse into the water, and nearly perished; but he was helped over the river by a water-carrier, and went off towards Agra.

Mirzá Kámrán had ere this arrived at Agra. Mirzá Hindál was at Alwar in security. After the Emperor had crossed the river, he hastened on, accompanied by only a few horsemen,[2] of whom the author's father was one, and arrived at Agra. Mirzá

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[1] As Humáyún was mounting, he ordered Bábá Jaláir and Tardí Beg Kuch Beg to look to the safety of the Empress Hájí Begam. They died fighting at the door of her tent. Mír Pahlawán Badakhshí and a number of others fell in the vain attempt to save her, and she fell a prisoner into the hands of the Afgháns.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 193. See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 375.

[2] Mirzá 'Askarí also was with him.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 194.

Kámrán had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brother, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindál Mirzá received forgiveness for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultán Mirzá and his sons, who had for a long time been engaged in rebellion, also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mirzá Kámrán was desirous of returning to Lahore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khwája Kalán Beg exerted himself to bring about the return of Mirzá Kámrán. The negociations went on for six months. Meanwhile Mirzá Kámrán had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind the belief that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So, ill as he was, he started for Lahore, having sent on Khwája Kalán Beg in advance. He had promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Ágra; but in spite of this promise he carried all off with him, excepting only 2000 men whom he left at Ágra under the command of Sikandar. Mirzá Haidar Doghlat Kashmírí,[1] who had accompanied Kámrán, remained with His Majesty, and was received into favour. Kámrán also took away with him many of the soldiers of Ágra.

Sher Khán, emboldened by the dissensions between the brothers, advanced along the banks of the Ganges, and sent a detachment over the river against Kálpí and Etáwah. Kásim Husain Sultán Úzbek, along with Yádgár Násir Mirzá and Sikandar Sultán, fought against the Afgháns in the neighbourhood of Kálpí. They killed a son of Sher Khán who was in command, and a great many men of his army, and they sent his head as an offering to Ágra. The Emperor then marched against Sher Khán to the banks of the Ganges, and passed over the river at Kanauj. For one month he remained encamped in sight of the enemy. His army numbered 100,000 horsemen, while that of the Afghâns did not exceed 50,000. At this conjuncture, Muhammad Sultán Mirzá and his sons again exhibited their perfidy, and without reason fled from the royal army. The detachment which Mirzá Kámrán had left as a reinforcement also went off to Lahore. So disaffection having become the fashion, many of the troops went off and scattered over various parts of Hindústán. The rainy season came on, and the place where the army was encamped being flooded with water, it was determined to move to higher ground. While this was being done Sher Khán came forth to fight. The battle was fought on the 10th Muharram of this year [947 H., 17th May, 1540 A.D.]. Many of the soldiers, being dispirited, fled without fighting. A few only of the bravest went into the fight, and the day being lost, the whole army fled. Humáyún became separated from his horse in the Ganges, and was helped out of the water by Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Ghazniví, who afterwards, in the reign of Akbar, received the title of Khán-i a'zam. When Sher Khán heard of his escape, he was sorry, and exclaimed, "I was in hopes he had perished, but he has got off." The Emperor fled to Ágra; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay, but went to Lahore. At the beginning of Rabí'u-l awwal all the Chaghatái Sultáns and *amírs* were assembled in Lahore; but Mirzá Muhammad Sultán and his sons, who had come to Lahore, fled from thence to Multán. Mirzá Hindál and Mirzá Yádgár Násir found it expedient to go towards Bakar and Tatta,[2] and Mirzá Kámrán determined to go to Kábul as soon as the party was broken up.

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[1] Mirzá Haidar was averted, by the Emperor's remonstrances, from going away with Kámrán.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 197. See *suprà*, p. 130.

It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and his *amírs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent. Mirzá Haidar Beg, after much consultation,[3] had been sent off with a party who

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[1] See *suprà*, pp. 132 and 143.

[2] One copy has "Nagarkot."

[3] His advice was that the princes should occupy and fortify the hills between Sirhind and Sárang, while he subdued Kashmir, which he felt certain of effecting in the course of two months.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 205.

had volunteered for service in Kashmír, and Khwája Kalán Beg was ordered to follow him. When the Mirzá had reached Naushahr, and Kalán Beg had got as far as Siálkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Khán had crossed the river [Biyáh] at Sultánpúr, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lahore. Mirzá Kámrán,[1] after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra. When Khwája Kalán Beg heard (of this retreat), he marched rapidly from Siálkot, and joined the camp of Humáyún. When Mirzá Haidar reached Kashmír, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and through them Kashmír fell into his hands, without striking a stroke. On the 22nd Rajab he became sovereign of Kashmír, in the city of Nau-shahr, as is related in the *Tabakát-i Kashmír*.

At Bahra, Mirzá Kámrán and Mirzá 'Askarí parted from Humáyún, and went off, accompanied by Khwája Kalán Beg, to Kábul. Mirzá Hindál and Mirzá Yádgár Násir still remained with him, but after a few stages they disagreed. For twenty days they absented themselves, but falling into difficulties, on the advice of Mír Abú-l Baká, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. Bakhshúí Langáh then brought in several boats laden with corn, and was very favourably received. The army then crossed the river, and went onwards to Bakhar, but made a halt at the town of Luhari (Lohri). Mirzá 'Askarí then crossed the Sind, and went to the town of Pátar, because the wants of an army were easily supplied there. From Luhri, which is near Bakhar,[2] to Pátar, the distance is fifty *kos*. Mír Táhir Sadr was sent as ambassador to Sháh Husain Arghún, ruler of Tatta;

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[1] Abú-l Fazl asserts that he sent an envoy to Sher Khán, offering to support him, on condition of being confirmed in the government of the Panjáb.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 205.

[2] Lohrí or Rorí is on the east bank of the Indus opposite to Bakhar

and Samandar Beg, one of the courtiers of the Emperor, was sent with him in charge of a horse and a robe. The gist of the message which they conveyed was, that the Emperor had been compelled to come to Tatta, and his object was to attempt the recovery of Gujarát. The Sháh was invited to come and wait upon the Emperor, and consult with him about the conquest of Gujarát. Sháh Husain Arghún temporized for six months by sending complimentary messages, and said that there could be no good in staying near Bakhar, but if the camp were nearer Tatta it would be more convenient, for five or six months might be lost while they were negociating. If the Emperor would come nearer, whatever seemed advisable should be done.[1] Grain becoming scarce in Bakhar, the Emperor marched off to Pátar, where Mirzá Hindál was staying, for he had heard that Mirzá Hindál intended to go to Kandahár. It was on one occasion in this year, while the Emperor was staying in the camp of Mirzá Hindál, that he married *Maryam-i Makáni* Hamída Bánú Begam, the mother of the Emperor Akbar, and spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindál. The Emperor now forbad him to go to Kandahár, and directed him to return to Luhari.

Karácha Khán, who was governor of Kandahár, wrote letters to Mirzá Hindál, inviting him to Kandahár, and the Mirzá started off and went thither. When Humáyún was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers. Mirzá Yádgár Násir had pitched his camp about two miles below the royal camp, and the river ran between the two camps. He also now expressed his intention of going to Kandahár. On the Emperor being informed of this, he sent Mír Abú-l Baká to reassure the Mirzá, and to forbid his going to Kandahár.[2] As he was crossing the river on his return, a party came out of the fort of Bakhar, and assailed his boat with a shower of arrows. One of them pierced the Mír, and he died. The Emperor showed great sorrow for his loss. The date of his death, 948 H., is found in the words *Surúr-i káinát.*

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[1] Sháh Husain proposed that Humáyún should take possession of the country of Cháchkán, between Tatta and the Ran, as a means of furthering his views on Gujarát. In this he promised to support him.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 210. See Vol. I. *suprà*, p. 316.

[2] An agreement was made with the Mirzá that he was to have one-third of Hindústán when it was recovered, as also Ghazní, Charkh, and Lohgar, which Bábar had given to the Mirzá's mother.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 212.

After this Mirzá Yádgár Násir crossed the river, and paid a visit to the royal camp. After much consultation it was resolved that the Mirzá should be left at Bakhar, and that His Majesty should march on to effect the conquest of Tatta. But the Mirzá did not show any signs of concord and friendliness. When the Emperor marched for Tatta,[1] a large body of soldiers parted from him and stayed at Bakhar. Mirzá Yádgár Násir remained at Bakhar, and increased his forces, because during that year no[2] heavenly or terrestrial evil had befallen the agriculture of Bakhar. His Majesty now proceeded by means of boats to the fort of Sihwán.[3] A party of soldiers on board of the boats, as they came near to the fort, landed and attacked a body of men who had come out of the fort, and drove them in again.

The victors returned, and represented that the reduction of the fortress was an easy matter, so His Majesty crossed over the river, and invested the place.[4] But before his arrival, a party of Sháh Husain's officers had entered it, and had done their best to increase its strength. When Sháh Husain heard that it had been invested, he proceeded by boats to the vicinity of the Emperor's camp, and employed himself in cutting off the supply of grain. Great scarcity followed, and many men lived (entirely) upon the flesh of animals. The siege went on for nearly seven months, and the place was not captured, so a messenger was sent to Mirzá Yádgár Násir at Bakhar, to tell him that the fall of the fort depended upon his approach; for if the besiegers marched to attack Sháh Husain, the garrison would be free to gather in provisions, and so protract the defence.

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[1] On the 1st Jumáda-l ákhir.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 213.

[2] Two MSS. omit the negative, and so are in accord with Erskine (vol. ii., p. 226); but it seems to be required by the sense and the previous "because" (*chi*).

[3] Written "Siyáhwán" and "Siyáhán."

[4] He reached Sihwán on the 17th Rajab.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. i., p. 213.

Want of salt and scarcity of grain would prevent the royal forces remaining under the fort much longer; but if Mirzá Yádgár would attack Sháh Husain, the latter would be unable to maintain his position. Mirzá Yádgár sent a portion of his force, but no advantage was gained through this reinforcement. Again a messenger was sent to call Mirzá Yádgár, and 'Abdu-l Ghafúr, who was *Mír-i mál* of the Emperor, received the commission. 'Abdu-l Ghafúr went to Mirzá Yádgár, and spoke about the perilous condition of the royal army, but the Mirzá and his officers deemed it advisable to remain where they were, and effect the conquest of Bakhar.

Sháh Husain had sent representatives to Mirzá Yádgár Násir, and had drawn near to his camp. He promised that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Mirzá, give him his daughter in marriage, and read the *khutba* in his name.[1] Delighted with these offers, the Mirzá was hoodwinked by Sháh Husain, and so placed himself in hostility to the Emperor. Having thus secured himself against Mirzá Yádgár, and being aware of the distress and weakness of the army of Humáyún, Sháh Husain advanced closer to the royal camp, and captured the vessels (which were conveying provisions) for the army. Unable to continue the siege of Sihwán, the Emperor was compelled to retreat towards Bakhar.[2] When he approached near to Mirzá Yádgár Násir, he sent to him for boats in which to cross the river, and the Mirzá, who was in league with the people of Tatta, sent to them, desiring them to come at night and carry off the boats. Next morning he artfully reported that the enemy had carried off the boats. The Emperor remained inactive some days for want of boats. At length, two *zamíndárs* of Bakhar waited upon him, and (under their guidance) some boats which had been sunk were raised. Humáyún then crossed the river. When Mirzá Yádgár Násir learnt of the passage over, being greatly alarmed and ashamed, he, without waiting upon the Emperor, marched off hastily against Sháh Husain; and the latter being quite unprepared, the Mirzá fell upon a large force from Tatta which had disembarked, and killed and made many prisoners, and then returned. After this action, Sháh Husain returned to Tatta, and Mirzá Yádgár Násir, repentant and ashamed, waited upon the Emperor and presented the heads of his enemies. Once more Humáyún forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.

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[1] He represented that he was old and had no son, that he would give him his daughter, leave him his treasures, recognize him as successor, and help him to conquer Gujarát.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 214.

[2] He commenced his retreat on the 17th Zí-l ka'da.—*Ib.* p. 215.

Sháh Husain now wrote letters to Mirzá Yádgár Násir, and again drew him over to his side. The Sháh requested him to secure for him the two *zamíndárs* who had obtained the boats for the Emperor. These men, being informed of the demand, repaired to the camp of Humáyún. Mirzá Yádgár sent a messenger to Humáyún, representing that he had some revenue matters relating to his *jágír* of Bakhar to settle with these two *zamíndárs*, and requested that they might be sent to him. The Emperor ordered that several persons should accompany the men, and bring them back again when the business was concluded. The instant Mirzá Yádgár Násir saw them, he took them forcibly from the Emperor's men, and sent them to Sháh Husain. Thus he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.

The men of Humáyún's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mirzá Yádgár Násir. Mun'im Khán[1] also, and his brother, had thoughts of running away. This intention was communicated to Humáyún, and he ordered them into confinement. Mirzá Yádgár Násir, in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humáyún, and the latter, being informed of his movements, made ready for fighting. Háshim Beg, a person high in Mirzá Yádgár's confidence, when he heard of his proceedings, restrained him, and nolens volens made him return. It now became evident to Humáyún, that if he tarried longer his men would all desert to Mirzá Yádgár Násir, and that the worst might be expected from the Mirzá's baseness. In this extremity, he resolved upon marching to Mál Deo, one of the faithful *zamíndárs* of Hindústán, who at that time surpassed all the *zamíndárs* of Hindústán in power and in the number of his forces. This Mál Deo had sent letters to Bakhar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindústán.

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[1] He who became *Khán-khánán* in the reign of Akbar.

Humáyún accordingly marched[1] towards Mál Deo's country by way of Jesalmír. The ruler of Jesalmír[2] shamefully took an unmanly course. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march, but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humáyún had a great many men wounded. He marched with all possible speed till he reached the country of Mál Deo. Then he sent on [Shamsu-d dín Muhammad] Atká Khán to Mál Deo at Joudhpur, while he himself halted for a few days.

[*Proceedings of Mirzás Hindál, Kámrán, and 'Askarí at Kandahár, Ghazní, and Kábul.*]

Humáyún remained on the borders of Mál Deo's territories awaiting the return of Atká Khán. When Mál Deo was informed of the Emperor's weakness, he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Khán. For Sher Khán had sent an ambassador to Mál Deo, holding out great expectations; and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humáyún a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nágor, and its dependencies, had fallen into the power of Sher Khán, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Khán should be annoyed and send a large army to his territory against Humáyún. To keep the Emperor in ignorance, Mál Deo detained the envoy Atká Khán, and did not give him permission to return. But Atká Khán contrived to ascertain what was passing through the mind of Mál Deo, and went off without any formal dismissal.

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[1] He started on the 21st Muharram, 949, for Uch. Removing from thence on the 18th Rabí'u-l awwal, he proceeded by Díwaráwal and Wásilpur to a place twelve *kos* from Bikanír, at which place he arrived on the 17th Rabí'u-l ákhir. Thence he proceeded to Pahlúdí, thirty *kos* from Joudhpur, and afterwards made three more forward marches to the tank of Júkí.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 219.

[2] According to Abú-l Fazl his name was "Rai Lon Karan."—*Ib.* p. 219.

One of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Mál Deo, now wrote to the Emperor, informing him that Mál Deo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. Atká Khán also spoke in the strongest terms upon the matter. So Humáyún marched off at once to Amarkot. Two Hindús, who had come to act as spies upon him, fell into his hands, and were brought to his presence. They were questioned, and an order was given that one of them should suffer the punishment of death, with the object of arriving at the exact facts of the matter. The two prisoners broke loose, and snatching a knife and a dagger from two bystanders, they despatched seventeen living creatures, men, women, and horses, before they were overpowered and slain. The Emperor's own horse was among the animals killed. As he had no other horse to ride, his equerries sought to obtain some horses and camels from Tardí Beg, but he disgraced himself by giving a refusal. Then the Emperor mounted a camel. Nadím Koka was walking on foot, while his mother was riding his horse; but when he saw the Emperor seated on the camel, he made his mother dismount, presented the horse to the Emperor, and made her ride on the camel which he had used.

The road lay through a loose sand, and water was not procurable. The army toiled on with great difficulty, and every moment the news came of the approach of Mál Deo. The Emperor ordered Mun'im Khán, with a detachment, to march cautiously and slowly in the rear, and if the enemy approached, to give him battle. When night came on, that detachment lost the way, and at daybreak the enemy's forces were in sight. Shaikh 'Alí Beg, Darwesh Koka, and some others were (in the rear), numbering in all twenty-two persons. Darwesh Beg, son of Bákí Jaláír, was one of the party. They proceeded against the enemy, who was emerging from a narrow defile. Shaikh 'Alí killed the commander of the enemy with his first arrow, and every arrow that his little band discharged wounded some prominent man of the enemy's army. Unable to endure this, the enemy turned, and his great army fled before such an insignificant troop. Many were killed in their flight, and many camels fell into the hands of the victors. When the intelligence of the victory reached the Emperor, he hastened to publicly express his thanks.

The army encamped by a well which contained a little water, and the party which had lost its way during the night now came in, which was another cause of rejoicing. Next day the march was resumed, and for three days no water was found. On the fourth they reached a well: a drum was beaten when the bucket reached the surface of the earth, to give the bullock-driver notice to stop;[1] for the well was so deep that a call would not reach him. In the intensity of their thirst, some men could not restrain themselves. Four or five threw themselves upon the bucket, the rope broke, and the bucket fell back into the well. Overcome with suffering, they uttered cries and lamentations, and some cast themselves intentionally into the well. In this way many perished through thirst. Next day the march was resumed, and at the hottest time they reached a river (*áb*). The horses and camels had not tasted water for several days, and now they drank so much that many of them died.

At length, with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Tatta. The *ráná*, that is to say the ruler (*hákim*) of Amarkot,[2] was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury he distributed among his soldiers. He had arrived here with no great force, so he levied a sum of money from Tardí Beg and others as a benevolence, and graciously presented the *rána* and his sons with gold and girdles and daggers. Sháh Husain Arghún had slain the father of the *rána*, and so the *rána* now collected a considerable number of men from his territories, and went with the Emperor in the direction of Bakhar. The Emperor's family, with their paraphernalia, under his orders remained at Amarkot. Khwája Mu'azzam, brother of Maryam Makání, was left in charge of them.

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[1] The bucket was drawn up by a bullock by means of a rope passing over a wheel at the top of the well, and the rope was so long that a drum was required to make the bullock-driver hear.

[2] "Rana Parsád by name."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 220.

Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time.[1] The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 949 (15th October, 1542). Tardí Beg Khán conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance, as will be narrated in the proper place, gave to the child the name of Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar.[2]

He then continued his march towards Bakhar, but he wrote very urgent letters as to the safety of the young prince. Upon reaching the *pargana* of Jún, he halted there for a while. He sent for his family and the suite of the prince, and then his eyes were gladdened by the sight of his son. The force which had been collected from the parts around dispersed while he remained at Jún; and his brave and intrepid officer, Shaikh 'Alí, fell in an action with the troops of Sháh Husain Arghún, in one of the *parganas* of Tatta. His soldiers began to desert one by one from his camp. Mun'im Khán even went off. His Majesty, seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in this country, determined upon going to Kandahár. At this time he was joined by Bairám Khán,[1] who had come from Gujarát. He now sent representatives to Sháh Husain Arghún; asking for boats to enable him to cross the river, and the Sháh, delighted with his determination, sent him thirty boats and 300 camels. His Majesty then crossed the river, and began his march to Kandahár.

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[1] This passage is greatly compressed.

[2] He is already styled by anticipation "His Majesty the Emperor, King of Kings."

Sháh Husain sent a person to Mirzá 'Askarí and Mirzá Kámrán, to inform them of the Emperor's intention to march to Kandahár, and they wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner. The perfidious Mirzá 'Askarí, when His Majesty reached Shál and Mastán,[2] marched rapidly from Kandahár, and sent forward Hawalí[3] Uzbek to watch his movements. This man had received kindness from the Emperor. He obtained a powerful horse from Mirzá 'Askarí, and betook himself to the Emperor's camp. When he arrived, he dismounted from his horse, and went to the tent of Bairám Khán, whom he informed of Mirzá 'Askarí's advance, and of his designs against the Emperor. Bairam Khán immediately proceeded to the Emperor, and standing at the back of the tent he told him of Mirzá 'Askarí's approach. "What is the worth of Kandahár and Kábul," said the Emperor, "that I should strive with my faithless brothers?" Then he mounted his horse, and sent Khwája-i Mu'azzam and Bairám Khán to bring up the Empress. They made all speed to do so, and conveyed her and the infant prince to the Emperor. There were very few horses in the Emperor's train, so Tardí Beg was asked for one. Again he gave a churlish refusal,[1] and would not himself accompany his master.

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[1] The celebrated Bairám Khán, who plays so conspicuous a part in this and the following reign, and to whom the recovery of India is in great measure attributable. Bairám Khán was a Turk of the Kará-Kuínlú branch. He was born in Badakhshán and studied at Balkh. At the age of sixteen he entered the army of Humáyún, and fought in the disastrous battle of Kanauj. After the rout, he took refuge with Rájá Mitr Sen at the town of Lakhnor, in Sambhal. Sher Sháh demanded his surrender, and the Rájá, afraid to refuse, sent the Khán to him. He was brought to Sher Sháh when on his way to Málwa, and was received with such kindness and respect as showed the desire of Sher Sháh to win him over. The Sháh's overtures were not successful, and at Barhámpúr Bairám Khán effected his escape, accompanied by Abú-l Kásim, formerly Governor of Gwalior. They were encountered by a party of Sher Sháh's adherents, when Abú-l Kásim, who was a man of very noble presence, was mistaken for Bairám and seized. Bairám then manfully came forward and declared himself. Abú-l Kásim, in brave devotion to his friend, exclaimed, "This is my servant, who would sacrifice himself for me, take your hands off him." So Bairám Khán escaped, and went to Sultán Mahmúd in Gujarát, who also wished to retain him; but the Khán pressed his desire of going on the pilgrimage. Ostensibly with this view, he went to Surat, but passed over to Kathiwár, and joined Humáyún as above related. Abú-l Kásim was carried prisoner to Sher Sháh, who had not the magnanimity to appreciate his friendly devotion, and put him to death. According to Abú-l Fazl, Sher Sháh spoke afterwards of his conversation with Bairám Khán, and of the conviction which he then felt of being unable to gain him. Bairám Khán had some reputation as a poet, and Bádaúní quotes some of his writings.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 224.—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*—See also Blochmann's *A'ín-i Akbarí*, p. 315, and Erskine's *Baber and Humáyún*, vol. ii., p. 258.

[2] Mastang.

[3] One MS. reads "Jawání." The *Akbar-náma* has "Jíní," and Erskine "Chupi."

The Emperor determined to go to 'Irák, and started off thither, taking with him the Empress, and having only a few persons as escort. The young prince was only one year old, and the weather was very hot, so he was left behind. Mirzá 'Askarí soon afterwards reached the camp, when he was informed that the Emperor had gone safely off, leaving a party in charge of his camp. Next day he, in his extreme insolence, entered the Emperor's audience hall, and Atká Khán delivered up to him the young prince. Under the orders of the Mirzá, Tardí Beg was made prisoner, and officers were sent to search the tents and seize all the effects of the Emperor. Then he carried the prince off to Kandahár, and gave him into the charge of Sultán Begam, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness.

The Emperor was accompanied by twenty-two persons, among whom were Bairám Khán, Khwája Mu'azzam, Bábá Dost Bakhshí, Khwája Ghází, Haidar Muhammad Akhtar-begí, Mirzá Kuli Beg, Shaikh Yúsuf, Ibráhím Aishak-Akásí, and Hasan 'Alí Beg Aishak-ákásí. They set off without even determining their route. When they had gone a little way, they fell in with three or four Bilúchís, who directed them, and they arrived with great toil at the fort of Bábá Hájí. The Turks who were in the place gave them such provisions as they had. Khwája Jalálu-d dín, son of Mahmúd, who had been sent by Mirzá 'Askarí to collect the revenues of this district, waited upon the Emperor, and presented him with horses, camels, mules, and such things as he possessed. Next day Hájí Muhammad Kokí, who had escaped from Mirzá 'Askarí, waited upon the Emperor. The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts no safe place for His Majesty, so he proceeded onwards towards Khurásán and 'Irák. Upon entering Sístán, Ahmad Sultán Shamlú, governor of the province under Sháh Tahmásp, received him with the greatest kindness. He remained some days in Sístán, and Ahmad Sultán showed him every kind of hospitality and attention, sending even his own women to wait upon the Empress as handmaids. Ahmad also presented to him all kinds of provisions and necessaries, and enrolled himself among the number of his slaves. All these His Majesty courteously accepted, and then presented them to him.

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[1] As Erskine remarks, Tardí Beg seems to have been a rough old soldier, who kept his own men and cattle in order, and resented any attempt to make him liable for the faults and negligence of others.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 251.

Upon holding a consultation, Ahmad Sultán advised His Majesty to proceed to 'Irák by way of Tabas Kílakí, because that way was the nearest, and he offered to accompany him on the road. His Majesty replied that he had heard great praise of the city of Hirát, and that it would be more pleasant for him to proceed by that route. So His Majesty started for 'Irák, attended by Ahmad Sultán. At that time Sultán Muhammad Mirzá, eldest son of Sháh Tahmásp, was governor of Hirát, and Muhammad Khán Sharfu-d dín Ughli Taklú held the post of Atálík or tutor to the young prince. When they heard of the near approach of the Emperor, they sent 'Alí Sultán, who was one of the nobles of Taklú, to meet him and conduct him in with due honour. He joined His Majesty on the borders of the territory of Hirát, and brought him with all ceremony to the city. The prince, with his officers and attendants, then proceeded to wait upon him and pay their respects, omitting nothing that could do him honour. Muhammad Khán was admitted to the privilege of an introduction.

His Majesty, with his retinue, halted at Hirát. Muhammad Khán treated him with the greatest hospitality, and His Majesty was highly pleased with his reception. He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting with Sháh Tahmásp. All the palaces and gardens of Hirát are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshhed and Tús. Sháh 'Alí Sultán Istajlu, governor of Meshhed, also did all in his power to show honour and hospitality to His Majesty, and under the orders of Sháh Tahmásp, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. Under the orders of the Sháh, a large number of nobles and great men went forth to meet him, and the arrangement was made that, from Dámaghán to the Sháh's camp, one of these nobles was to have charge of the duties of hospitality in each march. Provisions were sent from the royal camp, and His Majesty was feasted at every stage until he reached Kazwín. The Sháh's camp had been moved to Pulák-Súrlík, and Bairám Khán was sent thither by His Majesty to wait on the Sháh. He returned, bringing a letter congratulating His Majesty on his arrival. His Majesty continued his journey, and at every place he came to he received marks of attention from the people. At length he reached Pulák-Súrlík, and had an interview with Sháh Tahmásp, who entertained him and showed him every honour and distinction, worthy both of host and guest.

In the course of conversation, the Sháh asked the Emperor what was the reason of his defeat, and he replied that it was the rivalry and faithlessness of his brothers. Bahrám Mirzá, the Sháh's brother, was offended at this,[1] and treacherously advised the Sháh to have the Emperor killed in the course of the night. But the Sháh's sister Sultánam,[2] who was very highly esteemed by her brother, and exercised great influence in all affairs of State, did all in her power to protect and help the Emperor. Kází Jahán Kazwíní, who was the Sháh's *díwán*, and Hakím Núru-d dín Muhammad, who was his physician, and was high in his favour and confidence, were not content to be at all wanting in goodwill towards the Emperor. The *hakím* both openly and privately lost no opportunity of forwarding the Emperor's interests. One day the Sháh, in order to gratify the Emperor, went out with a party of nobles and grandees to hunt with bows and arrows. Bahrám Mirzá, who had an old quarrel with Abú-l Kásim Khulafá, under pretence of shooting at some animal, struck him in front with an arrow, and he died upon the spot.

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[1] There is no meaning in the anecdote as here given. Shortly afterwards Bahrám Mirzá presented a bowl and ewer for the ablutions of the Sháh, who turned towards Humáyún, and said, "This is the way you should have treated your brothers." Upon Humáyún's assenting to this remark, Bahrám's anger was kindled."—See Erskine, vol. ii., 290.

[2] Or Sultán Khánam.

Sháh Tahmásp, having assented to the Emperor's wish to depart, provided all necessaries for his journey, and he appointed his son Sháh Murád, then an infant at the breast, with a force of 10,000 men to protect him. Humáyún expressed his intention of going to Tabríz and Ardabíl, and the Sháh wrote *farmáns* to the governors of those places, directing them to show him every honour and attention. After travelling to those places, the Emperor turned towards Kandahár, and went to pay a visit to Meshhed the holy. He had brought the Kazilbásh (Persian) prince with him, and Bidágh Khán, the prince's tutor, was commander of his army. When they reached the fort of Garmsír, they took possession of the Garmsír territories. On arriving at Kandahár, a large body of men sallied out of the fort and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The Kazilbash army then encamped within view of Kandahár. Five days afterwards the Emperor arrived, and it was then invested. The siege went on for three months, and there were daily engagements, in which many men on both sides were killed.

Bairám Khán now went to Kábul on an embassy to Kámrán Mirzá. He was encountered on his way by a party of Hazáras, and a fight ensued, but he overpowered them and went on to Kábul. There he had an audience of Mirzá Kámrán, and he also had interviews with Mirzá Hindál, Mirzá Sulaimán son of Khán Mirzá, and Mirzá Yádgár Násir who had arrived from Bakhar in a distressed condition. Mirzá Kámrán sent Mahd 'Alí Khán-záda-i begam to Kandahár with Bairám Khán to settle terms of peace if possible. When they arrived at Kandahár, and waited on the Emperor, Mirzá 'Askarí was still intent upon fighting (and holding out).

The Persian forces were disheartened by the long duration of the siege, and had thoughts of returning. They had conceived that when Humáyún approached Kandahár, the Chaghatáí tribes would rally round him. But when a long time passed, and no one came to his succour, and the fact of Mirzá Kámrán's advance to the assistance of Mirzá 'Askarí became generally known, the Persians were greatly alarmed. By a happy turn of affairs Mirzá Kámrán fell back, and Mirzá Husain Khán and Fazáil Beg, brother of Mun'im Khán, deserted him and joined the Emperor. The Turkománs were inspirited, and after a few days Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, Ulugh Beg Mirzá, Kásim Húsain Sultán, and Sher-afgan Beg came over. This greatly encouraged the Persians. Muyid Beg, who was a prisoner in the fort, managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope. His Majesty received him with great kindness. A party also under the command of Abú-l Hasan, nephew of Karrácha Khán, and Munawwar Beg, son of Mír Beg, escaped from the fortress. Mirzá 'Askarí now lost heart, and proposed to surrender. The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms. He then called together the Persian commanders, and induced them to engage that for three days no one should molest the numerous Chaghatáí families that were in the place. In consequence of this engagement, the garrison of the place came forth next day, with their wives and families. Mirzá 'Askarí also came out, and with shame waited on the Emperor, who uttered not a word of reproach. The Chaghatáí chiefs, with their swords upon their necks and shrouds in their hands, were allowed to present themselves to the Emperor, and were pardoned.

It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahár was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory. Bidágh Khán (and) Mirzá Murád, son of Sháh Tahmásp, were conducted into the fort, and the place was surrendered to them. Most of the Persian chiefs returned to 'Irák, and no one remained with Mirzá Murád except Bidágh Khán, Abú-l Fath Sultán Afshár, and Súfí Wali Sultán Kadámú.

When winter came on, the Chaghatáí people had no place of shelter, so the Emperor sent a person into Kandahár to Bidágh Khán, to represent the need which they had of some protection against the rigours of the winter. But he, in his inhumanity, did not make that reply which the emergency required. So the Chaghatáís were in great trouble. 'Abdu-lla Khán and Jamíl Beg, who had come out of Kandahár, now fled to Kábul. Mirzá 'Askarí also, having found an opportunity, made his escape; but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatáí tribes (*ulús*) now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahár must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the conquest of Kábul and Badakhshán. By a strange coincidence, it happened that Mirzá Murád, son of Sháh Tahmásp, died on that very day. So the enterprise was resolved upon, and a strong party was appointed to carry it out. Hájí Muhammad Khán, (son of) Bábá Kashka, went first of all to the gate of the fortress with two of his servants. The Turkománs, who suspected that the Emperor wanted to get possession of the place, had for some days past prevented the Chaghatáís from entering the town. It happened that some camels laden with forage were going into the city, and seizing this opportunity, Hájí Muhammad proceeded to the gate of the city. The guards assembled round the gate, and refused to let him enter. With great daring he drew his sword and attacked them, and they, unable to resist his onslaught, took refuge in flight. Another party now came up to support him. They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humáyún mounted his horse, and went into the city. Bidágh Khán, greatly annoyed, went to the Emperor, took leave, and departed for 'Irák. The Chaghatáis, to their great satisfaction, thus obtained possession of Kandahár.

After this, Humáyún marched to effect the conquest of Kábul, and left Bairám Khán in charge of Kandahár. Mirzá Yádgár Násir and Mirzá Hindál, having devised a scheme together, deserted from Mirzá Kámrán. After being much harassed by the Hazára tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kábul. Jamíl Beg, who was chief of the territories (through which the Emperor passed), also came in to offer his services. Mirzá Kámrán, who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting, but every night parties of men deserted his army, and joined Humáyún. The Emperor then moved his camp, and advanced to a half *kos* distance from Kámrán. That night many men left Kámrán's army and deserted to the Emperor. Mirzá Kámrán, being alarmed, sent a party of Shaikhs to wait upon the Emperor and to ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Kámrán did not accede to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kábul. All his forces came over to the Emperor. On the same night Kámrán quitted Kábul, and fled by way of Bíní Hisár to Ghazní. Being informed of his flight, the Emperor sent Mirzá Hindál in pursuit. The Emperor then entered Kábul, and at night the citizens, in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young prince Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazán, 953 H., when the prince was four years two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952;[1] but God knows the truth.

After this a person was sent to bring up the forces which were in Kandahár. Mirzá Yádgár Násir came to Kábul in attendance upon the Empress Maryám Makání Begam. Great feasts were then held, and the ceremony of circumcising the young prince was performed. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kábul. When Kámrán reached Ghazní, he could not get admission into the city, so he went off into the Hazára. Mirzá Ulugh Beg was sent to take the government of Zamín-dáwar, and Kámrán, finding it impossible to remain in that country, went to Bakhar, to Sháh Husain Arghún, who gave him his daughter in marriage and assisted him.

In the following year Humáyún marched to Badakhshán, for Mirzá Sulaimán, son of Khán Mirzá, had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. It was therefore determined to invade Badakhshán. Mirzá Yádgár Násir had been engaged in hostile intrigues, and once more meditated flight. His intentions being made known to Humáyún, an order was given for placing him in confinement, and a few days afterwards Muhammad Kásim, under the Emperor's orders, put him to death.[2] The Emperor, passing over the heel of the Hindu-koh (Hindu-Kush), encamped at Shergirán.[3] Mirzá Sulaimán assembled the forces of Badakhshán and gave battle, but he was defeated in the first action, and fled into the *kohistán* of Durdasht. The Emperor then proceeded to Tálikán and Kisham,[4] but he was taken ill, and from day to day he grew worse, so that every one was in anxiety, and no one but his immediate attendants were sure of his being alive. There was consternation in the army, and Karrácha Khán placed Mirzá 'Askarí in safe custody. The people of Badakhshán again commenced hostilities. After two months His Majesty recovered, and sent accounts of his convalescence to all parts. The disturbances thereupon subsided. The royal camp then moved to the neighbourhood of the fort of Zafar. Khwája Mu'azzam, brother of the Empress Maryam Makání, killed at this time Khwája Rashídí, who had come from 'Irák in the retinue (of the Emperor), and then fled to Kábul, where, by command, he was placed in confinement.

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[1] The *Akbar-náma* (vol. i., p. 293) makes the date "12th Ramazán, 952."

[2] Mr. Erskine (vol. ii., p. 327) says he was condemned after a regular trial, in which witnesses were examined and other evidence taken.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., pp. 298, 300.

[3] In one copy "Shahr-girán"—great city. Abú-l Fazl calls it "Tír-girán," one of the villages of Andaráb.—*Ib.* p. 300.

[4] The version in the *Tárikh-i Salátín-i Afághana* here says, "The army moved with the intention of proceeding to the territory and fort of Zafar, but between the fort of Zafar and Kisham the Emperor fell sick."

Mirzá Kámrán at Bakhar, when he was assured of Humáyún's march to Badakhshán, assembled a force around him, and made a rapid march by Ghorband to Kábul. On his way he fell in with some merchants, from whom he obtained plenty of horses,[1] so that he supplied each of his men with a spare horse. When he reached Ghazní, a few individuals brought him into the fortress, and Záhid Beg, the governor of the place, being off his guard,[2] was put to death. Under the orders of the Mirzá the roads to Kábul were guarded, so that intelligence might not be carried thither. He then marched rapidly on in full confidence to Kábul. Muhammad Kuli Tughai and Fazáil Beg, and the force under their command in Kábul, were quite unprepared, when they were informed that Kámrán had entered the city. Muhammad Khán was made prisoner while in his bath, and was instantly put to death. Upon entering the fort, Kámrán captured Fazáil Beg and Mihtar *vakíl*, and he had their eyes put out. He appointed persons to guard the Emperor's ladies and the young prince.

Intelligence of the fall of Kábul reached the Emperor at Kila Zafar. The government of Badakhshán and Kunduz, which had been given to Mirzá Hindál, was transferred to Mirzá Sulaimán, and Humáyún then returned towards Kábul. Kámrán meanwhile mustered all the forces he could. Sher-afgan, who was allied with him, and Sher 'Alí, one of his officers, advanced to Zuhák and Ghorband, and took possession of the roads. Humáyún crossed the river in the valley of Zuhák, and drove before him Sher 'Alí, who resisted to the best of his power. Humáyún then safely crossed the Shakí, but Sher 'Alí again annoyed his rear until he arrived at Dih-Afghánán (a suburb of Kábul). Next day Sher-afgan Beg sallied forth at the head of all Kámrán's forces, and a great battle was fought in the lines of Yurt-jálák. The leading forces of the Emperor were repulsed, but by the efforts of Mirzá Hindál, Karrácha Khán, and Hájí Muhammad Khán, the enemy was eventually defeated. Sher-afgan Beg was taken prisoner, and when he was brought into the Emperor's presence he was put to death, through the exertions of the nobles. Many of Kámrán's men fell on this day, and those who escaped the sword fled into the fort. Sher 'Alí, a man of undaunted courage, sallied forth every day and kept up the fighting with all his vigour. On one occasion Sher 'Alí and Hájí Muhammad Khan encountered each other, and the Hájí was wounded.

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[1] They were taken by force.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 308.

[2] According to Abú-l Fazl he was drunk.—*Ib.* p. 308.

Intelligence now came in that a caravan with a large number of horses had arrived at Chárígárán,[1] and Kámrán sent Sher 'Alí, with a considerable force, to bring these horses into the city. Humáyún was aware of this movement, and drawing nearer to the city he completely closed all means of ingress and egress. When Sher 'Alí returned from his expedition, he could find no way of getting into the place. Kámrán then sallied forth, and endeavoured to cut a way through for Sher 'Alí. But the besiegers were aware of a sally being intended, and when the forces came out they were received with a fire of guns and musketry and driven back. Bákí Sálih and Jalálu-d dín Beg, two of Kámrán's most trusted adherents, deserted from him and joined the Emperor. Sher 'Alí now gave up all hope of entering the city. Kámrán, with dastardly feeling, ordered that His Highness the young prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Máham Ánka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy [*i.e.* the garrison]. So God Almighty preserved him. A part of the garrison made their way out and went off, all in one direction. Humáyún sent men in pursuit, who killed many and made many prisoners. Kámrán's spirits fell, and from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Mirzá Sulaimán sent reinforcements from Badakhshán, Mirzá Ulugh Beg came from Kandahár, and Kásim Husain Sultán brought a body of the men of Sarm Tughá as a reinforcement from Kandahár.

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[1] At the entrance of the Ghorband valley, north of Kábul.

Mirzá Kámrán now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his making personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. The chiefs of the Chaghatáí tribes were of opinion that the capture of Kámrán would be adverse to their interests, so they sent a message informing him that Humáyún would, in a day or two, assault the fort, and advising him to delay no longer in the place. Kámrán, who was offended with Námús Beg and Karrácha Khán Beg, killed three young children of Námús Beg in revenge, and had their bodies cast down from the walls of the city—a cruel deed, which excited the abhorrence of all men both inside and outside the city. He also fastened Sardár Beg, the son of Karrácha Khán, upon the summit of the ramparts. Humáyún exerted himself to console Karrácha Khán; and the Khán went close to the fort, and with loud voice declared that if his son were killed, both Mirzá Kámrán and Mirzá 'Askarí should be put to death when the city fell. Kámrán now despaired on every point, so he caused a hole to be made through the wall, on Khwája Khizr's side, and made his way out barefoot at the place indicated by the nobles (outside who were friendly to his escape). Humáyún sent Hájí Muhammad Khán in pursuit, who nearly overtook him, and Kámrán then called out in the Turkí language, "I have killed your father Bábá Kashaka." Hájí Muhammad was always ready for a quarrel, (but) when he heard this he returned. His Highness Prince Akbar now came to his father, and showed him all proper respect. Much charity was shown to the poor and needy.

After Kámrán escaped, in a forlorn and destitute[1] condition, he reached the foot of the Kábul mountains, where he was met by a party of Hazáras, who plundered him of all he possessed. But one of the Hazáras recognized him, and informed the leader of the band, who conducted him to Zuhák and Bámián, where Sher 'Alí his adherent still remained at the head of a small force. He remained there for a week, and nearly 150 horsemen joined him. Then he marched to Ghorí, where Mirzá Beg Birlás, the governor of Ghorí, with a force of 150 horse and 1000 foot, gave him battle, and was defeated. The horses and asses of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victor. Having gathered some strength, he went to Balkh, where he had a meeting with Pír Muhammad Khán, the ruler. Pír Muhammad followed his own inclination, and came to Badakhshán, to the assistance of Kámrán. Ghorí and Bakalán fell into the hands of Mirzá Kámrán, and many soldiers flocked to his standard. Pír Muhammad then returned to his own country. Kámrán advanced against Sulaimán Mirzá and Ibráhím Mirzá, and, as they had no power to resist him, they went away from Tálikán to Koláb. Kámrán now established his authority over many parts of Badakhshán.

Karrácha Khán, and some other nobles who had rendered good service in these days, now recommended some impossible steps to Humáyún. One was the execution of Khwája Ghází, the *wazír*, and the appointment of Khwája Kásim to succeed him. This proposition fell heavily on the heart of His Majesty, and he would not accede to their wishes. The noblemen then conspired together, and, mounting their horses at breakfast-time, they drove off the royal flocks (*galah*), which were in Khwája Ríwáj, and went towards Badakhshán. After break of day and the assembling of the army, His Majesty mounted his horse, and went off in pursuit. The conspirators, by a forced march, reached Ghorband, and crossing the bridge they destroyed it behind them. The advanced guard of His Majesty came up with a party of them and inflicted chastisement. At night Humáyún returned to Kábul, to make preparations for a march into Badakhshán. The conspirators went on to Kámrán, leaving Tamar 'Alí in Panjshír, to collect and forward intelligence of Humáyún's movements. His Majesty, having determined to go to Badakhshán, sent *farmáns* to Mirzá Sulaimán, Mirzá Ibráhím, and Mirzá Hindál. Mirzá Ibráhím advanced by way of the fort of Paríán[1] into Panjshír, and getting knowledge of Tamar 'Alí Shaghálí, he went after him and killed him. He waited upon the Emperor in the Karábágh at Kábul.

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[1] *Pareshán o be-sámán.* The context shows that this is not to be taken quite literally.

At this time Mirzá Kámrán sent Sher 'Alí, at his own request, to contend against Mirzá Hindál, but he was taken prisoner by some of Hindál's men. Mirzá Hindál then went to see the Emperor, and took Sher 'Alí a prisoner with him. The Emperor, in his generosity, pardoned Sher 'Alí, and made a grant to him of Ghorí. Kámrán, having left Karrácha Khán and his Kábul confederates at Kisham, had himself gone to Tálikán. His Majesty thereupon sent Mirzá Hindál and Háji Muhammad Kokí in advance to Kisham. Karrácha Khán then sent to inform Kámrán that Mirzá Hindál was approaching with a small force, while Humáyún was at a distance, and that if he hastened up he might defeat Hindál, and so make the war against Humáyún an easier matter. Karrácha returned to Kisham with all the speed he could. When he reached the river of Tálikán, he encountered Mirzá Hindál, just as he had crossed the river. At the first charge Hindál's troops were defeated and lost all their baggage.

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[1] In the Panjshír valley, north of Kábul. See *suprà*, Vol. III., p. 401.

His Majesty now came up with his army, and was delayed a little in seeking for a ford. After getting over the river, his advanced guard came up with Kámrán's rear, and made Shaikham Khwája Khizr and Isma'íl Dúldí prisoners, and brought them in to the Emperor. Mirzá Kámrán faced round to repulse this advanced guard; but as they approached each other, he descried the standards of the Emperor, and knowing that he was unable to contend with him, he retreated to Tálikán, leaving all his plunder and all his own baggage behind him. Next day Tálikán was invested, and Mirzá Sulaimán came in and joined Humáyún. Kámrán then sought assistance from the Uzbeks, and when he found that he had nothing to expect from them he was greatly cast down, and sent to beg the Emperor to allow him to go to Mecca. Humáyún generously granted his request, on condition that he would send the rebellious nobles to the royal court. Kámrán begged forgiveness for Mánús Beg, but sent the other *amírs*, who came ashamed and downcast to the royal presence.[1] The Emperor, a second time, forgave their offences.

Mirzá Kámrán proceeded out of the fort, and went to the distance of a *parasang;* but when he was no longer in apprehension of any harm from the superior power of Humáyún, he was greatly ashamed, and turned back with the resolve of paying allegiance to him. As soon as His Majesty was informed of this he greatly rejoiced, and sent out the *mirzás*[2] to give him a ceremonial reception. When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kámrán, who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days the country of Koláb[3] was given as an *iktá'* to Kámrán.[4] Mirzá Sulaimán and

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[1] Karrácha Khán was among them, and came with a sword hanging to his neck.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 335.

[2] Hindál and 'Askarí.

[3] "Khutlán, commonly known as Koláb."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 338. It lies between Darwáz and Shughnán beyond the Oxus.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 359. Burnes' Travels, vol. iii., p. 275.

[4] 'Askarí was allowed to go with him, and received the district of Karatigín in *jágír*.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 338.

Mirzá Ibráhím remained in Kisham. The royal camp then returned to Kábul, where it took up winter quarters, and an order was issued directing the officers to look after the equipment of the army.

At the end of the year Humáyún left Kábul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and a person went to Koláb to summon Mirzá Kámrán and Mirzá 'Askarí. When His Majesty reached Badakhshán, Mirzá Ibráhím and Mirzá Hindál came to wait upon him, and at the instance of Mirzá Sulaimán, Mirzá Ibráhím was left at Kisham. Mirzá Kámrán and Mirzá 'Askarí once more showed their hostility, and did not come in to pay their homage. Humáyún marched on to the fort of Aibak, and the *atálik*[1] of Pír Muhammad Khán, governor of Balkh, with several of his chief nobles, had to take refuge in the fort, which Humáyún then invested. The Uzbeks being reduced to extremity surrendered at discretion.

In consequence of Kámrán's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kábul while the Emperor was engaged at Balkh. Humáyún declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kámrán remaining absent. When the army came near Balkh, and was about to take up a position, Sháh Muhammad Sultán Uzbek, with three hundred horsemen, made his appearance. A force was sent against him, and a sharp fight followed. Kábulí, brother of Muhammad Kásim Khán Faují, was killed in the conflict, and one of the chiefs of the Uzbeks was taken prisoner. Next day Pír Muhammad Khán came out of the city, (and was joined by) 'Abdu-l 'Azíz Khán, son of 'Abid Khán, and Sultán of Hissár,[2] who had come to his assistance.

After mid-day the two armies came in contact, and the battle began. Humáyún was fully accoutred, and with Mirzá Sulaimán,

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[1] "Khwája Mák" was the *atálik*.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 347.

[2] One MS. reads "*Salátín i Hissár*," the Sultáns of Hissár.

Mirzá Hindál, and Hájí Muhammad Sultán, defeated the vanguard of the enemy, and drove it back towards the city. Pír Muhammad Khán also and his men were repulsed and driven into Balkh. At sunset the Chaghatái troops, who had got near to the city, turned back. Many of the Chaghatái chiefs had their wives and families in Kábul, and were alarmed because Mirzá Kámrán had not joined the army. So the night before the day when Balkh would have fallen, they met together and conveyed their opinion to His Majesty that it was not advisable to pass over the river of Balkh, but rather to fall back towards Darra Gaz, and take up and secure a strong position; then, after a short time, the garrison of Balkh would surrender. They urged their views so strongly that Humáyún retreated. Darra Gaz is on the road to Kábul, so friends and foes, being unaware of what had passed in the council, conceived the notion that a retreat to Kábul was intended. The Uzbeks were emboldened, and followed in pursuit. Mirzá Sulaimán and Husain Kulí Sultán, the seal-bearer, who protected the rear, had an action with the van of the Uzbeks, and were defeated, and then the chiefs who were anxious to go to Kábul made off thither, each one taking the road that pleased him. All control was lost. About a thousand of the enemy came up. His Majesty, who fought in the conflict, inflicted a wound with his spear on one of the foremost of the enemy and unhorsed him; and by the strength of his own arm he cut his way out of the confusion. Mirzá Hindál, Tardí Beg, Mun'im Khán, and a party of other nobles saved themselves by fighting. Sháh Bidágh Khán and Tolak Khán Kúchín performed deeds of great valour in this battle.

Humáyún reached Kábul in safety, and remained there for the rest of the year. Mirzá Kámrán stayed at Koláb, and Chákar 'Alí Beg Kolábí, who was hostile to him, attacked Koláb with a large force. Kámrán sent Mirzá 'Askarí against him, but 'Askarí was defeated; and on being sent a second time, he again returned unsuccessful. Mirzá Sulaimán and Mirzá Ibráhim now marched against Kámrán from Kisham and Kunduz, and he, not having sufficient forces to oppose them, retreated to Rosták. A body of Uzbeks fell upon him on the march and carried off a large part of his baggage. In this distressed state Kámrán wished to proceed by way of Zohák and Bámián into the Hazára. When Humáyún was informed of this, he sent a force to Zohák and Bámián to protect the country. Karrácha Khán, Kásim Husain Sultán, and some other traitorous nobles, despatched a messenger to Kámrán, advising him to take the road to Zohák, and promising to join him in the day of battle. When Mirzá Kámrán came in sight, Karrácha Khán and his associates cast the dirt of ignominy on their heads, and deserted Humáyún. Being joined by these men, Kámrán offered battle. Although Humáyún's force was small, it met the attack bravely, and a desperate fight followed. Pír Muhammad Akhtá and Ahmad, son of Mirzá Kulí, were killed in this fight. His Majesty exerted himself greatly. He received a sword-cut on the top of his head, and his horse was wounded; but he kept his assailants off with his spear, and made his way out of the fight.[1] He then proceeded towards Zuhák and Bámián, and was joined by a party of fugitives, who had taken the same route.

Mirzá Kámrán now, once more, obtained possession of Kábul. Humáyún went with Hájí Muhammad and a party of adherents towards Badakhshán. Sháh Bidágh, Tolak Kúchín, and Majnún Kákshál, and a party of ten were sent out to reconnoitre in the direction of Kábul, but of the whole party, one only, Tolak Kúchín, returned to the Emperor. Astounded at the treachery of his followers, he went and encamped at Andaráb. Here he was joined by Sulaimán Mirzá, Ibráhím Mirzá, and Mirzá Hindál, with their forces. After forty days Humáyún marched towards Kábul. In the mountains he was met by Mirzá Kámrán, Karrácha Khán, and the forces of Kábul.[2] The armies drew up against each other. Here Khwája 'Abdu-s Samad Masúr deserted Kámrán and joined Humáyún, who received him graciously. Kámrán was defeated, and fled to the mountains of Mandrúd.[1] The traitor, Karrácha Khán, was taken prisoner, and was being conducted to Humáyún, when Kambar 'Alí Bahárí, whose brother had been put to death at Kandahár by order of the Khán, seized the opportunity and killed him. Mirzá 'Askarí fell into the hands of the Emperor's men in this battle.

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[1] See *suprà*, p. 145.

[2] Humáyún tried to arrange matters peaceably, but his efforts were frustrated, chiefly by Karrácha Khán's influence over Kámrán.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 363. See Erskine, vol. ii., p. 391.

The Emperor now returned to Kábul, and remained there for a year in peace. Again a body of soldiers, craving for action, went off and joined Kámrán, and he collected round him a body of nearly 15,000 horse. Hájí Muhammad Khán went off without leave to Ghaznín; so Humáyún was compelled to march towards Lamghán and interrupt Kámrán's proceedings. Then, in concert with the Afgháns of Muhmand, the *khail* of Dáudzáí, and the chiefs of Lamghán, Kámrán went off towards Sind. Humáyún remained for a while in Lamghán hunting, and then returned to Kábul. Kámrán, supported by the Afgháns, again advanced, and once more Humáyún marched out against him. Humáyún sent to Bairám Khán, governor of Kandahár, directing him by some way or other to go to Ghaznín and secure Hájí Muhammad Khán. The Hájí had sent to Mirzá Kámrán, advising him to come to Ghazní, and take possession of the country, for he was ready to show his obedience. Hereupon Kámrán marched from Peshávar by way of Bangash and Gurdez towards Ghaznín, but before he could reach there Bairám Khán had entered the city, and Hájí Muhammad was compelled to go to him. Bairám Khán and the Hájí went together to Kábul, and Kámrán, hearing of this on his march, retreated to Peshávar.

Humáyún now returned from Lamghán to Kábul, but a few days before his arrival Hájí Muhammad had made his escape and had gone off again to Ghaznín. Bairám Khán was again sent with some other nobles after him, and when he brought him back the Hájí received forgiveness. Mirzá 'Askarí, under the orders of

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[1] "By the pass of Bádbáj towards the Afghán country."—Erskine, vol. ii. p. 393.

Khwája Jalálu-d dín Mahmúd, had been carried to Badakhshán and placed under the charge of Mirzá Sulaimán, who was to convey him to Balkh;[1] and Sulaimán accordingly sent him thither. In the course of this journey 'Askarí's days came to an end in the country of Rúm.

The Afgháns kept Mirzá Kámrán among them, and busied themselves in raising forces, so Humáyún was compelled to go out against them. In the course of this campaign Hájí Muhammad Khán was executed with his brother, in punishment of his many offences. Supported by the Afgháns, Mirzá Kámrán made a night attack on Humáyún's camp, and Mirzá Hindál was killed in the engagement. The date of his death is found in the words "*Shahádat ash ba talab shud.*" Kámrán's attack failed, and he retreated. The family and attendants of Hindál were sent to Ghaznín with the young prince Akbar, and the territory of Ghaznín and its dependencies was assigned to them as an *iktá'*.

When Humáyún continued his advance against the Afgháns, they were unable to protect Kámrán any longer, so being without resource he fled to Hindústán, and took refuge with [Sultán] Salím Sháh Afghán. All his people and followers were harried, and Humáyún then returned to Kábul. After the army had taken a few days' rest, it marched by way of Bangash and Gurdez against Hindústán. All the disaffected in these parts received chastisement. Humáyún crossed the Indus between Dinkot and Níláb (5 Safar, 962 A.H., 29 Decr., 1554 A.D.).

Mirzá Kámrán, disgusted with the ungenerous treatment he received from Salím Sháh *hakim* of Hindústán, had taken flight and escaped into the hills of Siálkot. From thence, by great energy, he had conveyed himself to Sultán A'dam Ghakar. Thereupon Sultán A'dam secured him, and wrote to inform Humáyún. This overture was graciously received by Humáyún, who sent Mun'im Khán to demand the captive. Sultán A'dam surrendered Kámrán, who was brought into Humáyún's presence at Parhála. The Emperor, in his natural humanity, was ready to overlook the offences of Kámrán, but the officers and the chiefs of the Chaghatái clans, who had suffered many things through Kámrán's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humáyún, and stated that the security of the Chaghatái clans and people depended on the destruction of Mirzá Kámrán, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humáyún had no escape but by consenting that Kámrán should be blinded. 'Alí Dost Barbegí, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna and Ghulám 'Alí *Shash-angusht* (the six-fingered) deprived Mirzá Kámrán of sight with a lancet.[1] The date of this event has been anticipated a little. Afterwards Mirzá Kámrán obtained permission to make the pilgrimage, and being furnished with all that he would require for the journey, he set out. He arrived at Mecca and there died.[2]

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[1] This was equivalent to banishment. 'Askarí died between Damascus and Mecca in H. 965 (A.D. 1558).—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 397.

Humáyún, having reached the foot of the fort of Rohtás, determined upon the conquest of Kashmír. It was represented to him that a *zamíndár* named Bírána had a place in the hills so strong that none of the Sultáns had been able to subdue it, and that he might protect the road and prevent the passage into Kashmír, so that the conquest would be difficult. But Humáyún's judgment did not acquiesce in these objections, and he marched onwards. At this time the news arrived of the march of [Sultán] Salím Khán Afghán from Hindústán to the Panjáb, and it caused great discontent in the army. When the time for departure arrived, those officers and *amírs* who were adverse to the Kashmír expedition went off all at once to Kábul. Upon the Emperor discovering that no one favoured the campaign in Kashmír, he returned towards Kábul. Crossing the Indus, he gave directions for rebuilding the fort of Bikrám (Pesháwar), and as his men laboured heartily in the work it was soon accomplished. Sikandar Khán Uzbek was appointed governor of the fort. Upon Humáyún's reaching Kábul, Prince Akbar set out for Ghaznín, and Khwája Jalálu-d dín Mahmúd and a party of nobles proceeded thither in attendance upon him.

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[1] See *suprà*, p. 147.

[2] Four years later, in H. 964 (5th October, 1557 A.D.).—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 419.

After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of [Sultán] Salím Khán, and of dissensions among the Afghána. Some designing persons had informed His Majesty that Bairám Khán entertained hostile intentions, so Humáyún proceeded in force to Kandahár [which had been long held by Bairám Khán]. The latter came forth to meet Humáyún with due ceremony, and showed every mark of fealty and obedience. When Humáyún returned he appointed Mun'im Khán to Kandahár. But Mun'im Khán remonstrated, and said that an expedition to Hindústán was resolved upon, and if the chief men were offended and alienated, disaffection would arise in the army. After the conquest of Hindústán that course might be pursued which the necessities of the time might require. So the government of Kandahár was confirmed to Bairám Khán, and that of Zamín-dáwar[1] to Bahádur Khán, brother of 'Alí Kulí Khán Sístání. [illegible] great camp then returned to Kábul, and the army was employed in preparing for the invasion of India.

One day when Humáyún was riding about and hunting, he observed that as his mind was dwelling upon the invasion of India, he would ask the names of the first three persons he met, and would take them as auguries of the result. The first person they encountered, upon being asked, said, that his name was Daulat Khwája. A little further on they met another villager, who said his name was Murád Khwája. On this His Majesty observed how excellent it would be if the third person's name should prove to be Sa'ádat Khwája. At a short distance they met the third man, and his name really turned out to be Sa'ádat Khwája.[2] All the king's companions were greatly surprised and impressed with this result, and became sanguine of victory in Hindústán.[3]

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[1] It was taken away from Tardí Beg.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 508.

[2] The three names signify *prosperity*, *wish*, *success*.

[3] This same story is told by Khondamir, who died twenty years before this time. See *suprà*, p. 118.

In Zí-l hijja, 961, (November, 1553), the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Pesháwar, Bairám Khán, according to orders, came up from Kandahár, and the royal standards passed over the river Indus. Bairám Khán, Khizr Khwája Khán, Tardí Beg Khán, Iskandar Sultán, and some other nobles, went on in advance. Tátár Khán Kási, the governor of Rohtás, although the fort had been strengthened, made no resistance, and fled. But Ádam Ghakar, although he owed service, did not join the army. Humáyún continued his march towards Láhore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Láhore[1] without opposition, and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jálandar and Sirhind. The districts of the Panjáb, Sirhind, and Hissár all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chaghatáí forces.

A body of Afgháns having assembled at Ḍípálpur, under the leadership of Shahbáz Khán and Nasír Khán Afghán, the Emperor sent Mír Abú-l Ma'álí and 'Alí Kulí Sístání[2] to disperse them. The Afgháns were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

Sikandar Afghán, who held possession of Dehlí, sent 30,000 men under Tátár Khán and Haibat Khán to attack the advanced forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatáí forces concentrated at Jálandar, and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej. Towards the close of day the Afgháns became aware of their transit, and marched forth to give battle. Notwithstanding the strength of the enemy, the Chaghatáí chiefs determined to fight, and as the sun went down a great battle began. The Afgháns began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afgháns being greatly annoyed by the fire (*átashi*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindustán are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle the [Mughal] archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy, in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer took to flight. A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Láhore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Panjáb, Sirhind, and Hissár Fírozah were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Dehlí also were in the hands of the Mughals.

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[1] 2 Rabí'u-s sání, 962 H.; 23rd February, 1555 A.D.

[2] The "Khán-zamán" of Akbar's reign. The MS. calls him "Sístání," but it should be "Shaibání."

On hearing of this defeat, [Sultán] Sikandar Afghán marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind, and there he entrenched and fortified his camp. The Chaghatái generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind, and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humáyún for reinforcements. He thereupon sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached the generals came forth to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who was four times more numerous than the Mughals. For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division, under Bairám Khán Khán-Khánán, on the one side; and on the other a third division with Iskandar Khán, 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí, 'Alí Kulí Khán, and Bahádur Khán. Then they attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afgháns, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and [Sultán] Sikandar fled. The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.[1]

Sikandar Khán Uzbek was then sent on to Dehlí, and the royal camp was moved to Sámána. A body of Afgháns in Dehlí made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbek entered and occupied the city. Mír Abú-l Ma'álí was sent to Láhore to keep in check [Sultán] Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwálik mountains. In the month of Ramazán the Emperor entered Dehlí, and once more the *khutba* was read and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindústán. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of a province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.

Abú-l Ma'álí, who had been sent to oppose [Sultán] Sikandar, treated the nobles who had been appointed to support him very unceremoniously, interfering with their territories and appropriating their treasure. So Sikandar daily grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairám Khán in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atálík* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operations. Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí was ordered to proceed to Hissár Fírozah.

At this time a person named Kambar Díwána had collected round him a body of supporters in the Doáb and Sambal, and had taken and plundered Bayána. Unquiet and adventurous men gathered about him from all quarters. 'Alí Kulí Khán Sístání was sent against him, upon which he shut himself up in the fortress of Badáún. In the course of a few days 'Alí Kulí Khán took the fort, captured Kambar Díwána, put him to death, and sent his head to the Emperor.

But now the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th Rabí'u-l awwal,[2] at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the roof of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending, the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up senseless and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers, but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Shaikh Júlí was sent to the Panjáb to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th Rabí'u-l awwal, 963 H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for Paradise. The date of his death is given in the line, "*Humáyún bádsháh az bám uftád.*"[1]

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[1] Ahmad Yádgár, whose history of the reign of Humáyún is generally copied verbatim from this work, here makes a slight variation which is given, *suprà* p. 58.

[2] The *Táríkh-i Salátín-i Afághana* gives the date 7 Zí-l hijja, 965 H.

He reigned for more than twenty-five years, and he was fifty-one years old. His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of the time. All the wealth of Hindústán would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mirzá Kámrán and the Chaghatái nobles, when they were taken prisoners and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazú*), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mír 'Abdu-l Hai, the *sadar* or chief judge, by the name of 'Abdal. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologized, and said that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him!

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[1] Abú-l Fazl observes that this makes the date one year less than it ought to be.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. i., p. 442.

Shaikh Júlí, who was sent off to the Panjáb during His Majesty's illness, obtained an interview with Prince Akbar at Kalánor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness, and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairám Khán, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd Rabí'u-s sání, he ascended the throne of empire at Kalánor.

SULTÁN MUHAMMAD 'ADALÍ.

Hímún was a shopkeeper (*bakkál*) in the town of Rewarí, in Mewát. He was afterwards superintendent of the markets and director-general of the army, but now he rose still higher, and came to be one of King 'Adalí's chief advisers. * * * *

'Adalí one day held a Court in the fort of Gwálior, and nobles of renown were present. A distribution of *jágírs* was being made, and 'Adalí made an order that the country of Kanauj, which was the *jágír* of Sháh Muhammad Farmulí, should be taken from him and given to Sarmast Khán Sarbaní. When this was announced, Sikandar Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad, a young and daring man, cried out fiercely, "Things have come to this pass that they are taking our *jágírs* away from us and are giving them to this set of Sarbaní dog-sellers." His father, Sháh Muhammad, was ill, but he forbad his son to utter such unseemly and harsh expressions. But the son retorted, "Sher Khán (Sher Sháh) once put you in an iron cage and intended to take your life, but Salím Khán interceded for you and was the means of delivering you from that peril. Now this Súr faction is determined upon ruining you, and you do not see it. These men will not leave you in peace, and why should we suffer this degradation?" Hereupon Sarmast Khán Sarbaní, who was a very tall and powerful man, placed his hand in a false coaxing way upon the shoulder of Sikandar, and said, "What does all this mean, my lad?" intending to make him prisoner.

But Sikandar guessed his object, drew a dagger and inflicted such a wound upon the shoulder of Sarmast Khán that he fell dead at his feet. He then killed and wounded several others. In the midst of this scene 'Adalí got up and ran into the women's apartments. Sikandar rushed after him, but 'Adalí bolted the door on the inside, and with difficulty escaped. The nobles of 'Adalí who were present drew their swords to prevent the escape of Sikandar, who, raging like a maniac, cut down and killed and wounded wherever he went. This state of affairs went on for an hour or two (*yak do gari*), till Ibráhím Khán Súr, the husband of 'Adalí's sister, drew his sword and wounded Sikandar. Others then fell upon him and despatched him. Daulat Khán Lohání killed Sháh Muhammad Farmulí also with one blow of his sword.

On the very day of this tragedy it happened that as Muhammad Farmulí was going to wait upon 'Adalí he met Táj Khán Kirání, brother of Sulaimán and 'Imád Kirání, as he was coming out of the fort of Gwalior, after having taken leave of the King. They both inquired as to each other's affairs, and Táj Khán said, "I am going to retire from this field of strife" (*m'arika*): "come with me, for here all things are changed." Muhammad Farmulí did not acquiesce, but went to pay his visit to 'Adalí, when what we have seen happened.

[1]When Táj Khán fled from Gwalior, he formed designs against Bengal. 'Adalí first sent a force after him, and then marched against him in person. The hostile forces met near Chhatrá-mau, forty *kos* from Ágra and thirty from Kanauj, and Táj Khán was defeated. He fled to Chunár, and on his way he took possession of several local treasuries belonging to 'Adalí, and enriched himself with their contents. He also seized a troop (*halka*) of elephants, one hundred in number, and went and joined his brothers 'Imád, Sulaimán, and Khwája Ílyás, who held

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[1] This and some other passages have been copied by the *Táríkh-i Dáúdí*, and are given in Vol. IV. pp. 506, 507. This original version of the *Tabakát* seems preferable.

several districts on the banks of the Ganges and at Khawáspúr Tánda. Open war began, and 'Adalí led his army from Gwalior to the banks of the Ganges, and there fronted his adversary. One day Hímún told 'Adalí that if he would give him a troop (*halka*) of elephants, he would cross the river and take the courage out of the Kiránì rebel. 'Adalí complied with this request, and Hímún defeated the rebels.

Ibráhím Khán, son of Ghází Khán Súr, had married the sister of 'Adalí, and was one of the cousins of Sher Khán (Sher Sháh). His wife found out that 'Adalí intended to put him in confinement, so he fled from Chunár, and went to his father Ghází Khán, who held the government of Bayána and Hindún. 'Adalí sent 'Ísa Khán Niází in pursuit of him, and a fight took place near Kálpí, in which 'Ísa Khán was defeated. Ibráhím then proceeded to Dehlí, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. Afterwards he took possession of Ágra and of several districts. 'Adalí, upon hearing of these conquests, marched against Ibráhím. On reaching the Jumna, Ibráhím Khán sent a person to 'Adalí, promising that if 'Adalí would send to him Rái Husain Jalwání, Bahádur Khán Sarwání, called A'zam Humáyún, and some other great nobles, upon whose assurances of protection he could depend, he would come in and make his submission. These nobles were accordingly sent. But Ibráhím won them all over to his side, and then declared against 'Adalí, who, having no hope of support, returned to Chunár. Ibráhím Khán now took the title of Ibráhím Sháh, and assumed the insignia of royalty.

About this time also Ahmad Khán, another nephew of Sher Khán (Sher Sháh), who was married to a second sister of 'Adalí's, and was one of the territorial *amírs* of the Panjáb, received the support of Tátár Khán Kánsí, Haibat Khán, and Nasíb Khán, who were among the principal nobles of Salím Khán's (Sháh's) time. Thus supported he assumed the title of "Sultán Sikandar," and led his forces against Ibráhím. The rival armies met at the village of Farra, ten *kos* from Ágra. Sikandar's army did not exceed 10,000 horse, but Ibráhím had 70,000 horse and 200 persons to whom he had given velvet tents, banners, and kettle-drums. Sikandar offered peace, upon condition of receiving the government of the Panjáb. But Ibráhím was proud of the great strength and preponderance of his army, so he rejected the peaceful overtures of Sikandar, and arrayed his army for battle. In the end Sikandar was victorious, and Ibráhím was compelled to fly to Sambal. Sikandar then became master of Ágra and Dehlí.

Intelligence now arrived that the Emperor Humáyún had marched from Kábul to Hindústán, and had taken Lahore; so Sikandar gathered his forces and went towards that city. Ibráhím also collected a new army at Sambal, and went in the direction of Kálpí. 'Adalí now sent Hímún, the *bakkál*, who was his *wazír*, with a large army, and with 500 war-elephants and artillery, against Ágra and Dehlí. When Hímún reached Kálpí, he resolved to dispose of Ibráhím first, and hastened to meet him. A great battle followed, in which Hímún was victorious, and Ibráhím fled to his father at Bayána. Hímún followed and invested Bayána, which he besieged for three months.

Sikandar Khán, ruler of Bengal, now raised the standard of rebellion, and marched with the forces of that country against Jaunpúr, Kálpí, and Ágra. 'Adalí therefore summoned Hímún, who accordingly raised the siege of Bayána. When he reached the village of Mandákar, six *kos* from Ágra, Ibráhím came up and attacked his rear, but he was defeated and again fled to his father. From thence he went to the country of Bhath, and fought with the Rájá, Rám Chand, who made him prisoner. But the Rájá showed him great honour, seated him upon the throne, and waited upon him as a servant. Here Ibráhím remained until a party of the tribe of Miánas,[1] who dwelt near Ráisín, being at enmity with Báz Bahádur, the ruler of Málwa, invited Ibráhím to be their ruler. They drew out their forces against Báz Bahádur, and Ibráhím joined them. Durgávatí the Ráni of Garha marched from her own country to support him. But Báz Bahádur hearing of this, sent some persons to the Rání, and induced her to relinquish this design and return home. Upon this defection Ibráhím thought it inexpedient to tarry longer where he was, so he went to the country of Orissa, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Bengal. Here he remained until the year 975 (1567-8), when Sulaimán Kirání took possession of Orissa. Upon the faith of solemn promises he then came to see Sulaimán, who treacherously caused him to be slain.

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[1] A tribe of Afghâns.—Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii. p. 149.

The victorious Hímún continued his march and joined 'Adalí. They fought with Muhammad Khán Gauria at the village of Chappar-ghatta, fifteen *kos* from Ágra, and Muhammad was killed. Thus victorious 'Adalí went to Chunár, and sent Hímún to Ágra and Dehlí to oppose the progress of Humáyún. Sikandar Khán Uzbek,[1] Kiyá Khán Gang,[2] and the other nobles who were in Ágra, abandoned the city, and retreated before him towards Dehlí. 'Ísa Khán marched against Dehlí, but being encountered and defeated by Tardí Beg Khán at Pánípat, he was put to death by the Imperial officers. 'Adalí was still at Chunár, when Khizr Khán, son of Muhammad Khán Gauria, caused the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck under the title which he had assumed of Sultán Bahádur. To avenge his father, he made war upon 'Adalí, and put him to death. Thus terminated the Afghán rule, and Hind came under the Imperial sway. 'Adalí reigned for nearly three years.

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[1] Sikandar Khán was a descendant of the Uzbek kings, and was a prominent man in the reign of Akbar. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 365.

[2] Kiyá Khán attained high rank in Akbar's reign, and appears frequently in the following pages. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 343.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JALÁLU-D DÍN MUHAMMAD AKBAR.[1]

YEARS OF THE ILAHI; OR, REIGN OF AKBAR.*

1.	27	Rabí'u-l ákhir,	963	10 or 11 March,	1556
2.	9	Jumáda-l awwal,	964	,,	1557
3.	20	,,	965	,,	1558
4.	2	Jumáda-l ákhir,	966	,,	1559
5.	16	,,	967	,,	1560
6.	24	,,	968	,,	1561
7.	5	Rajab	969	,,	1562
8.	15	,,	970	,,	1563
9.	27	,,	971	,,	1564
10.	8	Sha'bán,	972	,,	1565
11.	18	,,	973	,,	1566
12.	29	,,	974	,,	1567
13.	11	Ramazán,	975	,,	1568
14.	22	,,	976	,,	1569
15.	2	Shawwál,	977	,,	1570
16.	14	,,	978	,,	1571
17.	25	,,	979	,,	1572
18.	6	Zí-l ka'da,	980	,,	1573
19.	17	,,	981	,,	1574
20.	27	,,	982	,,	1575
21.	9	Zí-l hijja,	983	,,	1576
22.	20	,,	984	,,	1577
23.	2	Muharram,	986	,,	1578
24.	12	,,	987	,,	1579
25.	24	,,	988	,,	1580
26.	5	Safar,	989	,,	1581
27.	15	,,	990	,,	1582
28.	28	,,	991	,,	1583
29.	8	Rabí'u-l awwal,	992	,,	1584
30.	19	,,	993	,,	1585
31.	29	,,	994	,,	1586
32.	11	Rabí'u-s sání,	995	,,	1587
33.	22	,,	996	,,	1588
34.	4	Jumáda-l awwal,	997	,,	1589
35.	14	,,	998	,,	1590
36.	24	,,	999	,,	1591
37.	5	Jumáda-l ákhir,	1000	,,	1592
38.	17	,,	1001	,,	1593
39.	28	,,	1002	,,	1594
40.	9	Rajab	1003	,,	1595
41.	20	,,	1004	,,	1596
42.	2	Sha'bán,	1005	,,	1597
43.	13	,,	1006	,,	1598
44.	23	,,	1007	,,	1599
45.	4	Ramazán,	1008	,,	1600
46.	15	,,	1009	,,	1601
47.	26	,,	1010	,,	1602
48.	6	Shawwál,	1011	,,	1603
49.	17	,,	1012	,,	1604
50.	28	,,	1013	,,	1605

Akbar died on the 13 Jumáda-s sání, 1014; 13 Oct. 1605.

* This Table, as far as the 46th year, has been drawn up from the *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, which is the most accurate of the authorities and most consistent with itself, though it occasionally shows a slight error, as in the 5th year, which must have begun on the 13th, not the 16th of Jumáda-l ákhir. The *Tabakát* and Badáúní go astray at the 22nd year, which began at the end of 984 and ended on the 1st day of 986 Hijra.

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[1] He is familiarly called *Khalifa Iláhi.*

Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, in his great work entitled *Akbar-náma*, has recorded fully and circumstantially all the events in the life of God's vicegerent, from the day of his birth till the present year, the thirty-eighth year of the Iláhí era, and the year 1002 of the Hijra (1593-4 A.D.). But this humble servant of the State, Nizámu-d dín Ahmad *Mutasaddi*, having written a history of all the kings who have raised the banner of sovereignty in Hindústán, it is indispensable that he should also write a history of all the incidents in the life of the Emperor. The greatness of the theme will probably imbue his mind with ability to perform his undertaking.. The history of this great Emperor must be the prominent feature in all books, so that there is little need of the present work, but as I have felt it my duty to write a history of the Sultáns of Hindústán, it seems right to crown my work with a relation of the auspicious reign of this great Emperor.

It will be remembered that in the history of the reign of the late Emperor Humáyún our narrative had reached the point where Prince Akbar was sent to the Siwálik hills along with Bairám Khán Khán-khánán, to crush Sikandar Afghán. When he reached the *pargana* of Kalánor, one of the dependencies of Lahore, the sad intelligence of the death of the Emperor his father was brought to him, and plunged him in the deepest sorrow. Bairám Khán, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalánor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of Rabí'u-s sání,[1] 963 H., with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindústán.

First year of the Iláhí.

The *Iláhí* is a true solar year beginning with the *Nau-roz*[2] The first year of this auspicious era corresponded with Monday, the 27th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 963 H. (10 March, 1556 A.D.).

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[1] The MSS. have "Rabí'u-l awwal;" but this is inconsistent with the date in page 241 *suprà*, and is opposed to all the other authorities.

[2] The Persian solar months are used in this era.

Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign was the rebellion of Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí. This young man was a descendant of the Saiyids of Turmuz, and was remarkable both for his beauty and intelligence. The late king had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride so that presumptuous ideas got the mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions. The Khán-khánán arrested him, and was about to execute him; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed, and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyids before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawán Kal-gaz *kotwal*, and sent him to Lahore. Abú-l Ma'álí escaped from custody,[1] and the *pahlawán*, in shame for his fault, committed suicide.

So long as Sikandar Afghán was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their regular forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afgháns near the Siwálik mountains, and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.[2] Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles, and the Imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Rájá Rám Chand,[3] Rájá of Nagarkot, was the most renowned of all the rájás of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains, His Highness left these parts, and went to Jálandhar, where he stayed for five months.

Tardí Beg Khán, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humáyún's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died, caused the *khutba* to be read in Dehlí in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwája Sultán 'Alí, *wazir* and *mir-munshi*, who was also *mir-i 'arz* and *mir-i mál*, kept under control the affairs of Dehlí, and of Mewát and other *parganas* which had but lately been brought under royal authority. He sent Mirzá Abú-l Kásim, son of Prince Kámrán, along with the effects and establishments and war-elephants of the late Emperor, to his successor, the Emperor Akbar.

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[1] He fled to the country of the Gakhars, and there collecting an army, he invaded Kashmír, but was defeated. Obliged to leave the Gakhar country, he went and hid at Dípálpúr, but was discovered, and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayána.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 10.

[2] The Emperor went as far as Damharí, and Bairám Khán commanded. The war lasted three months.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 23. Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 12.

[3] Abú-l Fazl and Firishta call him "Dharm Chand;" Badáúní "Rám Chand."

When Humáyún marched to Hindústán, he consigned the government of Kábul and Ghazní to Mun'im Khán, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atálik*) of his son, Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. He also left there all his ladies. The city of Kandahár and its dependent territories were the *jágir* of Bairám Khán Khán-khánán. By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshán was consigned to Mirzá Sulaimán, son of Khán Mirzá, son of Sultán Mahmúd, son of Mirzá Sultán Abú Sa'íd Gurgán. When the intelligence of the facts (of the death) of Humáyún reached Mirzá Sulaimán, ambitious designs took hold of him, and, with his son Mirzá Ibráhím, he marched against Kábul, and laid siege to it. Mun'im Khán wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor. But before his despatch arrived, Akbar had sent Muhammad Kulí Birlás, and some other nobles, to Kábul, to fetch the ladies who had been left there. When the news of the siege of Kábul arrived, an imperative *farmán* was issued, directing these nobles to make all haste to Kábul, and to raise the siege. When these nobles passed the Níláb (Indus), Mirzá Sulaimán saw that he could effect nothing by hostile means, so he employed as an intermediary Kází Khán Badakhshí, who was one of his confidential nobles, and one of the holy men of the time, to inform Mun'im Khán that if his name were recited in the *khutba*, he would take his departure. Mun'im Khán knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirzá Sulaimán should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zail i alkáb*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mirzá Sulaimán was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshán.

Soon after the accession of the Emperor, 'Alí Kuli Khán[1] received the title of *Khán-zamán* and marched towards Sambal to repress Shádí Khán Afghán, one of the nobles of Sultán Muhammad 'Adalí. When he reached the banks of the Rahab, he sent some of his men over the river with 2000 or 3000 horse to reconnoitre the enemy. This detachment crossed the river without care and circumspection, and Shádí Khán, perceiving his opportunity, suddenly fell upon them. Many of Khán-zamán's men were killed, and many were drowned in the river. When the Khán received intelligence of this, he consulted with the nobles who were with him, such as * * *, upon the propriety of crossing the river to avenge this disaster. Just at this juncture, letters arrived from Tardí Beg Khán and other nobles who were in Dehlí,[2] stating that Hímún, the *vakíl* of Muhammad Khán 'Adalí, had approached Dehlí with a large force and many elephants, intent upon battle, and that they should bring up their forces with all possible speed. Khán-zamán and all the faithful and prudent nobles marched off instantly towards Dehlí; but before they arrived, Tardí Beg Khán had been defeated. This matter has been recorded among the incidents of the reign of Sultán 'Adalí, and there is no need to repeat it here.

When Hímún approached Ágra, Sikandar Khán Uzbek, the governor of that city, was obliged to evacuate the place and join Tardí Beg Khán. 'Abdu-lla Uzbek, Lál Sultán Badakhshí, 'Alí Kulí Andarabí, Mírak Khán Kolábí, Haidar Muhammad Akhtabegi, and Mirzá Kulí Beg Khán assembled. Mauláná Pír Muhammad Shírwání also came to Tardí Beg on a mission from Bairám Khán. These all brought reinforcements with them. As Hímún drew near to Dehlí, the great nobles led their forces out of the city, and marshalled them in the field in sight of the enemy. Sikandar Khán and 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek and Lál Sultán Badakhshí, who were on the right wing, defeated the forces opposed to them. Then Hímún, with a reserve which he had and some fierce elephants, made an attack upon the Mughals, and Tardí Beg Khán, being unable to repel this assault, was obliged to retreat. But although Hímún had thus, by his tactics and artifice, prevailed over Tardí Beg Khán, he did not think of pursuing him. That portion of the enemy's army which had been defeated, finding themselves, to their surprise, unmolested, returned to the scene of action, and then learned that Tardí Beg Khán had been discomfited and put to flight. Hímún then occupied Dehlí, and Tardí Beg Khán and the other nobles proceeded to the Emperor. Khán-zamán joined them at the town of Sirhind.

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[1] 'Alí Kulí Khán was an Uzbek, and son of Haidar Sultán Shaibání, a staunch adherent of Humáyún.

[2] Akbar had made him governor of Dehlí.—Faizí Sirhindí.

The Emperor and his followers were engaged at Jálandhar in counteracting the efforts of Sultán Sikandar. When the intelligence of this disaster reached him, he appointed Khwája Khizr Khán, who belonged to the lineage of the Mughal Sultáns, and had married Gulbadan Begam, the aunt of the Emperor, to oppose Sultán Sikandar, while he himself marched to Dehlí. Upon his reaching the town of Sirhind, the defeated nobles waited upon him. But Khán-khánán, who had the general direction of state affairs, had deemed it desirable to destroy Tardí Beg Khán. So he had summoned[1] him to his tent, and had caused him to be put to death.[2] He had also placed in confinement Khwája Sultán 'Alí and the *Mír Munshí* and the *Khanjar-beg* of Tardí Khán. When the royal tents were pitched,

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[1] The word used is "*talbíd*," but Abú-l Fazl says it was a friendly invitation.

[2] There had been a long standing quarrel, aggravated by sectarian bitterness, between Bairám Khán and Tardí Beg. Badáúní (ii. 14) says that Bairám Khán got a kind of permission from the Emperor to put Tardí Beg to death. Abú-l Fazl and Firishta, however, show that he had some difficulty in justifying the act. Firishta states that "he understood from the best informed men of the times, that had Tardí Beg Khán not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mughal army and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Sháh would have been acted over again."—Briggs, vol. ii. p. 186.

'Alí Kulí Khán and * * * were sent forward with the advanced forces, and the Emperor followed to confront the enemy.

Hímún had greatly vaunted his achievements at Dehlí, and had taken to himself the title of Rájá Bikramájít.[1] He had gathered under his command a mighty force, and had fifteen hundred[2] war-elephants. With these he hastened to meet the Imperial army. He had sent on his artillery[3] in advance, and a detachment of the Emperor's army, which had gone forward, fell in with the artillery at Pánípat, and took it at the point of the sword. When Hímún was informed of this disaster, he was much depressed, but he promised his officers an increase of their emoluments, and gave to each one an elephant on which to ride and exhibit his devotion. He himself mounted an elephant named *Hawá* (wind), and went forth with scowling brow to meet his royal adversary.

On the morning of Friday, [2nd] Muharram, 964 H. (5 November, 1556), the intelligence of his march was brought in from the advanced guard, and the generals marshalled their forces to receive the attack. Husain Kulí Beg and * * * * other brave officers fought bravely, and defeated their adversaries. Hímún then advanced with his elephants, and made such a determined charge on the Imperial army that the left wing was shaken.[4] But by the exertions of the brave archers and by resolute use of spear and sword, firmness was restored. Hímún then drew off his forces, and made an assault upon the centre, which was under the command of Khán-zamán. He led all his elephants against the Khán's men, who received him with showers of arrows. An arrow pierced the eye of Hímún, and came out at the back of his head. When those who were fighting under him saw his condition, their hands were paralyzed, and they broke. The Imperial forces pursued them, and cut many to pieces.

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[1] The MS. of the E. I. Lib., which often contains a word or two more than the other MSS. which have been used, here observes parenthetically, "This Bikramájít was a rájá, who held dominion over the greater part of Hindústán, and the Hindús believe that one thousand six hundred years have passed since the time of his ascendancy."

[2] *Alfí* augments the number to "nearly three thousand, a number that for many a long year had not been gathered together in India," and adds that more than a thousand were captured. Abú-l Fazl (ii. p. 50) and Badáúní (ii. p. 16) say that 1500 were captured.

[3] "Which was obtained from Turkey: *az mamálik-i Rúm nishán mí-dád.*"—Faizí Sirhindí.

[4] According to Abú-l Fazl, Hímún divided his army into three divisions. He himself commanded the centre, which was composed of 500 elephants and 20,000 Afghán and Rájpút horse.

The elephant on which Hímún was riding, when Hímún fell wounded in the *howda* and its driver was killed,[1] made off towards the jungle. It so happened that Sháh Kulí Khán fell in with this elephant, and made his own driver mount it. The driver then perceived that there was a man lying wounded in the *howda*, and upon examination this person proved to be Hímún himself. Sháh Kulí Khán, fully alive to the importance of his discovery, drove the elephant, along with several others which had been captured in the field, to the presence of the Emperor. Bairám Khán Khán-khánán then put Hímún to death with his own hand.[2]

Sikandar Khán Uzbek, according to orders, pursued the fugitives to Dehlí, and sent many of them to hell. Next day the army marched from Pánípat, and without halting anywhere went straight to Dehlí. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception, and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month. Intelligence was brought in that all the children and dependents of Hímún, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewát; so Mauláná Pír Muhammad Shírwání was sent thither. He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the treasures and valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.[1]

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[1] Abú-l Fazl states that Hímún's own driver, in fear of his life, betrayed his master.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 49.

[2] Badáúní, Abú-l Fazl and Faizí all state that Bairám Khán killed Hímú after having failed to induce the Emperor to do so. Bairám Khán said, according to Badáúní, "'This is your first war (*ghazá*), prove your sword on this infidel, for it will be a meritorious deed.' Akbar replied, 'He is now no better than a dead man, how can I strike him? If he had sense and strength, I would try my sword.' Then, in the presence of them all, the Khán, as a warrior of the faith, cut him down with his sword." Hímú's head was sent to Kábul, and his body to Dehlí, to be exposed over the gates.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 51; Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 16; *Táríkh-i Alfí*; *Akbar-náma* of Faizí Sirhindí. See also *suprà*, p. 65.

Second year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 9th Jumáda-l awwal, 964 H. (10 March, 1557). Intelligence arrived that Khizr Khán Khwája[2] had been defeated[3] by Sikandar Afghán; the Emperor therefore set out for Lahore, to oppose the victor. When he reached Jálandhar, Sikandar fell back to the Siwálik hills, and the royal forces pursued him to Dísawa,[4] and from thence to Damharí. It now became obvious that Sikandar meant to retreat, and had no intention of fighting. A party of distinguished nobles was sent in pursuit, and by rapid marches came up to the camp of Sikandar. He then shut himself up in the fort of Mánkot.[5] The Imperial army followed, and laid siege to the fort. Day by day the batteries were advanced, and the garrison was closely pressed.

At this time Her Highness Mariam Makání, mother of the Emperor, with other royal ladies, arrived in Hindústán from Kábul, to the great satisfaction of the Emperor. Muhammad Kulí Birlás, Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Khán Atka, and the other great nobles who had been sent to assist Mun'im Khán at Kábul against Mirzá Sulaimán, at the same time returned to

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[1] Alfi adds that many Afgháns were killed, and that Mewát was annexed to the Imperial dominions.

[2] Governor of Lahore.—*T. Alfi.*

[3] At the village of Chamiyárí, twenty *kos* from Lahore.—*Badáúní*, vol. ii. p. 17. According to Abú-l Fazl, it was only an advanced force of 2000 men that was defeated. But still the Emperor was informed by all who came from the Panjáb that the whole force of the Empire would be required to put down Sikandar.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 58.

[4] "Díwaja" in some copies. Badáúní says (vol. ii. p. 18) "Dísawa and Dihmírí." The *Akbar-náma* (vol. ii. p. 61) "Dehsuna and Damhari."

[5] It consists of four strong towers, built by (Sultán) Salím Khán Afghán, when he warred against the Ghakars."—*Akbar-náma*, p. 62; *T. Alfi*; *Akbar-náma* of Faizí. See *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 494.

Hindústán to the service of their master. When the ladies were about the distance of a stage from the Imperial camp, the Emperor left Bairám Khán in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.

After a prolonged siege,[1] Sikandar Afghán, being hard pressed, requested that some confidential noble might be sent in to arrange terms with him.[2] The Emperor commissioned Atka Khán to perform this duty. When he entered the fortress, Sikandar addressed him in very deprecatory terms, confessing that he had been very bold and presumptuous, and that he knew he had no chance in resistance. He begged that he might be permitted to retire to Bengal, promising to remain faithful in his allegiance, and offering to leave his son as a hostage. Atka Khán returned, and reported these proposals, through Pír Muhammad Khán, to the Khán-khánán, and upon his communicating them to the Emperor, they were graciously approved. Sikandar accordingly sent his son, 'Abdu-r Rahmán, along with Ghází Khán Súr, and he also sent with them several war-elephants and various articles of tribute. So on the 27th Ramazán, 964, the fort was surrendered to the royal forces.[3] On the 2nd Shawwál the army marched on its return towards Lahore. After four months and fourteen days the army marched from Lahore on its return to Dehlí.

One day, while the army was lying before Mánkot, His Majesty had two elephants, named respectively Fatúhá and Bakhshá, brought out to fight for his amusement; and as the animals pressed each other, they approached very close to the tent of Khán-khánán. It so happened that the Khán was ill, and confined to his bed with boils. The suspicion came into his mind that the elephants were perhaps directed thither by the royal servants, and this idea was encouraged by the people who were around him. So he sent a person to the Emperor to inquire what fault his detractors had imputed to him, that he should have been subjected to this mark of the royal displeasure.[1] After returning to Lahore Khán-khánán still harped upon this matter; and sending for Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Atka, he told him his suspicion, that this unkind action of His Majesty had been instigated by him. When Atka Khán heard this charge, he was much distressed; so he took all his sons with him to the house of Khán-khánán, and by taking an oath upon the Kurán removed his suspicions.[2]

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[1] Nearly six months, and after mounds (*sarkobs*) and batteries had been brought close up.—*Alfi.* Badáúní adds (vol. ii. p. 18) that grain had become very scarce in the fort, and that desertions daily took place.

[2] Abú-l Fazl and Faizí say that the defeat and death of 'Adalí had its effect in bringing about the surrender.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. pp. 72-73. See *suprà*, p. 245.

[3] Sikandar received the districts of Bihar and Kharíd in *jagír*. He died two years later.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 73.

After four months and fourteen days, the army marched[3] from Lahore to Dehlí. Upon reaching Jálandhar a halt was made, and Khán-khánán was married to Sultán Begam, daughter of Mirzá Núru-d dín, who was a son of the sister of the late Emperor Humáyún. The Emperor Humáyún, during his lifetime, had promised her to the Khán-khánán, and now, under the orders of the Emperor Akbar, the union was accomplished. Khán-khánán gave a splendid banquet, to which he invited His Majesty, who was graciously pleased to honour it with his presence. The Khán was profuse in his generosity on the occasion. At the beginning of the third year of the Iláhí, the army recommenced its march for Dehlí.

Third year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year coincided with Tuesday, 20th Jumáda-l awwal, 965 H. (10th March, 1558), and on the 25th Jumáda-s sání His Majesty arrived at Dehlí. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khán-khánán, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *díwán-khánah*, and transact business under the directions and commands of His Majesty.

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[1] According to Abú-l Fazl, Bairám made his communication through Máham Anka (*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 74). "The Emperor assured him that it was accidental."—*Alfí.*

[2] This paragraph is omitted in one MS., but the *T. Alfí* tells the story in strict agreement with this.

[3] On the 15th Safar, 965 H.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 79.

[*Infatuation of Khán-zamán for one of the royal troopers.*]

In this year Musáhib Khán, son of Khwája Kalán Beg, one of the principal nobles of the late Emperor, was put to death by order of the Khán-khánán, because he had shown great ill-feeling and malice towards the Khán.

One day in this year His Majesty went out riding on an elephant called Lakhna, and as he was going along, the animal rushed after another elephant. It so happened that he came to a ditch into which he stumbled, and the Emperor was thrown from his seat on the neck of the animal, but his foot was caught in the rope[1] which was tied round the beast's neck. The man who was riding behind him came to the ground, but His Majesty clung to the rope until a number of persons collected and released his foot. The elephant extricated himself by his own strength, and His Majesty again mounted him and returned home. After the expiration of six months the Emperor embarked in a boat and fell down to Ágra, where he arrived on the 17th Muharram, 966 H. (30th Oct., 1558), in the third year of the Iláhí.[2]

One of the most important incidents of this year was that relating to Mauláná Pír Muhammad Shirwání. The Pír was the general manager (*wakíl-i mutlak*) of the Khán-khánán,[3] and all the business of the State passed through his hands. He was the person to whom the nobles and officers had to make their applications, and of the many, high and low, who attended at his door, he admitted hardly any one. His temper now became so arrogant and perverted that for some days he would not come out of his house. The Khán-khánán went to call upon him as upon a sick person. The slave asked the Khán-khánán to wait until he had made known his wish to the Pír. This greatly incensed the Khán-khánán. When Pír Muhammad was informed of what had passed, he rushed out, and made many apologies to the Khán-khánán, who told him how the slave had refused him admission. The Pír made the excuse that the slave did not know him. Khán-khánán asked him how he knew what the slave thought. But for all that had passed, when the Khán-khánán went in, his servants were not permitted to attend him, excepting Táhir Muhammad Sultán, *Mír-i farághat*, who made his way in to look after his master. The Khán-khánán sat for a while; but when he came out, he thought over this conduct of Pír Muhammad. After a few days he sent Khwája Amínu-d daula Mahmúd, subsequently Khwája-i Jahán, Mír 'Abdu-lla Bakhshí, Khwája Muhammad Husain Bakhshí, and several other of his followers, to Pír Muhammad Khán, with this message: "Formerly you were a poor student, and came to Kandahár in a needy, forlorn condition; but I perceived some signs of excellence in you, and remembered some old services. I therefore advanced you to the dignity of Khán and Sultán. But your nature is unable to bear this great advancement, and the bad points in your character get the mastery of you. I therefore think it advisable to deprive you for a time of royal distinctions and dignity, so that you may come to your proper senses. You must return your banner, kettle-drum, and all other marks of honour." So all signs of dignity were immediately taken away from him, and he became simple Pír Muhammad. Some days afterwards he was taken to the fort of Bayána, under Khán-khánán's orders, and from thence was sent to Mecca; but he proceeded to Gujarát, and there remained until after the fall of Bairám Khán, when he returned to Court.

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[1] Which in Hindí they call "*kawána.*"—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 90. It is the band in which the driver fixes his feet.

[2] "He took up his residence in the citadel (*ark*) of the city which was called Bádal-garh."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 95.

[3] Badáúní relates that the Khán-khánán and Pír Muhammad were one day out hunting together, and that the former being hungry, the Pír entertained him and his suite. To the great astonishment of the Khán, Pír Muhammad's hunting equipage supplied thirty (three?) hundred goblets of sherbet and eight hundred dishes of food.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 26.

The office of *vakíl* to Khán-khánán, which was thus taken from Pír Muhammad, was given to Hájí Muhammad Sístání, who was one of the Khán's servants. At this time the dignity of *Sadárat-i mamálik* (office of Lord Chief Justice) was conferred upon Shaikh Gadáí, son of Shaikh Jamál Kambú of Dehlí, through the interest of Khán-khánán, who remembered the kindness which he had received from the Shaikh during the time of his exile in Gujarát.[1] The honour thus conferred gave the Shaikh precedence over the grandees (*akábir*) of Hindústán and Khurásán. At the same period also that pattern of great men, Mír 'Abdu-l Latíf Kazwíní, was appointed tutor to His Majesty, and His Majesty used often to read with him *ghazals* in mystic language.[2]

The fort of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *rájás*. After the time of Salím Khán (Islám Sháh) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghuláms*, by Sultán Muhammad 'Adalí. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Ágra, Habíb 'Alí Sultán, Maksúd 'Alí Kor, and Kiyá Khán were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days, and the garrison being in distress surrendered.[3]

Fourth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Friday, the 2nd Jumáda-l ákhir, 966 H. (10th March, 1559 A.D.). In this year Khán-zamán was sent to reduce Jaunpúr, the capital of the Sharkiya kings, which was now in possession of the Afgháns. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country[1] to the Imperial dominions. In this year Habíb 'Alí Khán was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khán Afghán this fort was under the charge of Hájí Khán, one of his *ghuláms*, and this Hájí Khán had now sold the fort to Rái Surjan,[2] a relation (*az khíshán*) of Rái Udí Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habíb 'Alí, with his army, invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood; the *amírs* then departed to their *jágírs*.

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[1] According to Abú-l Fazl he exercised great influence over Bairám Khán, and this appointment had a baleful effect.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 109.

[2] غزلهاي لسان الغيب پيش ميرمي خواندند

[3] In Rabí'ul-ákhir.—*T. Alfí.* See *suprá*, p. 168.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus arrived at Ágra from Gujarát; but as a memoir of the Shaikh is given among the memoirs of the *shaikhs* of the age in this work, it is unnecessary to dilate upon the subject here. To be brief, in the year 966, the Shaikh arrived with his disciples and a large party at Ágra, and was honoured with a royal reception. But there was ill-feeling between him and Shaikh Gadáí, and Shaikh Gadáí held great ascendancy over Khán-khánán; the consequence was that Shaikh Muhammad did not receive that attention from the Khán-khánán that he had expected. He was greatly annoyed at this, and went off to Gwalior, which was his place of residence, and there remained until the end of his days, discharging the duties of a Shaikh. His Majesty settled upon him one *kror* (of *tankas ?*) as a pension.

At this time, while the Court was at Ágra, Bahádur Khán,[3] brother of Khán-zamán, marched to effect the conquest of Málwa, which had formerly belonged to the Khiljí monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Báz Bahádur, son of Shujá' Khán Afghán.[4] He had reached the town of Sírí when the agitation arose about Bairám Khán, and under the orders of the Khán he returned.

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[1] "And Benares."—*T. Alfí.*

[2] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 409.

[3] *Ib.* p. 328.

[4] *Ib.* p. 423.

Fifth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year was Saturday, 16th Jumáda-l ákhir, 967 H. (10th. March, 1560 A.D.). The general management of Imperial affairs was under the direction of Bairám Khán; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor. Prominent among these men was Adham Khán, who, being the son of Máham Anka,[1] held a higher position than all the other courtiers. In accord with his mother, he constantly showed his malice; but Khán-khánán's wisdom and ability were so manifest, that Adham's ill-natured observations did not meet with the royal approval. But at length, on the 8th Jumáda-s sání, 967 H., His Majesty crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition, and Khán-khánán remained behind at Ágra in charge of the government. His Majesty reached the town of Sikandar, half way to Dehlí. At this time Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán Naishapúrí[2] held the government of Dehlí, and Her Highness Mariam Makání, mother of the Emperor, was in that city. Máham Anka, who was related to Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán,[1] settled in her own mind that the best thing she could do was to incite the Emperor to proceed to Dehlí, where, in collusion with Shahábu-d dín Ahmad, she (Anka) might settle what was the best course to pursue. In furtherance of this plan, she represented to the Emperor that Her Highness Mariam Makání was in a weak ailing state, and had a great desire to see him. This statement distressed the Emperor, and he determined to go on to Dehlí.[2] Shahábu-d dín came out in state to meet His Majesty, and was graciously received.

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[1] This name has been printed in Firishta, Badáúní, and other works as "Atka," and the translator of Firishta has accordingly called "Máham Atka" the *father*, instead of *mother* of Adham Khán. Firishta's explanation is useful. He says that "a nurse's husband and her male relations are called *Atka*; the wet-nurse herself, in Turkí, is called *Anka* (or according to the pronunciation marked by the Calcutta Chaghatái Dictionary "*anagah*"); a foster brother is termed "*Koka*" (or, with the affix of unity, "*Kokaltásh*," which Abú-l Fazl writes "*Gokaltásh*"). Máham Anka was Akbar's wet-nurse, and, as Mr. Blochmann quotes, "she attended on him from the cradle till after his accession." In the *Akbar-náma* her position and the influence she exercised are made very apparent. She was Akbar's nurse (see *suprà*, p. 226), and when he grew up she was the chief of his harem. She exercised great influence over him, and in the direction of public affairs. Her share in bringing about the fall of Bairám Khán appears in the text, and after that event she became, according to Abú-l Fazl, the governing spirit and real minister. It does not appear who was her husband, but she was related to Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán. Mr. Blochmann says of Adham Khán, her son, that "the name of his father is unknown: he is evidently a royal bastard." There is a mystery about the paternity, but this statement seems inconsistent with the respectful terms used by Abú-l Fazl in speaking of the lady. Some passages relating to this remarkable woman will be found among the Extracts from the *Akbar-náma*. See Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii. p. 211. Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, p. 323.

[2] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 332.

Máham Anka, in agreement with Shahábu-d dín, seized every opportunity of saying something to set the mind of the Emperor against Bairám Khán. Thus, she[3] insinuated that so long as Bairám Khán was in power, the Emperor would have no will of his own over the affairs of State,—that the whole power was in the Khán's hands, and His Majesty was under his control. At length she said that when Khán-khánán discovered that she had been the cause of the Emperor's proceeding to Dehlí, he would have a grudge against her, and that she was quite unable to contend against his animosity. She therefore begged His Majesty to give her leave to proceed to Mecca, so that at the holy city she might offer up prayers for His Majesty in absence, instead of serving him in presence. The assiduous attention of Máham Anka had won the regard of the Emperor, and he would not listen to the suggestion of separation from her. He said he would request Khán-khánán to overlook her offence, and he sent a message to the Khán to this effect: "As I have come all this way without consulting you, my attendants have fallen under your suspicion. Now you must make yourself quite at ease about them, so that you may continue to serve me with a tranquil mind." Shahábu-d dín Ahmad was very vigilant and cautious in his proceedings. He began to strengthen the fortifications, and took every precaution to get a control over State affairs: all the while exerting himself, in concert with Máham Anka, to set the attendants of the Emperor against the minister.

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[1] This sentence is found only in the MS. of the East India Library.

[2] "He reached Dehlí on the 28th Jumáda-l ákhir."

[3] The verb throughout this passage is in the plural, but the context makes it clear that Máham Anka is the unexpressed nominative.

Khán-khánán, on receiving the Emperor's message, sent Khwája Amínu-d dín Mahmúd Hájí Muhammad Sistání and Tarsún Beg,[1] who held important offices, to Dehlí, to wait upon His Majesty, with this statement: "The devotion and loyalty of your servant would never allow him to do anything to any servant of the State against His Majesty's wishes; for nought but kindness and favour is due to all those who faithfully discharge their duties."

The royal ears had been filled with injurious stories and statements against Khán-khánán, so the Khán's message did not receive His Majesty's approval, and the messengers were sent back. When the report of His Majesty's displeasure with Khán-khánán became public, all men turned their backs upon him, and their faces towards the Emperor. Among the first who were admitted to royal favour was Kiyá Khán Gang.[2] Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, with the assistance of Máham Anka, inspired every one who came to Court with the hope of receiving dignities and *jágírs* suitable to their condition.

Khán-khánán had long entertained a desire to go on pilgrimage to the holy places. He informed the *amírs* and *kháns* who still held to him of the project he had formed, and then quitted the Imperial service. He sent along with these men Bahádur Khán, whom he had called from Málwa, and leaving Ágra,[3] he proceeded towards Nágor on his pilgrimage to the holy places. When he arrived at Bayána, he set at liberty Muhammad Amín Díwána, who was there confined, and sent him to Court. As soon as intelligence of Khán-khánán's departure from Ágra arrived, Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán and Máham Anka represented to His Majesty that he had left Ágra with the intention of attacking the Panjáb. His Majesty then sent Mír 'Abdu-l Latíf to the Khán-khánán with this message: "As I was fully assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should now make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *jágír* out of the *parganas* of Hindústán shall be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."

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[1] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. pp. 342, 374. [2] *Ib.* p. 343.

[3] He left Ágra for Nágor on the 12th Rajab, and on reaching Bayána he liberated Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí, and Muhammad Amín Díwána, directing them to proceed to the Emperor. But, says Abú-l Fazl, his object in setting free such turbulent persons was only to foment disturbances.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 126.

When Mír 'Abdu-l Latíf communicated this message to Khán-khánán, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mír, he left Mewát on his way to Nágor. Of all his followers there now remained with him only Walí Beg Zú-l Kadar, his sons Husain Kulí Beg and Isma'íl Kulí Beg, who were relations of his, Sháh Kulí Mahrim, Husain Khán his sister's son, and his son-in-law Mahdí Kásim Khán. Upon reaching Nágor, he sent his banner, kettle-drums, and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kulí Beg. The Emperor had left Dehlí, and was proceeding towards the Panjáb.[1] He had reached the *pargana* of Jhajhar when Husain Kulí Beg waited upon him. Among the persons present (with the Beg) was Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí, who, being mounted on horseback, endeavoured to overtake His Majesty. This greatly offended the Emperor, who ordered the culprit into confinement, and placed him in the custody of Shahábu-d dín Ahmad. The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor.

Pír Muhammad Khán Shirwání, whom the Khán-khánán had banished from the country and sent to Mecca, had waited in Gujarát for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khán-khánán, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title "*Násiru-l Mulk,*" as well as with a banner and kettle-drums. He was then sent with a force to hasten Khán-khánán's departure for Mecca, and accordingly marched after him. After this His Majesty returned to Dehlí, and a *farmán* was issued, summoning Mun'im Khán from Kábul.

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[1] "Nágor."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 126.

As Mál Deo Rájá of Joudhpúr held a strong and threatening position in the way to Gujarát, with the intention of attacking Bairám Khán, the Khán delayed his movements, and eventually marched from Nágor towards Bikanír. Rái Kalyán Mál and his son Rái Sing,[1] who were the *zámíndárs* of that country, received him with great kindness, and treated him most hospitably. After staying there a few days, and resting from the fatigues of the journey, he learnt that Pír Muhammad Khán had been sent to pursue him, and this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khán-khánán, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Panjáb.

When he arrived at the fort of Tabarhindh (Sirhind), which was the *jágír* of Sher Muhammad Díwána, one of his old servants,[2] to whom he had shown great kindness, in full confidence of his faithfulness, Khán-khánán left there his son Mirzá Khán ['Abdu-r Rahím], who was then in the third year of his age, but who is at the present day exalted to the dignity of Khán-khánán and *sipáh-salár* (commander-in-chief). He also left his females and property, and proceeded on his course. Sher Muhammad thereupon appropriated all the property, and treated the dependents of the Khán-khánán with great indignity. The Khán-khánán was in the *pargana* of Dípálpúr when he was informed of these proceedings. He sent his *díwán* Khwája Muzaffar 'Alí (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khán[3]) along with

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[1] They belonged to the Ráthors of Bikanír, and will frequently appear in the following pages. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 357.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 40) calls him the reputed son (*pisar-i khwándah*) of Khán-khánán.

[3] Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 348.

Darwesh Muhammad Uzbek to expostulate and intercede with Sher Muhammad, but the latter seized Muzaffar 'Alí, and sent him prisoner to the Emperor. Sorely troubled by these acts, the Khán went on to Jálandhar.

On the Emperor being informed of Khán-khánán's advance towards the Panjáb, he despatched Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Khán Atka,[1] his son Yúsuf Khán,[2] Husain Khán a relation of Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, and a body of nobles to the Panjáb. When the royal forces reached the town of Dagdár,[3] and proceeded from thence to the *pargana* of Koná,[4] they hemmed in Khán-khánán, so that he was obliged to fight. Compelled to action, he drew up his forces, and confronted the royal army. A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides,[5] and Khán-khánán, being defeated, fled towards the Siwálik hills. Walí Beg Zú-l Kadar and his son Isma'íl Kulí Beg (who now holds a position among the great nobles), Ahmad Beg, Ya'kúb Beg Hamadání, and all his brothers, were taken prisoners, and great booty fell into the hands of the royal troops. This victory was gained in the fifth year of the Iláhí, agreeing with 967 A.H.

After Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Khán Atka had marched for the Panjáb, the Emperor left Khwája 'Abdu-l Majíd Harawí (who had been admitted to the position of a minister (*silk i wuzará*), and had been honoured with the title of Ásaf Khán,[6] in charge of Dehlí, and on the 2nd Zí-l ka'da, 967, himself marched to the Panjáb. He placed Husain Kulí Beg, son of Walí Zú-l Kadar, by way of precaution, in custody of Ásaf Khán, with directions to treat him generously, and do him no harm. When the Emperor reached Jálandhar, Mun'im Khán, who had been summoned from Kábul, arrived,[1] and was accompanied by Mukím Khán, sister's son of Tardí Beg Khán, and several other *amirs*. Mun'im Khán was raised to the dignity of minister (*wakálat*), and received the title of Khán-khánán, and the nobles in his company received favours and honours suitable to their respective positions.

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[1] Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. ii. p. 321. [2] *Ib.* p. 323.

[3] "In the vicinity of Jálandhar, between the Satlej and Biyah."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 140.

[4] Badáúní (p. 40) calls it "Kanúr." Abú-l Fázl, "Konajúr." Faizí says "Konáchúr," one of the villages of *pargana* Ráhún.

[5] According to Abú-l Fazl and Faizí, the Imperial forces were at first repulsed, and the victory was gained only by the great gallantry and desperate exertions of the Imperial generals.

[6] Ásaf was the *wazír* of Sulaimán, and proverbial for his wisdom. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. pp. 366, 368.

At this place Akbar received the intelligence of the victory gained by Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Khán. Those who had been taken prisoners in that engagement were brought into the royal presence captive and forlorn, and were committed to safe custody. One of the number, Walí Beg, who had received a severe wound, died in prison. So his head was cut off and sent to Dehlí. The Emperor then marched onwards toward the Siwálik hills,[2] in pursuit of the Khán-khánán. He reached the neighbourhood of Talwára, a district in the Siwálik, belonging to Rájá Gobind[3] Chand, where the Khán-khánán had sought refuge. A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hills, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultán Husain Jaláír was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khán-khánán, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khán instantly sent one of his followers, Jamál Khán, to the Emperor with this message: "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency,

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[1] "On the 15th Zí-l ka'da."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 143. Mukím Khán afterwards became Shujá'at Khán. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 371. Badáúní says the meeting was at Lúdhiyána.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 43.

[2] He first went to Lahore, which he reached on the 26th Zí-l hijja.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 145.

[3] Abú-l Fazl says: "Rájá Ganes of Talwára, a strong place in the midst of the Siwálik hills;" and, according to him, the royal forces had a good deal of fighting with the hill people.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 146.

I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that Mauláná 'Abdu-lla Sultánpúrí, who had received the title of Makhdúmu-l Mulk, should proceed, with several other attendants of the Court, to Khán-khánán, and having assured him of the Emperor's kindly feeling, should bring him to his presence.[1] When the Khán-khánán approached the royal camp, all the *amírs* and *kháns* went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour. On his coming into the royal presence, the Khán placed his sad countenance upon the ground of supplication, and craved forgiveness for his offences. The Emperor received him with the most princely grace, and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca[2] and the holy places. The royal camp then moved on its return to Dehlí, and the Emperor went towards Hisár-Fírozah hunting.

Khán-khánán, with his people, took the road to Gujarát. He reached the city of Pattan, in Gujarát, and there rested for some days. This city was then under the government of Músa Khán Lodí Puládí. Khán-khánán went about examining the city, and one day he went out to the Kolábí (lake), a place within sight of the city, and famous for Sahasnak.[3] They call it in the Hindí language *Nará.* A temple Ránámand, like a thousand temples, stood there, and gave it celebrity. After visiting this place, he went about (the lake) in a boat. When he disembarked and returned home, an Afghán, named Mubárak Khán Lohání, whose father had been killed in an action with the Mughals,[1] came to wait upon the Khán-khánán, with the intention of wreaking vengeance upon him. When they were shaking hands, he assassinated him with his dagger.[2] The words "Muhammad Bairám" contain the date of this murder. Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased. Muhammad Amín Díwána and Bábá Zambúr, with several of the eunuchs, rescued from the fray Mirzá 'Abdu-r Rahím, the son of the Khán-khánán,[3] who was then a child of only four years of age, but in these days has been exalted to the dignity of Khán-khánán. They conducted the boy to Ahmadábád, and from thence they carried him to the Court of the Emperor, in the hope of obtaining his protection. The Emperor received the child with the most princely favour, and the good qualities which he exhibited so won upon the Emperor's mind, that his prosperity went on growing until he attained the dignity of Khán-khánán.

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[1] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 44) says it was Mun'im Khán who conducted him to the Emperor, and that he placed all his tents and attendants at the fallen minister's disposal.

[2] According to Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 44), the Emperor furnished him with money, and the nobles, great and small, and the courtiers, lent their assistance, "and made up the supply of money and goods which the Turks call '*Chandogh.*'"

[3] "Sahuas Lang."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 45.

When the Khán-khánán (Bairám Khán) went to Gujarát, the Emperor proceeded towards Hisár-Fírozah on a hunting excursion, but the army was sent on to Dehlí, the capital, by the direct route. Having hunted with some leashes of a kind of leopard, which is called *chita* in Hindí, on the 4th Rabí'u-l awwal, 968 H. (9th Nov., 1560), he arrived at Dehlí, and there stopped awhile for a little rest and enjoyment. On the 2nd Rabí'u-s sání he started for Ágra by boat, and arrived there on the 12th of the same month.

Sixth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year was Sunday, 24th Jumáda-l ákhir, 968 H. (10th March, 1561). In this year the marriage of Muhammad Bákí Khán was celebrated with a lady whose family connexions have been explained in another place. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence, and was followed by rejoicings and feasting for several days.

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[1] He had been put to death by order of the Khán-Khánán.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 45.

[2] He had thirty or forty companions. He stabbed the Khán with his dagger in the back, so that the point came out of his bosom, and one of the assassin's companions finished the business with his sword.—*T. Alfi*, and *Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 165.

[3] His mother and the attendants were also rescued by the courage of Muhammad Amín and his followers.—*T. Alfi.*

In the days of Sher Khán the country of Málwa had been held by Shujá'at Khán,[1] who was one of his own clan (*Khássa khail*), and after his death it had come into the hands of his son Báz Bahádur. It now came to His Majesty's knowledge that Báz Bahádur had given himself up to sensuality,[2] and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and people had been reduced to distress. The honour of the Imperial throne required that this country should be again brought under its control, and find peace and security. So Adham Khán, Pír Muhammad Khán, Sádik Khán, Kiyá Khán Gang, 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, Shah Muhammad Kandahárí, and some other *amirs*, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country.[3] They accordingly marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of Sárangpúr in that country, Báz Bahádur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city.

Báz Bahádur was the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindí song. He spent much of his time in the society of singers and musicians. When the Imperial army was at ten *kos* from Sárangpúr, Adham Khán sent forward an advanced force to the entrenchments which Báz Bahádur had thrown up around his army. Several attempts were made to entice him out of his lines, and the royal forces drew together in order to surround him. Báz Bahádur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghán nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight.[4] Rúp-matí, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry, several other wives, and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Báz Bahádur's wounded Rúp-matí with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khán summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

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[1] He was, as before stated, commonly called "Shujáwal Khán," but Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 47) goes a little wider, and calls him "Sazáwal Khán."

[2] Abú-l Fazl calls him also drunkard.

[3] "With five or six thousand men."—Faizí.

[4] "Towards Khándesh and Burhánpúr."—Faizí.

Adham Khán wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants, under charge of Sádik Khán, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed in person to Málwa. On the 21st Sha'bán, 968 H., the Emperor left Ágra, and marched towards Málwa. When he reached the fort of Gágrún, which is celebrated among the fortresses of Málwa for its strength and height, he gave orders for its reduction. But the commandant of the fort hastened to surrender, and presented his tribute. This greatly pleased the Emperor, who made a forced march in the night, and arrived by dawn in the vicinity of Sárangpúr.[1] Adham Khán had left Sárangpúr in order to besiege Gágrún, so he met the Emperor at three *kos* distance from that place,[2] and was graciously received. Then they rode on to the city, and Adham Khán's abode was given up to His Majesty. Adham Khán now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor, who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Ágra.

At that place Pír Muhammad Khán Shirwání and other nobles who had *jágírs* in Málwa, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their *jágírs*. When the Emperor was near Narwar, a formidable tiger came out of the jungle. The Emperor slowly approached the beast, and with one blow of his sword brought her to the ground. Some of his attendants killed the young ones with swords and spears.

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[1] The journey was performed in sixteen days.—Faizí.

[2] "As he knew nothing of the Emperor's approach, he was astounded, and wondered what was the reason."—*T. Alfí.* Abú-l Fazl also describes the amazement of Adham Khán at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Máham Anka to warn Adham Khán. He also describes how Adham Khán surrendered his spoils, and how reluctantly he at last gave up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Báz Bahádur.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 178.

Muhammad Asghar, *mír-munshí*, who was celebrated for the beauty of his writing and composition, was now appointed *Mír-munshí*, and received the title of Ashraf Khán. On the 29th Ramazán, 968, the Court reached A'gra.

When 'Adalí, the Afghan, was slain by the sons of Muhammad Khán Bangálí,[1] who was one of the nobles of Salím Khán Afghán, 'Adalí's son, Sher Khán, took his seat upon the throne of Government, in the fort of Chunár, and then led an army to attempt the conquest of Jaunpúr. Thereupon Khán-zamán sent information to the Imperial Court, and the *amírs* who held *jágírs* in that part of the country were commanded to support Khán-zamán. Ibráhím Khán Uzbek, Majnún Khán Kákshál, Shániham Khán Jaláír, Kamál Khán Gakhar, and many other chiefs, in obedience to the royal order, joined Kulí Khán (Khán-zamán).[2] The Afgháns, having crossed the river, gave battle, but Khán-zamán exerted himself gallantly, and put them to flight.

Various actions of Khán-zamán excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpúr, on a progress of hunting and pleasure. On approaching Kálpí, the camp was about to be pitched, when 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, who held Kálpí in *jágír*, came forward, and begged His Majesty to honour his house by taking up his quarters there. The proposal was graciously accepted, and 'Abdu-lla Khán rendered the services due from him, and presented his offerings, for which he was honoured by His Majesty's approbation.

When the Court reached Karra, 'Alí Kulí Khán Khán-zamán and his brother Bahádur Khán came up by forced marches from their *jágír* of Jaunpúr, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognized, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their *jágírs*. On the 17th Zí-l hijja, of the sixth year of the Iláhí, corresponding with 968 H., the Court reached Ágra.

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[1] See *suprà*, p. 66.

[2] The force of the enemy was nearly 20,000 horse, 50,000 foot, and 500 elephants. Khán-zamán declined to meet them in the open. When the enemy crossed the river, he bore all before him, but his force was eventually cut up in the streets and suburbs of Jaunpúr.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 185.

Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Atka,[1] who bore the title of *Khán-i 'azam*, and held the government of the Panjáb, now came to Court. He was graciously received, and the direction of the affairs of the State was committed to his charge.[2] About the same time, Adham Khán, in obedience to a royal command, came from Málwa to the capital, and was welcomed with due honour.

On the 8th Jumáda-l awwal, 969 H., the Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutbu-l auliyá Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí.[3] When he reached the town of Sámbar, Rájá Bihárí Mal,[4] one of the chief *rájás* of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwán Dás,[5] to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court. From thence he proceeded to Ajmír, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city. Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain, who held a *jágír* in the territory of Ajmír, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *amírs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mírtha,[1] about twenty *kos* from Ajmír, which was held by Jai Mal.[2] His Majesty then started for Ágra, and making forced marches, he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and night.[3]

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[1] Shamsu-d dín Muhammad was a native of Ghazní, and began life as a common soldier under Prince Kámrán. It was he who assisted the Emperor Humáyún out of the river after the disastrous battle of Kanauj (*suprà*, p. 205). He accompanied the Emperor in his exile, and his wife was one of the nurses (*anka*) of Akbar. As foster father (*atka*) of Akbar, he received the title of Atka Khán, and his sons were the *kokas* or *kokaltáshes* of the Emperor. His family is sometimes called the *Atka-khail*.—Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 321.

[2] "This appointment greatly annoyed Máham Anka, who, from her superior intelligence and many services, had deemed herself permanent minister (*wakil i saltanat ba-istiklál*). Mu'nim Khán, who had been the ostensible minister, was also aggrieved." —*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 189.

[3] He was a native of Sístán, and is called also Sanjarí.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 195.

[4] Bihárí Mal was a Kachhwáhah, and was the first Rájpút chief who joined Akbar. He is often called, as in our MS., Bihárá Mal. He and his family played distinguished parts in the reign of Akbar, and intermarried with the Imperial family. His four brothers were named Púran, Rupsi, Askaran, and Jag Mal. He had three sons in Akbar's service, Bhagwán Dás, Jagannáth, and Salhádí; the first of whom was a most distinguished officer, and on one occasion saved the Emperor's life. He is also called Bhagwan and Bhagwant Dás. The son of the latter, named Mán Sing, was no less distinguished, and attained the highest rank.—See Blochmann's *Áín-i-Akbarí*, vol. i. pp. 328, 333, 339.

[5] The MSS. have "Gobind Dás," but Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 50) is right in calling him "Bhagwán Dás."

Seventh year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 7th Rajab, 969 H. (10 March, 1562). At the beginning of this year Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain besieged the fort of Mírtha, being assisted by Sháh Bidágh Khán,[4] and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khán, Muhammad Husain Shaikh, and some other nobles. Great exertions were made on both sides, but at length it was agreed that the garrison should march out with their horses and arms (*kamchí*), but leave behind all their property and effects. When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort, Jai Mal marched out with his men. But Deo-dás, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rájpúts, and passed in front of the royal army. Mirzá Sharafu-d dín and other nobles followed Deo-dás, and when they came up with him, he turned round and attacked them. Many of the royal soldiers fell, and nearly 200 Rájpúts were slain. Deo-dás himself was unhorsed, and being overtaken as he lay upon the ground, he was cut to pieces.[1] The fort of Mírtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.

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[1] Mírtha, or Mairtha, forty miles west by north from Ajmír."

[2] Jai Mal was the commandant on behalf of Ráí Mál Deo.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 204.

[3] *Dar shabán-roz.* The *T. Alfí* gives the more probable time of "three days," and Abú-l Fazl says "less than three days."

[4] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 371.

About this time Pír Muhammad Khán,[2] who, after the departure of Adham Khán, held the government of Málwa, assembled the forces of that province, and marched to subdue the countries of Ásír and Burhánpúr. He laid siege to Bíjágarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword.[3] He then marched against Ásír, a well-known place in Khándesh. Crossing the river Nerbadda, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Burhánpúr. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governors of Ásir and Burhánpúr, and Báz Bahádur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Málwa, now concerted together, and, assisted by all the *zamindárs* of the country, they assembled a force with which they assailed Pír Muhammad Khán.[4] Unable to resist, Pír Muhammad fled towards Mandú, and when he came to the Nerbadda, he, and all the nobles with him, plunged into its waters. It so happened that a camel came up and bit the horse upon which he was riding. He was thrown off into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds.[5] The other nobles, on reaching Málwa, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor.

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[1] "Some say he was wounded, but escaped, and after some years re-appeared in the guise of a *jogí*. Some recognized, others repudiated, him. At length he was killed in one of their quarrels."—*Táríkh-i Alfí.*

[2] "Whose boldness and courage were greater than his judgment."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 211.

[3] "He next proceeded against Sultánpúr, and annexed it to the Imperial territories."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 212.

[4] As his men "were pursuing their straggling march homewards, laden with spoil. Pír Muhammad made an attempt to beat off the pursuers, but he was ill supported." —*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 213.

[5] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 51) is eloquent upon the subject: "By way of water he went to fire; and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business."

Báz Bahádur pursued them, and brought the whole of Málwa once more into his power. The *amírs* who had abandoned Málwa, and had come to Court without orders, were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disaster in Málwa, and Mu'ínu-d dín Ahmad Khán Farankhúdí, and several other Kháns, were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A.D.), 'Abdu-lla and his auxiliaries entered Málwa, and Báz Bahádur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight.[1] A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Báz Bahádur found protection for some time with Ráná Udi Sing,[2] one of the chief *rájás* of Márwár, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarát, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune.[3] 'Abdu-lla Khán remained at Mandú, and the other *amírs* returned to their *jágírs*. Mu'ín Khán, after setting the affairs of the country in order, returned to Court.

An intimacy and friendship had existed between the late Emperor Humáyún and Sháh Tahmásp Súfí of Persia. When Humáyún died, and was succeeded by Akbar, the Sháh was desirous of keeping up friendly relations. He accordingly sent his nephew, Saiyid Beg, son of Ma'súm Beg, to whom he gave the title Ummú-úghlí (uncle's son), as his ambassador, with costly presents. When Saiyid Beg approached Ágra, many kháns and great men were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him into the city with suitable honours. The sum of seven *lacs* of *tankas* was appropriated to him. He remained at Ágra two months, and having received a horse and a robe, he took his departure, carrying with him presents from Hindústán.

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[1] "To the hills of Kambalmír."—*T. Alfí.*

[2] "At Chítor and Udipúr."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 51.

[3] He was imprisoned for some time, but (soon after his release) he died.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 51. Faizí says he was granted a *mansab* of 2000. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 428.

Eighth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Wednesday, 18th Rajab, 970 H. (13 March, 1563 A.D.). A tragical event occurred in the course of this year.[1] Adham Khán Kokaltásh, son of Máham Anka,[2] could not endure to see the elevation of his compeers.[3] In the presumption of youth, and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, Mu'nim Khán Khán-khánán, and several other nobles, and murdered Khán-i 'azam [Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Atka], then prime minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the harem. His Majesty rushed out of the harem, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot, and cast over the parapet in punishment of his crime.[4] This murder was committed on the morning of Sunday, 12th Ramazán, 970 H. All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment. Mu'nim Khán and Muhammad Kásim Khán *Mír-i bahr* (commander of the boats) went over the Jumna, and destroyed the bridge by which they crossed. Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán Naishapúrí concealed himself. His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Máham Anka; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl and most other writers place this event one year earlier.

[2] He was her younger son. His brother was Muhammad Bákí Khán. See *Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 218. Blochmann's *A'ín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. pp. 323 and 381.

[3] The *T. Alfí* represents him as gratified with the death of Bairám Khán, who had always been suspicious and watchful of him.

[4] Badáúní places this assassination in 969 H. He says the unfortunate minister was cut to pieces (*pára pára*), and he adds that as a spark of life was left in the assassin after his fall, the Emperor ordered him to be thrown over the parapet again. He was buried one day before his victim. Firishta's account agrees; but the translation is inaccurate in two points. It calls the minister Shahábu-d dín instead of Shamsu-d dín, and makes Máham Anka father of the minister instead of mother of the assassin. See Extract from *Akbar-náma*, *infrá*.

Next day (after the murder) Ashraf Khán *Mír-munshi* received orders to seek out and bring back to His Majesty Mu'nim Khán, Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, and Kásim Khán. The thought of having participated in this plot weighed upon the mind of Mu'nim Khán, so although he held the title of Khán-khánán, and held the offices of minister (*wakálat*) and tutor (*atálik*), he having found an opportunity left Ágra by night, and went off along with Kásim Khán, commander of the boats, towards Kábul, where his son 'Abdu-l Ghaní Khán was then living. When they came to the *pargana* of Sarút, in the Doab, the *jágír* of Mír Mahmúd *Munshi*, one of the *Munshi's* officers, Kásim 'Alí Sístání, who was *shikkdár* of the district, having heard of their arrival as fugitives from the Court, went out with a party of the inhabitants, and made them prisoners. They were then sent to His Majesty, who winked at their offence, and reinstated them in their offices.

Conquest of the Gakhar country.

The country of the Gakhars lies upon the banks of the river Sind, well known as the *Níl-áb.* This territory, from the Siwálik hills to the borders of Kashmír, has been from all time the possession of the Gakhars, although other tribes, such as the Khari, Jánúba, Jatriya, Bhúkiyál, and Jat dwell in those parts in subordination to the Gakhars. From the beginning of the reign of the late Emperor Bábar to the present time, this tribe would not suffer any intermission of loyalty to the illustrious dynasty, but remained steadfast in their obedience and devotion. Sárang Sultán was especially noted for his fidelity and loyalty. When Sher Khán acquired the supreme power in Hindústán, he wanted to bring the Gakhars under his authority, and used strenuous exertions to effect his purpose, but made little progress, until he succeeded, after much trouble, in getting Sárang Sultán into his hands as a prisoner. He ordered Sárang Sultán to be flayed, and shut up his son Kamál Khán in the fort of Gwalior.

After the death of Sárang, his brother A'dam became the chief of the clan. He also espoused the cause of the Imperial family, and opposed the Afgháns.

When Sher Khán died, and his son Salím Khán obtained the supreme authority, he also, in imitation of his father, plundered and laid waste various portions of the Gakhar territory, and did his utmost to vex and injure them. On one occasion, when some prisoners were brought to Gwalior for punishment, he ordered them to be placed in a house with a quantity of gunpowder, and the house to be set on fire. Common report tells how all these captives were blown into the air, and how their bodies were blown to pieces. Kamál Khán, who was sitting in a corner of the house, was by God's mercy saved. When Salím Khán heard of his preservation he sent for him, and having induced him to take an oath of fidelity, appointed him to act, in concert with the governor of the Panjáb, in the subjugation of the Gakhar territory.

Afterwards, when Hindústán again came under the rule of the Imperial house, Kamál Khán followed the example of his predecessors, and paid his allegiance. He was treated with princely favour, and received a grant of the *parganas* of Hanswa, Fathpúr, and Karra-Mánikpúr as a *jágír*. There he remained until Sher Khán, the son of Salím Khán, attacked 'Alí Kulí Khán, and endeavoured to get possession of these districts. Kamál Khán was then ordered to support 'Alí Kulí Khán, and he exhibited such courage and resolution that he was graciously told that whatever request he liked to make should be granted. Kamál Khán, in his love for his native land, begged that he might be restored to his paternal inheritance. A *farmán* was accordingly issued that of the territories formerly held by Sultán Sárang, and now in the possession of A'dam Khán Gakhar, one half should be given to Kamál Khán, and the other half should remain in the possession of A'dam Khán. Orders were accordingly issued to the *amírs* of the Panjáb, to Mír Muhammad Khán, known as *Khán-i* *kalán*,[1] and to Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, that if Ádam Khán made any resistance to the arrangement, they were to take the whole of the territory from him, and give it to Kamál Khán.

When the *amírs* informed Ádam Khán of the purport of the *farmáns*, he and his son and his army were dissatisfied, and paid no heed to the command. A royal army marched into the country of the Gakhars to subdue it, and Ádam Khán and his son resisted. Some sharp fighting followed, but the Gakhars were defeated, and Ádam Khán was made prisoner. His son, with the defeated army, fled into Kashmír, but after some time he also was taken prisoner.[2] All the Gakhar territory then came under the power of the Imperial officers, and they made it over to Kamál Khán. The *amírs* also placed Ádam Khán and his son in charge of Kamál Khán, and departed to their own *jágírs*. Kamál Khan kept Ádam Khán near him until he died.

Affairs of Mu'nim Beg (at Kábul).

When Mu'nim Khán left Kábul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khán *Akhta-begi* was left there as governor, but on Mu'nim Khán being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kábul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghaní Khán, in his place. He also sent back his nephew Abú-l Fath Beg, son of his brother Fazáil Beg, to assist Ghaní Khán in his government. After a time Máh Chochak Begam and the people of Kábul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghaní Khán.[3] Among other acts he kept in confinement Tolak Khán Kúlchín, one of the oldest servants of the dynasty, until the people interfered and set him at liberty.

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[1] He was the elder brother of Atka Khán, *Khán-i 'azam*. Kutbu-d dín was a younger brother. They belonged to the *Atka-khail*. See note, *suprà*, p. 273. Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, pp. 322 and 333.

[2] Both father and son were placed in the custody of Kamál Khán. The father was kept in confinement till his death; the son was put to death.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. (The episode about the Gakhars seems to have been omitted from the printed edition of the *Akbar-náma*.)

[3] "He was wanting in sense and suavity."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 231.

Tolak Khán then went to the village of Mámá-khátún, which was his *jágír*, and there waited his opportunity. It happened that a caravan from Balkh came and halted in the village of Chárikárán, and Ghaní Khán went forth in haste to meet it. Tolak Khán assembled a body of his servants and adherents, and making a rapid night march fell upon Ghaní Khán,[1] and made him prisoner. At length some persons intervened, and obtained the freedom of Ghaní Khán. They took from him a treaty and covenant that he would never again molest Tolak Khán, but before Ghaní Khán got back to Kábul, he broke his covenant, and marched against Tolak Khán with a strong force. Tolak Khán, however, was apprised of the movement, and fled to the Court of the Emperor. Ghaní Khán pursued him in vain for some distance, and then returned to Kábul.

Some little while afterwards Ghaní Beg went out one day for a stroll in the melon gardens, and the opportunity was seized by [Máh Chochak Begam] the mother of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím,[2] in concert with Sháh Walí Atka, Mirzá Fazáíl Beg and his son Abú-l Fath Beg, to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghaní Khán. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghaní Khán understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable tō do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. She appointed Mirzá Fazáíl[3] Beg, whom Mirzá Kámrán had blinded, to the office of minister (*wakálat*), and his son Abú-l Fath Beg was made his deputy. But when in the distribution of the *jágírs* and villages he (Abú-l Fath) reserved the best for himself, and appropriated the worst to the prince and his attendants. Sháh Walí Atka, 'Alí Muhammad Asp, and others, could not brook his unjust allotment. In communication with the mother of the prince, they determined to remove him. One night Abú-l Fath came to the door of his house in a state of intoxication and went down. Míran Beg having seen this, despatched him with one blow upon the head with his sword. His father, Fazáil Beg, endeavoured to escape into the Hazára, but some of the adherents of the prince went in pursuit, and overtook and beheaded him. Sháh Walí Beg Atka, with the approval of the mother of the prince, assumed the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Ádil Sháh.

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[1] While he was drunk and asleep.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 233.

[2] Son of the Emperor Humáyún, then about ten years of age.—Badáúní.

[3] Abú-l Fazl calls him "Fázil Beg," and says that although he was blind, "in matters of craft and contumacy, his whole body was eyes." He adds that he interfered with his nephew in his duties as governor.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 231.

When the report of these occurrences reached the ears of the Emperor, he appointed Mu'nim Khán governor of Kábul and guardian (*atálik*) of the young prince Mirzá Muhammad. He also appointed Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás, Husain Khán brother of Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, Tímúr Beg Uzbek, and several other nobles to assist and support him. The mother of the young prince, who was then ten years of age, assembled all the forces she could, and taking the prince with her, she went, with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalálábád, known in old times by the name of Jusáí. There she awaited Mu'nim Khán, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kábul, and suspecting the designs of Sháh 'Alí Atka against her, she caused him to be put to death, and Haidar Kásim Kohbar was named *wakíl* of the *mirzá* in his stead.

Affairs of Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain.

Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain was son of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín, son of Khwája Jáwíd Mahmud, son of Khwája 'Abdu-lla, who was a distinguished man among the *Khwájas*, and was the son of Násiru-d dín 'Abdu-lla Ahrár.[1] When the Mirzá came to Court, he was promoted to the dignity of *Amíru-l umará*, and received the *jágír* of Nágor. There he was distinguished by his energetic labours. His father now returned from Mecca, and received a right royal reception. After a while Mirzá Sharaf, by the will of fate, and without any apparent reason or cause, having had his mind perverted by designing men, fled towards Nágor.[1] Hazrat Husain Kulí Beg, son of Walí Beg Zú-l kadar, a relation of the late Khán-khánán Bairám Khán, having on account of his services been admitted to the order of nobility, and dignified with the title of *khán*, now received a grant of the *jágír* of Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain. Some of the principal nobles, as Muhammad Sádik, Muhammad Kulí *Tugh-bání*, Muzaffar Mughal and Mírak Bahádur, were directed to support Husain Kulí Beg, and the command was given for them to pursue and capture Mirzá Sharafu-d dín. If he repented of his unrighteous deeds, they were to soothe him and bring him to Court; but if not, they were to use their best exertions to punish his misconduct. When intelligence of the approach of Husain Kulí Beg Khán reached Mirzá Sharafu-d dín, he left Tarkhán Díwána, a trusty adherent, in Ajmír, and went off towards Jálor.[2] The Imperial forces invested Ajmír, and after two or three days Tarkhán Díwána capitulated.[3] The nobles then hastened in pursuit of Sharafu-d dín towards Jálor.

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[1] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 322.

It so happened that just as Sharafu-d dín reached Jálor, Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí was returning from Mecca to the Imperial Court, and having had a meeting with Sharafu-d dín, they concocted together a rebellious scheme. Abú-l Ma'álí was to march against the people of Husain Kulí Khán, who were in Hájípúr,[4] and having disposed of him was to push on to Kábul and bring Mirzá Muhammad Hakím to Hindústán. Sharafu-d dín on his side was to do all he could to promote a rebellion. Abú-l Ma'álí marched off, taking with him a party of Sharafu-d dín's men, and when he approached Hájípúr, he learned that Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg, relations of Husain Kulí Khán, had come out to stop him. Thereupon he turned in the direction of Nárnaul, and upon reaching the fort of that place, he made Mír Kísú the *shikkdár* prisoner, and seized all the money which he found in the treasury, and divided it among his followers.[1]

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[1] "Towards Ajmír and Nágor, which were his *jágírs*."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 247.

[2] Both MSS. have "Nágor." But Abú-l Fazl says "towards Jálor, which he had got into his power," and the context shows him to be right.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 248.

[3] The fort of Mirtha also fell into the hands of the Imperial general.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 248.

[4] Husain Kulí had left his wives and family there.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 248.

After receiving intelligence of this, Husain Kulí Khán sent his brother Isma'íl Kulí Khán along with Muhammad Sádik Khán in pursuit of Abú-l Ma'álí. Upon reaching Hájípúr, and learning that Abú-l Ma'álí had drawn off to Nárnaul, they took Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg with them, and went in pursuit of him. Twelve *kos* from Nárnaul, the brother of Abú-l Ma'áli, who was named Khán-záda [Muhammad], and was also called Sháh Lúndán, left his *jágír*, and was on the way to join his brother, but he was intercepted and made prisoner. Abú-l Ma'álí fled from Nárnaul and went towards the Panjáb. Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg were sent off with a detachment in hot haste after him. A body of the men under their command had formerly served under Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain, and these men had bound themselves by an oath to desert Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg whenever Abú-l Ma'álí should be attacked, and to go over to the latter. One of this party, Dána Kulí by name, slipped away and hastened to inform Abú-l Ma'álí of the conspiracy. Upon hearing it he placed himself in ambush in a jungle by the side of the road, and when the two Begs came up he fell upon them unawares. The conspirators then drew their swords, and advanced against their own commanders, and the other soldiers, seeing how matters stood, took to flight. Ahmad Beg and Sikandar were left quite alone. They fought most manfully, and killed several of their assailants, but were eventually slain.

His Majesty was engaged in a hunting excursion at Mathura when the news of this disaster reached him. He sent Bidágh

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[1] "And plundered the town."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 252.

Khán, Tátár Khán, Rúmí Khán, and others, to follow Abú-l Ma'álí, and he himself proceeded to Dehlí, the seat of Government (*dáru-l mulk*).[1]

A remarkable occurrence has now to be mentioned. When Sharafu-d dín Husain fled from Court to Nágor, he had a slave, by name Koka Fúlád, one of the slaves of his father, who at all times secretly did everything in his power to injure the Emperor. This wretched man came into the royal camp, and was constantly on the watch for an opportunity. When the Emperor returned from his hunting excursion, and passing through the bázár of Dehlí, came near to the College[2] of Máham Anka, this bloodthirsty fellow shot an arrow at His Majesty; but by the mercy of God, who watched over the Emperor's safety, it did not inflict a severe wound, but merely grazed the skin. The attendants of the Emperor instantly fell upon the traitor, and with strokes of sword and dagger they sent him to hell. The Emperor pulled out the arrow and rode on to the palace. The wound was cured in a few days, and on the 6th Jumáda-s sání he mounted his royal litter,[3] and proceeded to A'gra, where he arrived on the 15th of the same month, in the year 971 A.H., agreeing with the eighth year of the reign.

Ninth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year was Wednesday, 29th Rajab, 971 (13th March, 1564). When Abú-l Ma'álí killed Ahmad Beg, and found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct roads he fled towards Kábul. When he approached Kábul, he wrote a letter full of expressions of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Máh Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abú-l Ma'álí now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakím.

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[1] He arrived there on the 25th Jumáda-l awwal.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[2] Abú-l Fazl agrees, and says that the man stood near the College (*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 255); but Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 62) says that the arrow was shot from the roof of the College. He agrees that the wound was merely superficial (*post-mál*), not the severe wound, "nearly a span deep," which Abú-l Fazl and Firishta describe.

[3] سکاسن. The Hindí *singhásan* "throne."

A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they had received from Máh Chochak Begam, such as Shúgún, son of Karrácha Khán, and Shádmán, and others, leagued with Abú-l Ma'álí, and persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into his hands the Prince Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government. He seized upon Haidar Kásim Kohbar, who was the minister (*wakíl*) of the Mirzá, and put him to death. He also imprisoned his brother Muhammad Kásim. Hereupon Tardí Muhammad Khán, Bákí Muhammad Khán Kákshál, Husain Khán, and several other adherents of the late Begam, conspired against him to avenge her death. 'Abdí Sarmast informed Abú-l Ma'álí of this conspiracy, and he instantly armed a party of his supporters, and went forth to destroy them. The conspirators cut their way into the fort, and Abú-l Ma'álí pressed after them. Many on both sides were killed, but at length Abú-l Ma'álí succeeded in driving them out of the fort, and they fled in all directions.

Muhammad Kásim, who was in confinement, obtained his release, and went to Mirzá Sulaimán, in Badakhshán. He informed him of all that had passed at Kábul, and urged him to march against the city. Mirzá Muhammad Hakím also sent a person to Mirzá Sulaimán, calling upon him for assistance. The Mirzá, on hearing the state of affairs, assembled the forces of Badakhshán, and with the approval of Khurram Begam his wife, marched against Kábul. Abú-l Ma'álí, on his side, assembled the forces of Kábul, and taking with him Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, advanced to the river Ghorband. Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. The Kábul men on the right of Abú-l Ma'álí were defeated by the Badakhshán forces, and began to retreat. He hastened up with some reinforcements to support them, leaving Mirzá Muhammad Hakím in charge of his servants. These men seized the opportunity to cross the river and join Mirzá Sulaimán. When this was discovered by the Kábul forces, they were seized with panic, and every man fled to his home.

When Abú-l Ma'álí came back from his charge, he was dismayed to find no trace either of Mirzá Hakím or of his army, so he fled. The Badakhshán men pursued and overtook him at the village of Chárikárán. He was brought to the presence of Mirzá Sulaimán, who, elated with his success, went on to Kábul, taking Mirzá Muhammad Hakím with him. Three days afterwards he sent Abú-l Ma'álí, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th Ramazán, 970 H. Mirzá Sulaimán now sent to Badakhshán for his daughter, and married her to Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. After giving *jágírs* in the Kábul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Ummaid 'Alí, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshán.

In the course of this year, Khwája Muzaffar 'Alí Tarbatí, one of the old associates of Khán-khánán Bairám Khán, was raised to the office of financial minister (*wazárat-i díwán-i 'ala*), and received the title of *Khán*.[1]

Conquest of the fort of Chunár.

The fort of Chunár was held by a slave of 'Adalí, named Fattú. He now wrote a letter offering to surrender it.[2] The Emperor sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Ásaf Khán to receive the surrender of the fort. When it was delivered over, they placed it in charge of Husain Khán Turkomán. At this Ghází Khán Súr, formerly one of the nobles of 'Adalí, but who had for a time lived in allegiance to the Emperor, now that A'saf Khán was appointed to the government of Karra, took flight, and went to the country of Panna. There he gathered some men, and arrayed himself in rebellion. When A'saf Khán was sent to Karra, Ghází Khán led his followers against him, but he was defeated in battle by A'saf Khán, and killed upon the field. A'saf Khán thus established his power and authority.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl places this appointment at the beginning of the eighth year.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 250. See *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 348.

[2] Abú-l Fazl places this surrender in the sixth year of the reign. The Emperor, on his return from Karra, deputed Ásaf Khán to besiege the fort, and this frightened Fattú into submission.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 190.

The country of Garha-Katanka was near to A'saf Khán, and he formed the design of subduing it.[1] The chief place of that country is Chaurágarh. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousand (*haftád hazar*) flourishing villages.[2] Its ruler was at this time a woman named Durgávatí, who was very beautiful. When A'saf Khán heard the condition of this country, he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter, so he marched against it with fifty thousand[3] horse and foot. The Rání collected all her forces, and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A battle followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, but by the will of fate the Rání was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory A'saf Khan marched against Chaurágarh. The son of the Rání, who was in the fort, came forth to meet him; but he was killed, and the fort was captured, and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors. A'saf Khán, after he had achieved this victory and acquired so much treasure, returned, greatly elated, to Karra, and took possession of his government.

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[1] See Extract from the *Akbar-náma, infrà.*

[2] Abú-l Fazl, Badáúní, and Faizí all agree in this number, but it is a manifest error.—*Akbar-náma,* vol. ii., p. 264.

[3] The MSS. differ widely. One of them says *five* thousand, the other two *fifty* thousand. There are other discrepancies. Two of the MSS. omit the word "innumerable," making the Rání's force to be "20,000 horse and foot"; but they agree in the incredible "700 elephants." Firishta, moreover, gives "1500 elephants and 8000 horse and foot."—See Extract from the *Tárikh-i Alfi, suprà,* p. 169.

Journey of the Emperor to Narwar.

On the 12th Zí-l ka'da, 971 H., corresponding with the ninth year of the reign, the Emperor left Ágra, and went towards the river Chambal with the object of elephant hunting.[1] In consequence of the heavy rains and the inundations, he had to halt fifteen days, and when he did cross over one of his choice elephants named Lakhna was drowned. When he came to the vicinity of the town of Narwar he pitched his camp, for the jungle hard by was an elephant haunt. * * * After they had cleared that neighbourhood of elephants, he marched on towards Málwa, and halted at Rewar.[2] Heavy rains compelled him to remain two days in sight of that town. From thence he proceeded to Sárangpúr, and again the heavy rains and floods greatly distressed his escort. When he approached Sárangpúr, Muhammad Kásim Khán Naishapúrí the governor came forth to meet him and presented tribute. Next day the Emperor proceeded onwards towards Mandú.

'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek was governor of Mandú, and as there were sundry differences between him and the Emperor, he was greatly alarmed at his approach, and consequently fled off towards Gujarát. When the Emperor was informed of his flight, he sent Mukím Khán, one of his chief nobles, to 'Abdu-lla, to advise and reassure him. Although Mukím Khán urged and persuaded, his words had no effect, for 'Abdu-lla thought that the object of the Khán was to detain him with words and stories till the royal forces had arrived and secured the roads. So he left Mukím Khán and fled; and the Khán went back and reported his want of success.

The Emperor's anger was roused, and he gave orders for a force to be sent to arrest 'Abdu-lla's progress. The Emperor himself followed, and on reaching Mandú intelligence arrived that his advanced force was engaged in action with 'Abdu-lla, so he pressed on with all speed. When 'Abdu-lla saw that some of his most faithful followers had fallen, and heard that the Emperor was near at hand, he left his baggage and soldiers and hastened off. The Imperial forces pursued him as far as the country of Álí,[1] on the confines of Gujarát, and drove him away from his wives and elephants. He then went to Chángíz Khán in Gujarát. This Chángíz Khán was a slave of Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát, after whose death he had obtained the government of the country. The royal forces which had captured the horses and elephants and wives of 'Abdu-lla then turned back to Álí, where they were received with honour.

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[1] According to Abú-l Fazl, the real object was to check the proceedings of 'Abdu-lla Khán.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 279.

[2] A very doubtful name.

The Imperial army then moved, and on the new moon of Zí-l hijja, 791 H., reached Mandú. The *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mírán Mubárak Sháh, ruler of Khándesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farmán* was sent to Mírán Mubárak Sháh directing him to send any one of his daughters whom he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor. 'Itimád Khán was also sent along with the ambassadors. When Mubárak Sháh received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so. Whilst the Emperor remained at Mandú, Khán Kulí,[2] a servant of 'Abdu-lla Khán, who was now in Hindia,[3] and Mukarrab Khán, one of the nobles of the Dekhin, in compliance with the royal command, came in with their followers, and had an audience. Mukím Khán, who had exhibited vigour and ability in this expedition, received the title of Shujá' Khán.

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[1] "The country of Ál, a large territory (*mamlukat*) in Málwa."—*T. Alfi.*

[2] "Ján 'Alí."—*T. Alfi.*

[3] "On the borders of Malwa."—*T. Alfi.* It lies on the left bank of the Nerbadda.

In Muharram, 972 (August, 1564), the Imperial camp moved from Mandú, and was pitched in sight of the town of Nálcha.[1] Karra Bahádur Khán was appointed governor of Mandú, and an order was made directing a party of the Imperial followers who remained behind in Mandú to stay in that province along with Karra Bahádur, and zealously serve His Majesty. Two days after, the camp moved towards A'gra, and upon reaching Ujjain, it remained there four days, in consequence of heavy rain. In four days' march from thence it reached Sárangpúr, and in a week afterwards it arrived at the *pargana* of Kherár, within sight of the town. By regular stages it reached Siprí. Here the scouts brought in news of a herd of elephants, in which there was one very large animal.[2] The royal servants went in chase of them, and captured the whole of them. Proceeding by way of Narwar and Gwalior, the Emperor reached A'gra on the 3rd Rabí'u-l awwal. In the course of this year the Emperor had twins borne to him, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain; but they lived only a month.

After His Majesty returned from Mandú, and while he was enjoying himself at A'gra, he often rode out to Kákrání,[3] a village in the vicinity of the capital, which was remarkable for the purity of its air and the excellence of its water. He deemed this a suitable site for a palace, so he ordered one to be built. In a short time fine houses arose, and a great town sprung up, which was called Nagar-chín.

Account of Khwája Mu'azzam.

Khwája Mu'azzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor. He was son of 'Alí Akbar, and a descendant of Shaiku-l Islám Ahmad Jám. This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humáyún, who had felt constrained to speak about and censure his offences to his son and successor. His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him, whereupon he went to Gujarát. From thence he proceeded to Mecca, and after staying there some time he returned to the Court of Humáyún. Upon the demise of the crown, Bairám Khán Khánkhánán became the ruling power in the State, and he, knowing the character of the Khwája, procured an order for his exile. After his banishment, the Khwája stayed for a while in Gujarát, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairám Khán then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace of Bairám Khán, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwája, and gave him some districts in *jágír*. But the Khwája's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one—There was a woman named Fátima attached to the harem of the late Emperor, and the Khwája had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Ágha. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting excursion, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwája. Accordingly he sent Táhir Muhammad Khán *Mír-i farághat* and Rustam Khán to give the Khwája notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Táhir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwája's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river.[1] After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, where he died in confinement.

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[1] Five or six miles north of Mandú.

[2] "In the present day there are not such forests near Siprí as to afford shelter for droves of elephants."—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii. p. 216.

[3] "Lagrání" in one MS.; Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 80) has "Gahráwali." گلراني —*T. Alfi.* ككراني—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 298.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl says the Emperor had him and his vile associates bound hand and foot and cast into the river. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 276.

Mirzá Sulaimán's Third Visit to Kábul.

It has been before narrated how Mirzá Sulaimán came to the rescue of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, and how, after overthrowing Sháh Abú-l Ma'áli, he gave *jágírs* to his own adherents, and then returned home. Mirzá Muhammad Hakím and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshánís, drove them out of Kábul. Mirzá Sulaimán then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion. Mirzá Muhammad Hakím left Bákí Kákshál in command of his followers at Kábul, and went off himself to Jalálábád and Parsháwar. Upon reaching the river Márán,[1] Mirzá Sulaimán learnt how Mirzá Muhammad Hakím had abandoned Kábul, and gone to Jalálábád.

Mirzá Muhammad Hakím went on from Parsháwar to the shores of the Indus, and from thence forwarded to the Emperor a letter containing a statement of his grievances. Mirzá Sulaimán, on learning that Mirzá Muhammad Hakím had made an appeal to the Emperor, and had left Parsháwar, stationed one of his adherents named Kambar with three hundred men at Jalálábád, and went towards Kábul.

When the statement of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and *jágírdárs* of the Panjáb (such as Muhammad Kulí Khán Bírlás Khán-i Kalán, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, Kamál Khán Gakhar, and others) to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. These nobles, in obedience to the command, proceeded to the Indus, and joined Muhammad Hakím. Then they began their march to recover Kábul. On reaching Jalálábád they sent Mirzá Kasán into the place to summon Kambar, Mirzá Sulaimán's representative, to surrender; but that doomed one would not submit, so the Imperial forces attacked the fort. They took it in an hour, and put Kambar and all his three hundred men to the sword. Two men were allowed to go and carry the intelligence to

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[1] One MS. says simply "the river."

Mirzá Sulaimán, and the head of Kambar, with the news of the capture of the city, was sent to Bákí Kákshál at Kábul.

Mirzá Sulaimán, on hearing of the fall of Jalálábád, and the approach of the royal forces, fled to Badakhshán. Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, escorted by the Imperial nobles, returned to Kábul, and again assumed the Government. The nobles, in obedience to the orders which they had received from the Emperor, then returned to their *jágírs*, excepting Khán-i Kalán, who had been appointed guardian of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. Shortly afterwards the Mirzá, without consulting Khán-i Kalán, gave his sister, who had formerly been married to Sháh Abú-l Ma'álí, to be the wife of Khwája Husain Nakshabandí, a descendant of Khwája Baháu-d dín. Presuming upon the importance he had acquired by this marriage, the Khwája began to interfere in the affairs of the Mirzá, and to call Khán-i Kalán to account. The Khán was a hot-tempered man, and would not endure this, so he left Kábul, and went to Lahore without taking leave. Then he made a report of what had occurred to the Emperor.

Tenth Year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Sha'bán, 972 H. (11 March, 1565 A.D.). At the beginning of this year His Majesty wished to go elephant hunting. Scouts were accordingly sent out to seek for the animals, and to report when they found them. On the 1st Rajab, 972, the Emperor himself started for Narwar and Garha by way of Dhúlpúr. Upon reaching Narwar, he pitched his camp. The scouts then reported that there were several herds of elephants in the neighbouring jungles. His Majesty speedily went to the jungle, and returned after capturing all the elephants. Another day the scouts brought news to the camp that there were many elephants in a desert about eight *kos* distant. The royal servants started off, and towards the close of the day they found the animals, every one of which they captured. They drove them towards the fort of Pánwa, where they arrived in the middle of the night. Three hundred and fifty elephants were taken that day. From thence they returned to the royal camp, which was in the vicinity of Garha. There it remained nearly twenty days. The hot season now came on, and the unhealthy winds blew, and many men in the camp became weak and ill, so His Majesty returned to Ágra.

Building of the Fort of Ágra.

In this year the command was given for building a new fort of hewn stone at Ágra, instead of the old citadel, which was of brick, and had become ruinous. The foundation was accordingly laid, and in four years the fortress was completed.[1] In these days it has no equal in the world. The walls are ten *gaz* in thickness, and are built of stone and mortar. The stones are cut on both sides, and are joined with the greatest nicety. The height of the fort is more than forty *gaz*. There is a moat dug all round, and faced on both sides with stone and mortar. It is twenty *gaz* wide and ten *gaz* deep, and water is conducted into it from the river Jumna. The cost of this building was nearly three *krors* of *tankas*.[2] The date of foundation of its gates is found in the words "*binái dar-i bihisht*" (974 H.).

Rebellion of 'Alí Kulí Khán-zamán, Ibráhím Khán, and Sikandar Khán.

In consequence of the severe proceedings against 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, which have been narrated above, an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbeks. When the Emperor went to Narwar elephant hunting, Ashraf Khán *Mír-munshí* was sent to Sikandar Khán, to conciliate him with gracious promises of the Emperor's favour, and to bring him to Court. As Ashraf Khán approached Oudh, which was the

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[1] The work was carried on under the direction of Kásim Khán *Mír-i barr o bahr*, and was completed in eight years.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 311.

[2] An assessment in money amounting to the value of three *sirs* of grain per *jarib* of land was imposed, and collectors and officers (*tawáchí*) were appointed to realize it from the *jágírdárs*.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 74.

jágír of Sikandar Khán, the latter came out to meet him, and conducted him to his house with all due ceremony. He submitted to the Emperor's command, and acted as if he meant to go to Court. But after some days he said to Ashraf Khán, "Ibráhím Khán is a much greater man than I, and he is in this neighbourhood; the best thing we can do is to go to him, and get him to acquiesce in your demand. We will then go to Court together." Upon this understanding they went to the town of Saráwar,[1] which was the *jágír* of Ibráhím Khán.

When Sikandar Khán and Ibráhím Khán met, they took counsel together, and resolved to consult with 'Alí Kulí Khán, who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country. In pursuance of this resolution, and with the concurrence of Ashraf Khán, they proceeded to Jaunpúr, the *jágír* of Khán-zamán. After consultation their judgment was adverse to the course proposed, and they determined to rebel. They improperly detained Ashraf Khán, and then broke into open rebellion. Ibráhím Khán and Sikandar Khán went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khán-zamán and his brother went to Karra Mánikpúr, and there began their revolt.

Sháham Khán Jaláír, Sháh Bidágh Khán, Amír Khán, Muhammad Amín Díwána, Sultán Kulí Kháldár, with all the *jágírdárs* of his neighbourhood, Sháh Táhir Badakhshí, the brother of Sháh Khalílu-lla, and other nobles, being informed of these rebellious proceedings, marched out against the rebels, and fought against them. In the course of the fighting Muhammad Amín fell from his horse, and was made prisoner by the rebels. Sháham Khán and Bidágh Khán exerted themselves most strenuously, but as the forces of the rebels more than doubled their own, they were obliged to retreat and shut themselves up in the fort of Namíkhá,[2] from whence they sent an account to the Emperor.

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[1] "Surharpúr."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 75. *Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 314. Surharpúr is in the *sarkár* of Jaunpúr.—Elliot's *Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 112.

[2] Var. "Namakha." "Ním-kahár."—Badáúní. "Nimkar."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 345.

Khán-zamán and his brother Bahádur Khán now showed their dispositions, and began to plunder the country in their neighbourhood. Majnún Khán Kákshál,[1] the *jágírdár* of that quarter, shut himself up in the fort of Mánikpúr. He sent to inform Ásaf Khán Khwája 'Abdu-l Majíd, governor of Garha, of the state of affairs, and summoned him to his side. Leaving a detachment in charge of the country of Garha, Ásaf Khán proceeded with a strong force to Karra, which was his own *jágír*. There he divided, as a bounty among the soldiers, the treasures of Chaurágarh which had fallen into his hands. He also sent a large sum to Majnún Khán. Ásaf Khán and Majnún Khán took a bold course, and went forth to confront the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position.

When the statements of the *amírs* reached the Emperor at his encampment, he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Mu'nim Khán Khán-khánán to march in advance with a strong force, and to cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwál he crossed over the Jumna, and marched to chastise the rebels. Upon approaching Kanauj, Mu'nim Khán came forth to meet him, bringing with him Kiyá Khán Gang, who had joined the rebels, and begged forgiveness for him. The Emperor pardoned his crime, and restored him to his former position. He remained ten days waiting for an opportunity to cross the river.

When the waters subsided, intelligence was brought that Sikandar Khán, heedless of what was to happen, was still in Lucknow. Thereupon His Majesty left Khwája Jahán, Muzaffar Khán, and Mu'ín Khán in charge of the camp, while he himself started off at midnight with a valiant body of men to march against the rebel with all speed. That night and the next day he struggled through all obstacles without taking rest, and on the following morning came in sight of Sikandar at Lucknow. As soon as Sikandar heard of his approach, he hastily abandoned Lucknow and fled. The horses of the Emperor's force were quite worn out with fatigue, so Sikandar made his escape, and went off unmolested to Khán-zamán and Bahádur Khán. They also were now alarmed, and retreated from before Ásaf Khán to Jaunpúr. They marched from thence, and sending forward their adherents, they crossed the river at the ferry of Narhan, and halted on the other side of the river.

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[1] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 369.

The Emperor sent on Yúsuf Muhammad Khán[1] in advance from Lucknow, and himself followed close after him. He encamped in the neighbourhood of Jaunpúr, and there Ásaf Khán and Majnún Khán came to pay their respects, and were graciously received. Ásaf Khán brought with him some costly offerings, which were accepted. Next day his army, which had been got together by means of the treasures of Garha, and numbered five thousand horse, was drawn out in the plain and reviewed by His Majesty, who expressed his royal satisfaction. On Friday, the 12th Zí-l hijja, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpúr. Orders were given to Ásaf Khán and other great nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where 'Alí Kulí Khán and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels, and act according to circumstances. Ásaf Khán, in obedience to orders, crossed the Ganges with the force under his command.

Between 'Alí Kulí Khán-zamán and Sulaimán Kiráni Afghán, ruler of Bengal, there was a strong alliance and identity of interest; it was therefore deemed expedient to send an envoy to Sulaimán, in order to forbid his rendering assistance to Khán-zamán. Hájí Muhammad Khán Sístání, a man remarkable for prudence, was accordingly sent. When he reached the fort of Rohtás, some Afghán chiefs, who were in league with 'Alí Kulí Khán, arrested him and sent him to 'Alí Kulí. The Hájí was on very friendly terms with the Khán, who was greatly pleased to see him, and did his utmost to treat him with respect and honour. The Khán thought it advisable to make the Hájí the medium of seeking forgiveness for his offences, and determined to send his mother along with the Hájí to make intercession at Court. The result of this proceeding will be hereafter narrated.

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[1] Son of the late Atka Khán.

Orissa.

The Rája of Orissa, one of the divisions of the province of Bengal, was a powerful chief, and kept a strong hand over all the surrounding country. The Emperor sent Husain Khán Khazánchí and Mahápátar, who was an accomplished master of Hindí music, on an embassy to the Rája, holding out great promises of favour and distinction to induce him to prevent Sulaimán Khán Afghán from rendering any assistance to 'Alí Kulí Khán. After honourably entertaining Husain Khán and Mahápátar for four months, he sent them back to Court with several fine elephants and other splendid presents. This country of Orissa is an extensive territory, of which the capital is Jagannáth—Jagannáth being an idol which gives name and renown to the city.

Flight of A'saf Khán to Garha.

After A'saf Khán had joined the Emperor and shown his forces, Muzaffar Khán showed hostility towards him, and induced some persons to bring charges against him in respect of the plunder of Garha. He himself also alarmed A'saf Khán with some significant observations. This filled the heart of A'saf Khán with suspicion and anxiety. When he was made commander of the forces, and was sent against 'Alí Kulí Khán, he seized the opportunity, and at midnight went off with his brother Wazír Khán, and his party, towards Karra. Next day the chief nobles, without delay, communicated the fact of his flight to the Emperor, and the Emperor appointed Mu'nim Khán to succeed him in the command. He also sent Shujá'at Khán with a detachment in pursuit of A'saf Khán, to chastise him for his conduct. When Shujá'at Khán reached Mánikpúr, he found that A'saf Khán had gone to Karra, and intended to proceed from thence to Garha-Katanka.[1] Shujá'at Khán embarked his men in boats, intending to cross the river, and Ásaf Khán, being informed of this, turned back to the river-bank, and reached it as the boats arrived. A great struggle ensued, in which Ásaf Khán succeeded in preventing the landing of Shujá'at Khán, who was obliged to return to his own side at nightfall. In the course of the night, Ásaf Khán resumed his flight, and next morning Shujá'at Khán crossed the river in pursuit; but finding the attempt to overtake him hopeless, he fell back and rejoined the Emperor at Jaunpúr.

Mission of Kalíj Khán to the Fort of Rohtás.

This fort is situated in Bihár, and in height and strength excels all the fortresses of Hindústán. The surface of the hill upon which the fort is built is more than fourteen *kos* in length, and its width is three *kos*, and the height from the plain to the battlements is about half a *kos*.[2] From the time of Sher Khán Afghán it remained in the hands of the Afgháns, until the time when Sulaimán Kiráni became ruler of Bengal. Fath Khán Tibatí then seized upon it, and refused to submit to Sulaimán. In the year 972 H., Sulaimán collected an army, and in the expectation of the help of 'Alí Kulí Khán marched against Rohtás, and laid siege to it.

When the Imperial forces marched in that direction against Khán-zamán, Fath Khán, seizing upon this favourable chance,[3] sent his brother Husain Khán to the Emperor with rich presents, and with a message in which he said that the fort belonged to the Emperor, and that he would send him the keys as soon as the Imperial camp was pitched at Jaunpúr.

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[1] Near Jabalpúr, in Central India. See a note in Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 367.

[2] Agriculture is carried on within the fortress, and water is so abundant that if a peg is driven into the ground, or a hole is dug for a fire, water is everywhere found. —Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 78.

[3] Abú-l Fazl says that Fath Khán having professed allegiance, the Emperor sent Kalíj Khán to arrange matters. He was so far successful that Fath Khán sent his brother with Kalíj Khán to wait upon Akbar.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 236.

Sulaimán, on being informed of the approach of the Imperial forces, raised the siege. Fath Khán being thus relieved of his adversary, brought into the fort all the provisions he could collect. Repenting of having sent his brother on the mission, he now wrote to him directions to make his escape, and come into the fort, which was well stored. When the Emperor encamped at Jaunpúr, Husain Khán requested that some one might be sent with him to receive the keys of the fort. Kalíj Khán was accordingly sent to receive the keys from Fath Khán, and bring them to the Emperor. But when Kalíj Khán reached Rohtás, Fath Khán affected to comply, and detained him some days. Kalíj Khán at length discovered the duplicity of Fath Khán, and returned to Court unsuccessful.

Proceedings of 'Alí Kulí Khán (Khán-zamán).

When 'Alí Kulí Khán faced the Imperial forces at the ferry of Narhan, he sent his brother Bahádur Khán, in company with Sikandar Khán, to the country of Sarwár,[1] in order to stir up a rebellion in that country. When this news reached His Majesty's ears, he issued orders for several of the chief nobles, such as Sháh Bidágh Khán and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khán Kiyá Khán and * * * to march against Sikandar and Bahádur Khán, under the command of Mír Mu'izu-l Mulk, who was a descendant of the Saiyids of Meshhed, and was renowned for his valour.[2]

It has been already mentioned that Khán-khánán (Mu'nim Khán) was sent to take the place of Ásaf Khán in command of the army, which confronted Khán-zamán at the ferry of Narhan. Between Khán-khánán and Khán-zamán there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that

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[1] So in the MSS., and so written also by Badáúní and Abú-l Fazl. It would therefore seem to be another name of Surharpúr. See note *suprà*, p. 296.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. pp. 79, 80), on the contrary, speaks of his incapacity, and is sarcastic about the impractical temper of the people of Meshhed. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 381.

Khán-zamán should wait upon Khán-khánán to discuss the terms of peace. The negociations lingered on for four or five months, and warlike operations were suspended.

The Emperor then sent Khwája-jahán and Darbár Khán to the army, to ascertain and report if this cessation of hostilities were advisable, and if not to order an immediate advance of the Imperial forces over the river against the rebels. When Khwája-jahán and Darbár Khán reached the army, Khán-zamán resolved to profit by their arrival, and having offered his congratulations he brought forward his proposals of peace. After many communications and much correspondence, it was agreed that Khán-zamán and Ibráhím Khán on one side, and Khwája Jahán and Darbár Khán on the other side, should have an interview in boats in the middle of the river.[1] After a long discussion it was determined that Khán-zamán should send his mother, 'Alí Khán, and Ibráhím Khán his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offences. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khán and his brother and Sikandar Khán were to go to Court. Khán-zamán was also to send with his mother some elephants which he possessed. These matters being agreed upon, Khán-zamán returned to his camp. Khán-khánán and Khwája-jahán wrote a statement of the settlement, and sent it by Darbár Khán to the Emperor. Next day 'Alí Kulí Khán sent his mother, and Ibráhím Khán, and the elephants in charge of Mír Hádí his *Sadr*, and Nizám A'ká, one of his confidants. Khán-khánán and Khwája-jahán took them and the elephants, and proceeded to Court to ask forgiveness for Khán-zamán.

Just at this time accounts arrived of the operations which Mír Mu'izu-l Mulk and the other nobles were carrying on against Bahádur Khán and Sikandar, whom Khán-zamán had sent to create disturbances and make a diversion in the *sarkár* of Sarwár. When intelligence of the approach of the royal forces reached them, they halted where they were, and sent persons to Mír Mu'izu-l Mulk to assure him that they had no wish to contend against him, and entreated him to be the mediator to obtain their forgiveness from the Emperor. They promised to send the elephant which they had as an offering, and to return to their duty upon pardon being vouchsafed to them. Mu'izu-l Mulk sent to say that their offences could be purified only by the sword. Bahádur Khán again sent a person to Mu'izu-l Mulk to propose that he should wait upon him, and discuss the matter. Mu'izu-l Mulk agreed to this, and went to the border of his camp, whither Bahádur Khán came to meet him, and to make his propositions of peace. But Mu'izu-l Mulk would hear of nothing but war, so Bahádur Khán returned disappointed, and resolved to make ready for battle.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl condemns Khán-khánán's simplicity, says that it was he who met Khán-zamán on the river and settled the terms of peace, and that at his recommendation the Emperor sent Khwája-jahán to reassure Khán-zamán.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 326. But Badáúní states (vol. ii. p. 79) that Khán-khánán and Khwája-jahán went together to the meeting, attended by three or four others.

Lashkar Khán *Mír Bakhshi* and Rájá Todar Mal[1] now arrived with reinforcements for the royal army,[2] and Bahádur Khán and Sikandar Khán renewed their proposals of peace, and asked for a delay until it was ascertained what answer was given by the Emperor to the mother of Khán-jahán and to Ibráhím Khán, who had been sent to sue for forgiveness. But Mu'izu-l Mulk was so eager for war[3] that he would not listen to their words, and so brought upon himself defeat.

Mu'izu-l Mulk drew out his forces for battle, and sent on his advanced guard under Muhammad Amín Díwána, Salím Khán, 'Abdu-l Matlab Khán, Beg Múrín Khán, and other veteran soldiers; he himself took post with the main body. On the other side Sikandar had command of the advance, and Bahádur of the centre. In this order they advanced, and a warm action ensued. The royal forces defeated the advanced division under the command of Sikandar. Muhammad Yár, his son-in-law, was killed, and he himself fell back to the Black River, which was in his rear. Many of his soldiers were drowned in the river, and many others died by the sword. The victorious forces then broke up in search of plunder. Mu'izu-l Mulk, with a few men, kept his position, and Bahádur until now did not stir from his post. But now he seized the favourable moment, attacked Mu'izu-l Mulk, and drove him from his position. Muhammad Bákí Khán and other of the *amírs*, under pretence of securing the baggage, and some others, treacherously withdrew themselves and stamped themselves with disloyalty. Sháh Bidágh Khán, observing the condition of affairs, hastened forward, and in the heat of the fight was unhorsed. His son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khán rushed forward to rescue his father; but just at that juncture a party of the enemy made a charge and took Bidágh Khán prisoner, and it was only by dint of great exertion that 'Abdu-l Matlab made his escape. Mír Mu'izu-l Mulk was compelled to turn his back and flee. Rájá Todar Mal and Lashkar Khán, who were in reserve, struggled valiantly till night, and maintained their position; but as the centre had been driven away, their efforts were fruitless.

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[1] Rájá Todar Mal, the celebrated financier and administrator, was a Khatrí and a native of Lahore. His father died when the son was quite young, and left no provision for him. The young man entered life as a writer, but he soon rose from that humble position, and was employed by Sher Sháh in superintending the erection of New Rohtás (*suprà*, p. 114). It was under the able government of Sher Sháh that his natural talents were trained and developed, so that he was afterwards of inestimable service to Akbar, and made a name which still remains famous. This is the first time the *Tabakát* mentions him, but henceforward he is one of the most prominent and active of all the able subordinates of Akbar. He died on the 11th day of the year 998 (10 Nov. 1589).

[2] "They were sent to hasten on a decision either for peace or war."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 80.

[3] "Mu'iz was all fire, and Rájá Todar Mal poured on oil and naphtha."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 80.

Next day all the defeated forces assembled in one place,[1] and made for Kanauj, after sending a report of the engagement to His Majesty.

It has already been related how Khán-khánán conducted the mother of Khán-zamán and Ibráhím Khán, with Mír Hádí *Sadr* and Nizám Áká, to the Court of the Emperor. Ibráhím Khán, with uncovered head and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khán-khánán entreated forgiveness. He urged that the services of Khán-zamán and his brother to the Imperial throne were manifest to all men, and the services they had rendered were invaluable. By the influence of their destiny they had now been guilty of an offence; but he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon the faults of such useful servants.

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[1] "At Shergarh."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 72.

When this old servant thus besought forgiveness for past offences with a face full of hope, the Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khán-khánán, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful." Khán-khánán then inquired what the order was as regarded their *jágírs*, and His Majesty replied, "As I have pardoned their offences, what question can there be about their *jágírs*? But so long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakíls* there, and *farmáns* for their *jágírs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession." Khán-khánán cast a look of joy to heaven, and sent the good news of the pardon to the mother of Khán-zamán. By command of the Emperor, the sword and shroud were taken off the neck of Ibráhím Khán. Khán-zamán's mother immediately sent messengers to Sikandar and Bahádur Khán, to carry the glad tidings of the pardon, and to inspire them with hope. She also advised them to send directly to Court the elephants which they possessed. Sikandar and Bahádur were greatly delighted at this information, and sent the elephants called Koh-pára and Saf-shikan, along with other gifts, to His Majesty.

At the same time the report arrived from Rájá Todar Mal and Lashkar Khán upon the action which had been fought, and upon the misconduct of some of the *amírs*, as above related. His Majesty had pardoned the offences (of Sikandar and Bahádur Khán), so he said "their faults have been forgiven;" and to carry out his decision he sent orders to his *amírs* to return to Court. Mír Mu'izu-l Mulk, Rájá Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khán, accordingly returned; but those who had acted disgracefully were forbidden to make their appearance for a time.

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunár, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpúr to Benares, and there rested several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened. Here he was informed that there were many elephants in the jungles of Chunár, so he set off with a party of his attendants on a hunting expedition. At ten *kos* distance they found a herd, and having captured ten, they returned to the fort of Chunár, and from thence to the Imperial camp.

March against 'Alí Kulí Khán-zamán.

It has been above related how Khán-zamán was pardoned, and his *jágírs* restored, upon condition that he did not pass over the river without permission. But when the Emperor had gone to Chunár, he crossed the river, and went to Muhammadábád, one of the dependencies of Jaunpúr, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Gházípúr and Jaunpúr. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of 'Alí Kulí Khán's, and he said reproachfully to Khán-khánán, "No sooner had I quitted this neighbourhood than 'Alí Kulí Khán broke the conditions of his pardon." Khán-khánán looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

Orders were given for Ashraf Khán *Mír-bakhshí* to go to Jaunpúr, and make prisoner the mother of 'Alí Kulí Khán, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpúr. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of. Khwája Jahán and Muzaffar Khán were to remain with the camp, and lead it by regular marches. The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against 'Alí Kulí Khán. Ja'far Khán, son of Karák Khán Turkomán, who had come from 'Irák, went to the fort of Gházípúr, intending to make a dash at it; but 'Alí Kulí Khán's people, who were in the fort, hearing of his intention, let themselves down from the walls on to the river Ganges, and went to Muhammadábád.

Khán-zamán, who was in that town, on being informed of what had occurred, hastened to make his escape by the water. When he reached the river Sarwar (Sarú), some boats, laden with his property and effects, fell into the hands of the royal forces. A body of troops was sent across the river with orders to take no rest until they had secured Khán-zamán. The forces under the Emperor occupied the banks of the Sarwar (Sarú), and after searching all the jungles, they found that Khán-zamán had gone off to the Siwálik hills.[1] News now arrived that Bahádur Khán had gone to Jaunpúr,[2] and liberated his mother. He made Ashraf Khán prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp.[3] Upon learning this, the Emperor gave up the chase of Khán-zamán, and turned towards Jaunpúr. The detachment also, which had been sent on in pursuit of him, returned and joined the Emperor. Sikandar and Bahádur Khán, being informed of this movement, made a retreat, and crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan.

In the month of Rajab, when the royal camp was near the *pargana* of Nizámábád, the annual *Majlis-i wazn* was held. Twice every year, on the Emperor's birthday, both according to the solar and lunar reckoning, the ministers and nobles weighed the Emperor against gold, silver, and other things, which things were afterwards distributed among the poor and needy.[4]

The Emperor marched from Nizámábád to Jaunpúr, where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built; and the nobles also were to build houses and palaces suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as 'Alí Kulí Khán and his brother should remain in the world, Jaunpúr should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them. When 'Alí Kulí Khán heard of this, he left the Siwálik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower named Mirzá Mubárak Rizwí[1] to Court with a message. This man went along with the mother of Khán-zamán to Khán-khánán, and delivered his message. Khán-khánán, with the assistance of Mír 'Abdu-l Latíf, Mullá 'Abdu-lla Makhdúmu-l Mulk, who was Shaikhu-l Islám of Hind, and Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí the *Sadr*, again made intercession for Khán-zamán; and the Emperor, in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences.

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[1] He proceeded first to the fort of Jalúpára.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 335.

[2] He took the fort by escalade.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 83.

[3] He levied contributions at Jaunpúr, and afterwards at Benares.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 336.

[4] This is a Hindu practice, and Badáúní says (vol. ii. p. 84) the gold and other things were given to the brahmans and others.

Khwája-jahán, Mír Murtaza Sharífí, and Makhdúmu-l Mulk were commanded to go to Khán-zamán, to reprove him, and to convey to him the glad tidings of his forgiveness. When the party reached the camp of Khán-zamán, he came forth to meet them, and conducted them with great honour to his dwelling. He detained them some time, and treated them most respectfully. Then as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the eleventh year of the reign, corresponding with 973 H.

Eleventh year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 20th Sha'bán, 973 H. (12th March, 1566). The Court reached the capital Ágra at the beginning of this year, on Friday, the 8th

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[1] This was the title he afterwards acquired. He was at this time called Mirzá Mírak.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 84.

Ramazán. After a few days' rest and pleasure, the Emperor visited Nagar-chín, a fine building which he had founded. [*His pleasure in the game of chaugán; game played at night with fire-balls. Death of Muhammad Yúsuf Khán Atka, Kokaltásh of the Emperor, from excessive drinking.*]

March of Mahdí Kásim Khán to Garha, and Flight of A'saf Khán to Khán-zamán.

The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of 'Alí Kulí Khán and other rebels, Mahdí Kásim Khán, one of the old nobles of the Imperial house, was sent with 3000 or 4000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture A'saf Khán. Before Mahdí Kásim Khán arrived, A'saf Khán quitted the fort of Chaurágarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter, full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on the pilgrimage. Mahdí Kásim Khán, on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of A'saf Khán, who then wrote letters to Khán-zamán, proposing to go and join him. Khán-zamán wrote in reply, inviting him to come to him. A'saf Khán, deceived by this, went to Jaunpúr, along with his brother Wazír Khán; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khán-zamán, and was sorry that he had come. Mahdí Kásim Khán, being in despair of capturing the fugitive, returned to Garha, and he sent back to Court the men who had been despatched to reinforce him.

Khán-zamán sent A'saf Khán along with Bahádur Khán to seize upon some territories which were in the hands of the Afghâns; but he kept Wazír Khán near himself, and appointed men to watch him. Wazír Khán sent a person to A'saf Khán to say, "I intend to fly from this place at such and such a time: do you also in some way or other get away from Bahádur Khán." A'saf Khán accordingly, leaving all his baggage and property behind, went off in the night, and took the road to Karra-Mánikpúr. In the course of the night he travelled thirty *kos*, but Bahádur Khán pursued him, and overtook him between Jaunpúr and Mánikpúr. A fight ensued, in which Ásaf Khán was defeated and taken prisoner. Bahádur Khán threw him into a *howda* on an elephant, and went on his way, when Wazír Khán, who had got away from Khán-zamán, came up. Bahádur Khán, feeling that he was unable to cope with Wazír Khán, gave orders for putting Ásaf Khán to death at once in the *howda*. Sword-cuts were aimed at Ásaf Khán, three of his fingers were cut off, and he received a wound also in the nose; but Wazír Khán fought his way through, and rescued his brother. The two brothers then went to Karra, and Bahádur Khán returned without accomplishing his object. Wazír Khán proceeded to Court, and, through the intervention of Muzaffar Khán, he was admitted to an audience, and received pardon for his own and his brother's offences, while His Majesty was near Lahore, engaged in the pursuit of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím and in hunting, as will be related in their appropriate place. A *farmán* of favour and conciliation was sent to Ásaf Khán.

Mirzá Sulaimán's fourth attempt upon Kábul.

It has been related in a former page how Mirzá Sulaimán led his army against Kábul, and how the Imperial forces were sent to the assistance of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. Mirzá Sulaimán, unable to resist, retreated to Badakhshán, and the Imperial nobles, having taken leave of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, returned to Hindústán. Sulaimán being now informed of the return of the Emperor's forces, assembled his army in Badakhshán, and marched with his wife Khurram Begam to effect the conquest of Kábul. Mirzá Muhammad Hakím left Kábul in charge of Ma'súm Koka, who was in his confidence, and had a reputation for courage. He himself went with Khwája Hasan Nakshabandí and the army into the valley of the Ghorband. Mirzá Sulaimán advanced to Kábul, and invested the fortress. When he found that he was not likely to capture it, he took counsel, and sent his wife Khurram Begam into Ghorband to Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, in order to delude him with a show of kindness and friendship, and to prevail over him by plausible representations. Khurram Begam accordingly left Mirzá Sulaimán before Kábul, and went towards Ghorband. She sent forward some persons to assure Mirzá Muhammad Hakím of her great affection for him, that having no son of her own, she looked upon him as her son, and that the great object of her journey was to bring about concord and unity.

Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, in consequence of this message, determined to have a meeting with Khurram Begam at Karábágh, which is about ten *kos* from Kábul; and he sent messengers to her to inform her of his intention, and to receive from her satisfactory assurances. Khurram Begam showed great joy at the prospect of a meeting, and affirmed with strong oaths that she had no deceitful or treacherous designs, and that her sole object was unanimity. The messengers listened to these words and returned. They had not gone far, when that stupid[1] woman sent off messengers in hot haste to Mirzá Sulaimán, informing him of the intended meeting at Karábágh, and advising him to come there secretly with all speed, and await his opportunity. Mirzá Sulaimán left Muhammad Kulí Shaghálí, a man of courage and one of his confidential nobles, with 1000 men, in charge of his daughters, who were with him in his camp at Kábul. With the rest of the army he made a forced march to the neighbourhood of Karábágh, and there took post in ambush.

The messengers sent by Mirzá Muhammad Hakím to Khurram Begam returned to him, and reported all her assurances and pledges. They strongly urged him to meet her, and Khwája Hasan Nakshabandí exerted his influence to the same end. But Bákí Kákshál was opposed to the Mirzá's going, and said the woman was intent upon some stratagem and deception. Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, however, having promised to meet Khurram Begam, would not listen to Bákí Kákshál's objections, and proceeded with a few trusty followers towards Karábágh. When they reached the appointed place, some of Mirzá Sulaimán's soldiers, who had got separated in the night, came in and made known the fact of Mirzá Sulaimán having come; and of his lying in concealment. As soon as he was informed of this, Mirzá Muhammad Hakím returned, and Sulaimán, being informed of his departure, set off in pursuit. In the pass of Sanjad-darra they overtook some of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím's men, and made them prisoners. They also plundered the Mirzá's baggage, etc., which was in the rear, and they stopped in the pass. The Mirzá himself, along with Muhammad Hakím, reached Ghorband. From thence they went to Jalálábád, and afterwards to the banks of the Indus.

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[1] *nákis-'akl*, hardly an appropriate epithet.

As soon as he crossed the river, the Mirzá wrote a letter to the Emperor, and sent it by his envoys. They reached the Court at the time it was at Nagar-chín, and were honoured with an interview. They presented the Mirzá's letter, in which he set forth the unfortunate state of his affairs. Intelligence of the distractions at Kábul had reached the Court before their arrival, and the Emperor had appointed Farídún Khán, maternal uncle of the Mirzá, and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. He now sent Khush-khabr Khán, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindústán, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirzá; and he wrote a *farmán*, in which he said that if the Mirzá required assistance, he would send the *amírs* of the Panjáb to support him.

When Khush-khabr Khán approached the camp, the Mirzá hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farmán*. After the arrival of Khush-khabr Khán, Farídún laboured to instigate the Mirzá to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mirzá to seize Khush-khabr Khán. But although the Mirzá had been led away by his foolish persuasions, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabr Khán; so he invited the Khán to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultán 'Alí, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khán, brother of Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, who was in Kábul, helped to excite the hostile spirit, and added their voices to Farídún's.

Won over by their persuasions, the Mirzá broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Panjáb, such as Mír Muhammad Khán-i Kalán,[1] Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, and Sharíf Muhammad, hearing of these proceedings, assembled in Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mirzá's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirzá encamped in the garden of Mahdí Kásim Khán, which is in sight of the city. Several times he marshalled his forces, and advanced to the foot of the fortifications; but the *amírs* of the Panjáb repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mirzá, feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

March of the Army to Lahore.

When the hostile proceedings of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím became known to the Emperor, his countenance showed the anger which he felt, and he gave orders for the preparation of the army. Leaving Mu'nim Khán Khán-khánán in charge of Ágra, the capital, and Muzaffar Khán in direction of the *díwání*, on the 3rd Jumáda-l awwal, 974 H., he began his march. In ten days he reached Dehlí, and went to visit the shrines of the saints who there repose, and bestowed his royal bounty on the poor and needy. From thence he proceeded by regular marches to Sirhind. He was greatly pleased with the *bázárs* of this town, and commended Háfiz Rakhna, who was the *shikkdár*, and placed the *sarkárdári* of that place in his charge. After crossing the Jumna, he received intelligence of the flight of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, but he went on joyfully to Lahore. Upon approaching the city, the great *amírs*, who had exhibited their loyalty and devotion, came forth to meet him, and received distinguished marks of royal favour. In the month of Rajab he arrived at Lahore, the *dáru-s saltanat*, and took up his abode in the house of Mahdí Kásim Khán, in the citadel. By command of His Majesty, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán and Kamál Khán Gakhar went in pursuit of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, and advanced beyond the *pargana* of Bahra. There they learnt that the Mirzá had crossed the Indus, so they returned.

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[1] "And all the Atka *amírs*," *i.e.* all the relations of Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Atka.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 91. The Khán-i Kalán was elder brother of Shamsu-d dín.

When Mirzá Muhammad Hakím heard that Mirzá Sulaimán had gone back to Badakhshán, he made haste to Kábul. It has been related in a former page how Mirzá Sulaimán left his daughters in his camp at Kábul, and went off in haste to seize upon Mirzá Muhammad Hakím at Karábágh. Next day Muhammad Ma'súm Koka, whom Mirzá Muhammad Hakím had left in command at Kábul, sent out a force to attack the besiegers' camp, and defeated them. Muhammad Kulí Shaghálí, who was in command, gave up his baggage to plunder, and went off with the daughters of Mirzá Sulaimán to Chahár-díwár Bágh, a place in the vicinity, and there entrenched himself. The Kábul forces surrounded the place, and sought to make him and Mirzá Sulaimán's daughters their prisoners; but Ma'súm Koka, considering it unseemly to make prisoners of the ladies, recalled his men. Mirzá Sulaimán returned unsuccessful from Karábágh, and again laid siege to Kábul, but Ma'súm Koka had grown bold and daring. Every day he sent out parties of men, and sorely troubled the besiegers. The weather grew very cold, so Mirzá Sulaimán became desirous of peace. Ma'súm Koka was aware of his distress, and was anxious to fight, so he would not make peace. Finally, Mirzá Sulaimán sent in Kází Khán Badakhshí, who had been tutor of Ma'súm Koka, and prevailed upon him to send the Mirzá a small present. Peace was thus made. The Mirzá first sent on his wife, and then followed her to Badakhshán.

When the Imperial Court arrived at Lucknow, many of the zamíndárs of the country came in to pay their allegiance, and were graciously received. Those who were unable to come themselves sent their representatives with presents and offerings, and their assurances of loyalty. Among them, Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán, son of Mirzá 'Ísá, ruler of Sindh, sent his ambassadors to Court, to say that his father, who had been one of the dependents of the Imperial throne, was dead, and that he, the successor, considered himself among the vassals of the Emperor. Sultán Mahmúd, the governor (*wali*) of the fort, supported by the Kazilbáshís of Kandahár, was making attacks upon his territories, and he therefore besought the Emperor to prevent these molestations. In compliance with this application, the Emperor sent a *farmán* to Sultán Mahmúd, directing him to keep within his own boundaries, and not to attack the territories of Muhammad Bákí.

During the stay at Lahore, a letter arrived from Ágra, from Mu'nim Khán Khán-khánán, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá and Ulúgh Mirzá, by name Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and Sháh Mirzá, who held *jágírs* in the *sarkár* of Sambal, had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khán-khánán, had marched as far as Dehlí to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Maudú. This Muhammad Sultán Mirzá was son of Wís Mirzá, son of Mankará Mirzá, son of Mansúr, son of Mankará, son of 'Umar Shaikh, son of Amír Tímúr Gúrgán *Sáhib-kirán*. His mother was a daughter of Sultán Husain Mirzá. After the death of Sultán Husain Mirzá, he came to the Court of the Emperor Bábar, and was honourably received. The Emperor Humáyún also treated him with consideration during the days of his reign. His sons, Ulúgh Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, were also in the service of Humáyún. These men had several times been guilty of rebellious actions, and their offences had been forgiven. Ulúgh Beg was killed in an attack upon the Hazára country, and Sháh Mirzá was killed by the arrows of robbers in the pass of Ma'múra, about ten *parasangs* from Kábul. Ulúgh Beg left two sons, Sultán Muhammad Mirzá and Sikandar Mirzá. His Majesty [Humáyún] treated them kindly, and to Sikandar Mirzá he gave the title of Ulúgh Mirzá, and to Sultán Muhammad Mirzá the title of Sháh Mirzá. When the Emperor Akbar succeeded to the throne, Muhammad Sultán Mirzá had grown old, so he was excused service, and the *pargana* of 'Azampur, in Sambal, was settled upon him for his maintenance. Several sons were borne to him in his old age—Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and 'Ákil Husain Mirzá. To every one of these the Emperor gave suitable *jágírs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amírs*. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpúr campaign, they repaired to their *jágírs*, and remained in Sambal. But when His Majesty went to Lahore, to repress the attempt of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, Ulúgh Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, in concert with their uncles Ibráhím Husain and Mirzá Muhammad Husain, broke out into rebellion, and attacked several *parganas*. But the *jágírdárs* of the neighbourhood gathered together and attacked them, so that they had to fly to Málwa, as will be related in the sequel.

Twelfth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 2nd Ramazán, 974 H. (12th Feb. 1567). At the beginning of this year, which was near the *Nauroz*, His Majesty determined to go out for a *Kamurgha*[1] hunt. An order was issued to all the great *amírs* for forty miles round Lahore to drive the animals together into a large plain, situated about five *kos* from Lahore.

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[1] *Kamurgha*, a Turkí word for a great *battue*, in which the game is driven into a centre by a large circle of beaters.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. pp. 354, 421.

Accordingly the *amírs*, under the direction of Mír Muhammad Atka, drove together about fifteen thousand animals, deer, *nil-gáos,* jackals, foxes, etc., into that plain. The extent of this hunting ground was five *kos* on every side, and the Emperor's tent (*kasar*), which he used in his campaigns, was brought here and set up. The Emperor then mounted, and went out to hunt. The *amírs* and the *kháns* daily drew their lines closer, and narrowed the circle. When several days had passed in this sport, His Majesty graciously gave his attendants permission to shoot, and afterwards made the permission general, so that there was no soldier or any person who did not get several kinds of game. After the sport was over, the Emperor returned towards the city, and on reaching the river of Lahore, he plunged into the water on horseback and swam over. Of the attendants who followed His Majesty, Khush-khabr Khán *Yasáwal* and Mír Muhammad, son of Sher Muhammad Kúrdár, were drowned. While the hunt was going on, Hamíd Bakrí, one of the most favoured equerries (*yasáwal*), having drunk too much, had wounded one of the Emperor's attendants with an arrow. This person found an opportunity in the course of the hunting to complain to the Emperor, who ordered Kalíj Khán to strike off the offender's head. Kalíj Khán used a sword, which broke with the blow, without doing the culprit any harm. When the Emperor saw this, he respited him, but had him exposed to public derision.

About this time Muzaffar Khán, who had been left in charge of the *díwání* at Ágra, proceeded to the camp of the Emperor, along with Wazír Khán, brother of Ásaf Khán, and joined it while he was out on the hunting excursion. The author's father, who had remained behind at Ágra on government business, accompanied Muzaffar Khán on this journey, and I, the author of this work, went along with my father. In fine, the Emperor forgave the offences of Ásaf Khán and Wazír Khán, and admitted the latter to an audience. A command was given that Ásaf Khán, along with Majnún Khán Kákshál, should go to

Karra-Mánikpúr, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories.

Intelligence now arrived that 'Alí Kulí Khán, Bahádur Khán, and Sikandar Khán had again broken their engagements, and risen in rebellion.[1] Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakíl* Mirzá Mírak Rizwí in custody of Khán Bákí Khán, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Panjáb in the charge of Mír Muhammad Khán and all the Atkas, on the 12th Ramazán, 974 H. (22nd March, 1567), he started on his return to Ágra.

When the Emperor arrived at Thánesar, there was an assemblage of *Jogís* and *Sannyásís* on the banks of a lake called Kurkhet. This is a sacred place of the brahmans, and on occasion of eclipses the people of Hindústán flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion, and the people were bestowing their gifts of gold and silver, and jewels and stuffs, upon the brahmans. Many of them threw themselves into the water, and the *Jogís* and *Sannyásís*[2] were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the Emperor, seeking permission to settle it by fighting. The *Sannyásís* were between two and three hundred in number, and the *Jogís*, who wear only rags, were over five hundred. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by the Emperor's order, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes, and went to support the *Sannyásís*, who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued, and many were killed. The Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the *Jogís* were defeated, and the *Sannyásís* were the victors.

When the Imperial camp reached Dehlí, Mirzá Mírak Rizwí, who had been left in the charge of Khán Bákí Khán, made his escape, and although the Khán pursued him, he did not succeed in recapturing him, and so, being apprehensive of the Emperor's displeasure, he himself fled. Tátár Khán, the governor of Dehlí, reported that Muhammad Amín Díwána,[1] who had fled from Lahore, had gone to the house of Shaháb Khán Turkomán, where he stayed some days, and after obtaining from him pecuniary assistance and a horse, had gone off to join the insurgents. This greatly incensed the Emperor, and he directed Sháh Fakhru-d dín Meshhedí to apprehend Shaháb Khan. When the Emperor was encamped at the village of Palwal,[2] Shaháb Khán was brought in for punishment, and was there executed.

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[1] They had caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 359.

[2] Abú-l Fazl says the two sects were called "Gurs and Puris" (*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 361); and he also speaks of the pleasure that Akbar derived from witnessing the fight.

Upon arriving at A'gra, the Emperor was informed that Khánzamán was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj, in which fort Mirzá Yúsuf Khán was shut up. Nineteen days after his arrival at A'gra, the Emperor left Khán-khánán in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd Shawwal, 974 H., marched towards Jaunpúr. When he reached the *pargana* of Saket, 'Alí Kulí Khán decamped from before Shergarh, and fled to his brother Bahádur Khán, who was in Mánikpúr. The royal camp was next pitched near the town of Bhojpúr, and the Emperor detached Muhammad Kulí Khán Bírlás, Muzaffar Khán, Rájá Todar Mal, Sháh Bidágh Khán and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Hasan Khán, 'A'dil Muhammad, Khwája Ghiyásu-d dín 'Alí *Bakhshí*, and other officers, with nearly 6000 horse, against Sikandar, who was in Oudh. He himself continued his march towards Mánikpúr.

When he reached the *pargana* of Rái Bareilly, he learnt that 'Alí Kulí Khán and Bahádur Khán had crossed the Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kálpí.[3] He then directed his camp to proceed under the command of Khwája Jahán to the fort of Karra, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Mánikpúr.[1] There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1000 to 1500 men swam the river along with him. Majnún Khán and Ásaf Khán, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that 'Alí Kulí Khán and Bahádur Khán had occupied themselves all that night in wine-drinking and licentiousness, and were heedless of everything else. The warlike demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Majnún Khán, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

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[1] He had made an attempt upon the life of one of the Imperial generals, and was condemned to death; but his punishment was commuted for the bastinado and imprisonment. He received the corporal punishment, and escaped next day.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 358.

[2] Half-way between Dehlí and Muttra.

[3] The *Akbar-náma* (vol. ii. p. 366) says "Gwálior."

On Sunday, the 1st Zí-l hijja, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Ásaf Khán and all the Atkas[2] were on the right; Majnún Khán and other *amírs* were on the left. This day His Majesty rode an elephant called Bálsundar, and Mirzá Koka, who bore the title of 'Azam Khán, was seated in the *howda* with him. The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces, and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor.[3] Bábá Khán Kákshál, who commanded the advance, repulsed them and drove them back upon the lines of 'Alí Kulí Khán. In the confusion, the horse of one of the fugitives ran against the horse of 'Alí Kulí Khán, and the Khán's turban fell off. Bahádur Khán saw this, and his spirit being roused, he made a bold charge upon the advanced guard under Bábá Khán, and drove it back upon the ranks of Majnún Khán. Bahádur Khán in the pursuit came between these two forces. He fought manfully, but his horse, being wounded by an arrow, became unmanageable, and he was thrown to the ground and made prisoner.

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[1] There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded, and the river much swollen.—*Akbaa-náma*, vol. ii. p. 366.

[2] The word "Atkas" is taken from Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 96). The name used in the MSS. of the *Tabakát* is doubtful.

[3] Only 500 men and 500 elephants had managed to keep up with the Emperor. The rest followed and took part in the fight as they arrived.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 368.

As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant and mounted a horse. Then he gave orders for the elephants to be driven against the lines of 'Alí Kulí Khán. There was among them an elephant named Híránand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyána; but Híránand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. 'Alí Kulí Khán received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and 'Alí Kulí Khán also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him, when 'Alí Kulí Khán cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahádur placed Bahádur Khán behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amirs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of 'Alí Kulí Khán-zamán was also brought.[1] The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for this victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwál, one of the dependencies of Josí and Payág, now known as Illahábás, on Monday, the 1st Zí-l hijja, 974 H.

While the Emperor was on his campaign against Khán-zamán, the author's father remained at Ágra, in the performance of his duty to the Emperor, and the author himself was at Ágra with him. Every day turbulent and designing men spread disastrous news. One day I said to one of my companions, "Suppose we set some favourable reports afloat?" and he asked what we should say, and I replied, "Let us say that news has come that they are bringing in the heads of Khán-zamán and Bahádur

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[1] His death being doubted, a reward was offered for every head. His head was then brought in and recognized.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 371.

Khán." I told this story to several persons. Three days afterwards 'Abdu-lla, son of Murád Beg, brought in the heads of Khán-zamán and Bahádur Khán. The rumour was started in Ágra on the very day they were slain.[1]

When the Emperor's mind was relieved from all apprehension about his adversaries, he proceeded to Josí and Payág, and there rested two days. Some persons, who had deserted the royal army to join 'Alí Kulí Khán, were here brought in, and were handed over to keepers. He then proceeded to Benares.[2] Every follower of 'Alí Kulí Khán who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpúr, and remained three days in sight of that city. Some of 'Alí Kulí Khán's men, who had escaped from the battle-field and fled to Jaunpúr, were all forgiven and kindly treated. From thence he went, attended by four or five persons, and, by rapid travelling, in the course of three days he reached the Ganges, at the ferry of Karra and Mánikpúr, where there was a camp. Crossing the river in a boat, he went and rested in the fortress. Then he wrote to Mu'ním Khán Khán-khánán, summoning him from Ágra.

Several *jágírdárs* of the Eastern province paid their respects, and were dismissed with honour. Some men of 'Alí Kulí's army, who were prisoners and always intent upon creating a disturbance, such as Khán Kulí Uzbek, Yár 'Alí and Mirzá Beg Kákshál, people of Majnún 'Alí Khán, Khushhál Beg one of the guards of the late Emperor Humáyún, Mír Sháh Badakhshí, and other malcontents, met with a terrible fate.[3]

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[1] Abú-l Fazl tells a similar story of his father. He says that while the Emperor was on this campaign, the hopes of the disaffected rose to the highest pitch, and Mu'ním Khán, who was in charge of the capital, was sorely troubled. In his perplexity, he consulted Shaikh Mubárak, who predicted that the heads of the rebels would be brought in.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 373.

[2] The people of Benares had closed their gates, so orders were given for plundering the city.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 373.

[3] Trampled to death by elephants.—*T. Alfi.* Badáúní informs us (vol. ii. p. 100) that Kází Tawáísí, the Kází of the Imperial camp, gave it as his opinion that the execution of these prisoners and the seizure of their property was unlawful. For this independent judgment he was dismissed.

Mirzá Mírak Rizwí Meshhedí, the *vakíl* of 'Alí Kulí Khán, who had fled from Court to join the latter, was taken prisoner on the day of battle, and was ordered to be cast under the feet of an elephant. But the elephant merely rubbed him with his trunk, and finally, in virtue of his being a *saiyid*, his crime was forgiven.

Khán-khánán, who had been summoned from Ágra, now waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the *jágírs* of 'Alí Kulí Khán and Bahádur Khán in Jaunpúr, Benares, Gházípúr, the fort of Chunár and Zamániya, as far as the ferry of Chaunsa. He also received a present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season, in Zí-l hijja, 974, the Emperor began his homeward march, and in Muharram, 975, arrived at Ágra.

It has been previously mentioned that Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás and Muzaffar Khán were sent with a force against Sikandar, and went towards Oudh. On hearing of their approach, Sikandar took refuge in a fort.[1] The royal forces came up and laid siege to the fort. Sikandar was already hard pressed, when the news arrived of the destruction of 'Alí Kulí Khán and Bahádur Khán. This greatly dispirited the Uzbeks, and they sent men to 'Alí Kulí and Muzaffar Khán, to treat for peace. Having thus engaged the commanders in negociations, Sikandar evacuated the fort by the gate towards the river, and embarked in boats. As he had all the boats, the Imperial generals were unable to cross the river. Sikandar again sent a message to them, declaring that he was quite ready to keep the engagement he had made, but his men were suspicious. He therefore requested that they would come out in a boat to the middle of the river, and he would meet them with two or three persons and settle the terms. This would satisfy his men, and they would proceed together to Court. Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás, Muzaffar Khán, and Rájá Todar Mal agreed to this proposition, and went out to the middle of the stream. Sikandar Khán, on the other side, came out with two or three persons, and had the interview.[1] The *amirs* promised to sue for the pardon of Sikandar, and swore that they would make no attack on the lives or property of him or his men. Upon this agreement, they separated, and each party went to his own side.

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[1] The fort of Oudh.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 101.

Sikandar then made two days' march, and wrote to the *amirs*, stating that the rise of the waters had prevented his staying on the banks of the river. On hearing of his departure, the *amirs* went after him. When they reached Gorakhpúr, they discovered that he had crossed the river and gone off. The country before them belonged to the Afghâns, into which they could not enter without the order of the Emperor. They wrote a statement of the position to Court, and received an answer to the effect, that as Sikandar had left the Imperial territory, it was unnecessary to pursue him. His estates and *jágirs* were given to Muhammad Kulí Khán Birlás. The *amirs*, on being acquainted with the contents of the letter, left Muhammad Kulí Khán, and returned to Court.

Conquest of the Fort of Chitor.[2]

Many *zamíndárs* and *rájás* of Hindústán had become subjects of the Imperial throne. ButRáná Udí Singh, Rájá of Márwár, confident in the strength of his fortresses, and the number of his men and elephants, had thrown off his allegiance. Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of 'Alí Kulí Khán and other rebels, he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor. He accordingly began to make preparations for the campaign. The *pargana* of Bayána was taken from Hájí Muhammad Khán Sístání, and given in *jágir* to Ásaf Khán, who was ordered to proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor followed to the town of Bárí, with the avowed intention of hunting, and there killed a thousand animals in sport. Then he ordered his army to be brought up, and proceeded onwards to Mú-maidána. When he reached the fort of Súpar,[1] he found that, hearing of his approach, the men who garrisoned that fort for Rái Surjan of Rantambhor, had abandoned it and fled to Rantambhor. The fort was placed in charge of Nazar Bahádur, one of the Imperial adherents. From thence he went on to Kota, one of the *parganas* of that country, of which he made Sháh Muhammad Khán Kandahári the governor. Next he marched to Gágrún,[2] on the borders of Málwa.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl places this conference after Sikandar's escape, and says that he demanded the restoration of his *jágir* and offices, and acted in a very false and unworthy manner.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 377.

[2] See *suprà*, p. 169.

Mirzá Ulúgh and Mirzá Sháh, sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, had fled from Sambal, and had come into these parts, where they had begun a revolt, which the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress. He therefore appointed Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, Sháh Bidágh Khán, Muhammad Murád Khán, and Hájí Muhammad Sístání to *jágírs* in Mandú, and charged them with that duty. When the *amírs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mirzás, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarát, to Changíz Khán, the ruler of that country, who had been one of the adherents of Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí. So the *amírs* obtained possession of Mandú without opposition.

When the Emperor marched from Gágrún,Ráná Udí Singh left seven or eight thousand men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rájpút named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain, in the fort of Mírtha, as before related. The Ráná himself, with all his relatives and dependents, took refuge in the hills and jungles.

The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*, and the width half a *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amírs*.

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[1] Or "Síwí-Súpar."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 381. "Sheopoor," 120 miles S.W. of Agra.

[2] Near the junction of the Ahú and Kálí Sind in Kota.

The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Ásaf Khán was sent to Rámpúr,[1] a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kulí Khán was sent with a detachment towards Údípúr and Kombalmír,[2] which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the Ráná. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Ráná, he returned to the Imperial camp.

When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sábáts*, and the digging of mines. About 5000 builders and carpenters and stonemasons were collected, and began their work of constructing *sábáts* on two sides of the fort. A *sábát* is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance (from the fort), and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kúcha*) is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sábát* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i bádsháhi*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.

While the *sábát* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sábát* was completed, and carried close to the fort.

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[1] About fifty miles S.E. from Chitor. Ásaf Khán had previously reduced the fort of Mándal (the "Mundalour" of Malcolm's map, ten miles S.E. of Gágrún?).—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. pp. 395, 396.

[2] Thirty-four miles N.W. of Údípúr.

The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery, fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded, and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes, who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamalú-d dín and * * * and a great number of the Emperor's attendants, were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sábát* which had been laid down in the battery of Shujá'at Khán was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th Sha'bán, 975 H., the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sábát*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died upon the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place, and burnt them. This proceeding, in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *jauhar*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sábát*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. 'Ádil Muhammad Kandahárí * * * * and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night the fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8000 Rájpúts who were in the place received the reward of their deeds.[1] After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Ásaf Khán was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital, on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'bán.

A curious incident in this siege was this: A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at that moment a gun was fired from the fortress, and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb, and did him no harm.

When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, which is at Ajmír. In performance of this vow, he set off for Ajmír, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th Ramazán, he reached Ajmír. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl states that the number of the slain amounted to near *si hazár* (30,000); but perhaps *síh hazár*, 3000, is meant.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 407. See *suprà*, p. 174.

Thirteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Ramazán, 975 H. (14th March, 1568). At the beginning of this year the Emperor left Ajmír, and proceeded by way of Mewát towards Ágra. On his journey, he passed a jungle which was the abode of lions (*sher*) and tigers (*babar*). A terrible tiger (*sher*)[1] came out, and His Majesty's followers, who were constantly in attendance upon him, discharged their arrows and stretched him in the dust. His Majesty then gave orders, that if a like thing should occur again, they were not to shoot until he directed them. As they went on, another tiger (*sher*), larger and fiercer than the first, came out and made towards the Emperor. No one of the attendants dared to fire without orders. The tiger-hunting King alighted from his horse and levelled a musket at the beast. The ball grazed the animal's face, inflicting a slight wound, which caused him to rush from his place towards His Majesty. The Emperor fired a second time, and brought him down. At this juncture, 'Ádil Muhammad Kandahárí, boldly placed an arrow to his bow, and faced the animal, which then turned away from the Emperor and attacked him. It brought him to the ground, and was about to take his head in his mouth. That brave fellow, in this supreme moment, thrust his hand into the animal's mouth, and sought to draw his dagger to stab him in the belly. But the handle of the dagger stuck in the sheath, and the beast gnawed the flesh and skin of the hand which was in his mouth. Notwithstanding this, 'Ádil managed to draw his dagger, and inflicted some deep wounds in the animal's belly. Brave men gathered round on all sides and finished him. 'Ádil Muhammad received a sword-cut besides the wounds the tiger had given him. He lay for some time on the bed of pain before he died of his wounds.

After the tiger hunt the royal camp moved towards Alwar, and directions were given that it should proceed thither, while the Emperor himself went to pay a visit to Shaikh Nizám Nárnauli. He then returned to the camp, and proceeded with the army to the capital.

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[1] It was in all probability a tiger, although the author would seem to use the words *sher* and *babar* distinctively.

After a stay of some months at Ágra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor, renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindústán. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor. Ashraf Khán *Mír-munshí* and Sádik Khán were sent on this service with a large portion of the Imperial army. When these *amírs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the sons of Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, who had escaped from the hands of Changíz Khán, in Gujarát,[1] and had laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Málwa. The Emperor then directed that Kalíj Khán, with the *amírs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirzás.

The two forces united according to the order. On approaching Sironj, Shahábu-d dín, the ruler of that *sarkár*, came forth to meet them. He joined them and marched on with them. When they encamped at Sárangpúr, Sháh Bidágh Khán joined them with his forces. The army had now grown very large. When the Mirzás were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandú. Muhammad Murád Khán and Mirzá 'Azízu-lla, who had been besieged in Ujjain, being thus released, came out and joined the *amírs*. All marched together in pursuit of the Mirzás, who fled before them from Mandú to the banks of the Nerbadda. They crossed this river in such confusion that many of their men were drowned. Just at this time Jajhár Khán Habshí murdered Changíz Khán, the ruler of Gujarát, in the *tirpauliya maidán* of Ahmadábád. When the Mirzás heard of this, they seized the chance which it afforded, and fled to Gujarát. The Imperial *amírs* turned back from the river Nerbadda, and the *jágírdárs* of Mandú returned to their *jágírs*. Kalíj Khán and the other *amírs* proceeded to Court, and were received with royal favour. On reaching Gujarát, the Mirzás first seized upon the fort of Chámpanír,[1] and then marched against Broach, to which they laid seige. After a while, they by stratagem got into their power Rustam Khán Rúmí, who was besieged in the fort, and put him to death.[2] The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place.

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[1] "The Mirzás did not get on amicably with Changíz Khán, and were tyrannical in their *jágírs*, so they fled from him."—Budáúní, vol. ii. pp. 106, 199.

In the course of this year Mír Muhammad Khán-i kalán, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, and Kamál Khán Ghakar, *jágírdárs* of the Panjáb, were summoned to Court. They hastened to obey, and in Rabí'u-l awwal, 976 H., they arrived and made their offerings. Husain Kulí Khán and his brother Isma'íl Khán were summoned from Nágor, and appointed to the government of the Panjáb instead of them. The *jágír* of Muhammad Khán-i kalán, in the *sarkár* of Sambal, became a *tankhwáh*. When the Emperor marched to conquer Rantambhor, Husain Kulí Khán was his personal attendant in the campaign. But after the reduction of Rantambhor, and the return of His Majesty to Ágra, Husain Kulí Khán and his brother Isma'íl Kulí Khán took leave and departed to the Panjáb. On the 1st Rajab, the Emperor marched from Ágra against Rantambhor. Proceeding to Dehlí, he stayed there some days and went out to a *kamurgha* hunt, in the neighbourhood of Pálam, where four or five thousand animals were killed.

Fourteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year agreed with 5th Ramazán, 976 H. (22nd February, 1569). The Emperor marched at the opening of the year towards Rantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sábáts* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon.

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[1] "And Surat."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 418.

[2] The fort was held by Rustam Khán, a Turkí slave, in whose house the sister of Changíz Khán had taken refuge. He fought bravely, and held out for two years; but being left without help, he was at length obliged to surrender, and was then "in a base and dastardly manner put to death."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 418.

Ráí Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence, and he sent out his two sons, Dúdh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kulí Khán, who had received the title of Khán-jahán, into the fort to give assurances to Ráí Surjan. He did so, and brought the Ráí to wait upon the Emperor, when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.[1] On Wednesday, 3rd Shawwál, the conquest of the fortress was accomplished, and on the next day the Emperor went in to examine the place. He placed Mihtar Khán in command of the fortress, and then prepared to return to the capital. Leaving the army under the command of Khwája Amínu-d dín Mahmúd, who was entitled Khwája-jahán, and Muzaffar Khán, the Emperor left them to conduct the army back to the capital, while he made a hasty journey to pay a visit to the tomb of Fáízu-l anwár Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí. He remained there a week, and then departed for Ágra, where he arrived on Wednesday, 4th Zí-l ka'da, 976. Darbár Khán, one of his personal attendants, had been compelled by sickness to continue with the army, and he died before His Majesty reached Ágra. Upon his return His Majesty went into the Khán's dining-hall, and made a princely provision for his family.

Foundation of the town of Fathpúr.

The Emperor had several sons born to him, but none of them had lived. Shaikh Salím Chishtí, who resided at the town of Sikrí, twelve *kos* from Ágra, had gladdened him with the promise of a son. The Emperor went to visit the Shaikh several times, and remained there ten or twenty days on each occasion. He commenced a fine building there on the top of a hill, near the Shaikh's monastery. The Shaikh also commenced a new monastery and a fine mosque, which at the present day has no equal in the world, near the royal mansion. The *amírs* also built houses and mansions for themselves. When one of the Emperor's wives became pregnant, he conveyed her to the dwelling of the Shaikh, and left her there. Sometimes he stayed there himself, sometimes at A'gra. He gave the name of Fathpúr to Síkrí, and built a *bázár* and baths there.

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[1] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 408.

Conquest of Kálinjar.

This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultáns had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khán Afghán (Sher Sháh) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it, as has been narrated in the history of his reign. During the interregnum of the Afgháns, Rájá Ram Chandar[1] had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli[2] Khán, the adopted son (*pisar-i khwánda*) of Bihár Khán Afghán. The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jágírs* in the neighbourhood of Kálinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Rájá Rám Chandar was a prudent and experienced man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnún Khán Kákshál, one of the *jágírdárs* of that quarter, and a friendly *farmán* was sent to Rájá Rám Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of Safar, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.

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[1] "Rájá of Panna."—*T. Alfi.* See Blochmann's *A'ín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 406.

[2] "'Ali Khán, the reputed son of Bihár Khán 'Azam Humáyún, and son-in-law of Sher Khán [Sher Sháh]."—*T. Alfi.*

Birth of Prince Sultán Salím Mirzá.

On Wednesday, 18th of Rabí'u-l awwal, 977 H., and the fourteenth year of the reign, when seven hours of the day had passed, the exalted prince Sultán Salím Mirzá was born in the house of Shaikh Salím Chishtí, in the town of Fathpúr. The Emperor himself was in Ágra at the time, and the joyful tidings was conveyed to him by Shaikh Ibráhím, son-in-law of Shaikh Salím, who was right royally rewarded. In thanksgiving for this happy event, gifts were distributed among the people, prisoners were set free, and great feasts were held, which were kept up for seven days with great pleasure and rejoicing. The date of the birth is found in the words *Sháh-i ál i Tímúr.* Khwája Husain composed an ode, of which the first line contained the date of the Emperor's accession, and the second the date of the prince's birth. The Khwája received a present of two *lacs* of *tankas* for this ode, and several other poets received rewards for their productions. The Emperor made Fathpúr[1] a royal abode, raised a stone fortification round it, and built some splendid edifices, so that it became a great city. Before the prince was born, the Emperor had resolved in his own mind, that if the Almighty granted his wishes, he would go a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of *Murádu-l anwar Kutbu-l wásilín* Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí. Having prepared his offerings, on Friday, the 12th Sha'bán, 977, he started on foot from Ágra for Ajmír. Every day he travelled seven or eight *kos.* He visited the shrine, and performed the usual observances immediately upon his arrival. He passed some days there, and then left Ajmír for Dehlí, where he arrived in Ramazán, 977.

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Fifteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, the 6th Shawwál, 977 H. (14th March, 1570). * * * On Thursday, the 3rd Muharram, 978, the star of good fortune shone, and the

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[1] Now known as Fathpúr-Síkrí. See *suprà*, p. 333.

Emperor had another son, Prince Murád, borne to him in the house of Shaikh Salím. In gratitude for this blessing, he opened the hand of liberality, and gave away many munificent gifts, and men were enriched by his bounty. The nobles and officers of the Court presented offerings suitable to their respective ranks, and received robes of honour. Mauláná Kásim Arslán on this occasion wrote a couplet, of which the first line contained the date of the birth of Prince Salím, and the second that of Prince Murád.

March of the Emperor to Ajmír.

The Emperor was accustomed, wherever he might be, to pay a visit every year to the tomb of Mu'ínu-l hakk wau-d dín Hasan Sanjarí at Ajmír. In this happy year, on the 8th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 978, he started for that place, in order to show his gratitude for the boon granted to him. He stayed twelve days at Fathpúr, in order to make some necessary arrangements for his journey. He arrived at Ajmír in due course. To show his favour, and to improve the condition of the place, he ordered a strong wall to be built round it, and a palace to be erected in it for his own residence. The *amírs* and *kháns*, and attendants of the Court, vied with each other in erecting dwellings there. He distributed the villages and lands and houses of Ajmír among his *amírs*, to enable them to pay the expenses of the new buildings. On Friday, 4th Jumáda-l ákhir, he left Ajmír, and arrived in sight of Nágor on the 16th. Here there is a large tank, which he ordered his soldiers to dig and fill with water. He himself inspected the tank, and gave it the name of *Shukr taláo.*

While he was thus staying at Nágor, Chandar Sen, son of Rái Máldeo[1] came to pay his allegiance, and make his offerings. Rájá Kalyán Mal, the Rájá of Bikanír, also came with his son, Rái Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyán Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nágor. From thence he proceeded to Ajodhan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Farídu-d dín Mas'ud Ganj-i shakar. Ráí Kalyán Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikanír; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion, as will be related in the proper place.

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[1] "Ruler of Márwár."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 133.

There were many wild asses (*gor-khar*) in this desert country, and His Majesty, who had never hunted this animal, was desirous of doing so. One day as he was journeying on, the scouts brought information that there was a herd of wild asses in the vicinity of the camp. He immediately mounted a fleet courser, and after a ride of four or five *kos*, came in sight of the herd. He got off his horse, and commanded all his followers to remain quiet. He himself, with four or five Bilúchís, who were acquainted with the country, approached the herd with guns in their hands. At the first shot he struck an ass, and the remainder of the herd, being frightened by the noise, dispersed. His Majesty cautiously approached, and struck another, and so on, until sixteen asses fell by his hand. That day he travelled nearly seventeen *kos* in hunting, and at the close returned to the camp. By his order the sixteen asses were brought to the camp in carts, and their flesh was distributed in front of the royal tent among the *amirs* and courtiers. Then he proceeded towards Ajodhan; and on arriving in sight of the place, he went on immediately, and performed all the ceremonies of pilgrimage, and distributed his bounty among the poor. * * *

From thence he proceeded towards Lahore, and when he arrived at Dípálpúr, the *jágirdár* of that *pargana*, Mirzá 'Azíz Muhammad Kokaltásh, who bore the title of 'Azam Khán, and was well known as Mirzá Koka, prepared an entertainment, and begged him to stay there a few days and rest. His Majesty graciously consented, and remained there. For some days feasting went on, and upon the last day splendid offerings were presented to him. Arab and Persian horses, with saddles of silver; huge elephants, with chains of gold and silver, and housings of velvet and brocade; and gold and silver, and pearls and jewels, and rubies and garnets of great price: chairs of gold, and silver vases, and vessels of gold and silver; stuffs of Europe, Turkey, and China, and other precious things beyond all conception. Presents of similar kind also were presented for the young princes and the Emperor's wives. All the ministers and attendants and dignitaries received presents, and every soldier of the army also participated in the bounty.

Sixteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 17th Shawwál, 978 H. (13th March, 1571 A.D.)

At the beginning of this year His Majesty departed from Dípálpúr for Lahore, and Hasan Kulí Khán, the governor of that city, hastened forth to receive him. Leaving his camp at Malkapúr, the Emperor went on speedily to Lahore. He passed that day and night in the house of Hasan Kulí, and next day the Khán presented his gifts. On the following day the Emperor returned to the camp, and after spending a few days in the vicinity of Lahore, he set off for Hisár-Fírozah, on a visit to the shrine of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín.

Náhíd Begam was wife of Muhibb 'Alí Khán son of Mír Khalífa, and her mother was wife of Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, the ruler of Thatta. Mirzá 'Ísá being dead, Náhíd Begam had received leave from His Majesty about a year before this date to go to Sind, to see her mother, and bring the daughter of Mirzá 'Ísá to pay homage to the Emperor. Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán now occupied the seat of his father, and would have nothing to do with Náhíd Begam. She therefore returned in anger to the Emperor, and made a statement of the harshness and tyranny of Muhammad Bákí, and of the disrespect he had shown to the Emperor's servants. She said that if the Emperor would permit and support her husband Muhibb 'Alí Khán, he could easily effect the conquest of Thatta. As Náhíd Begam was returning from Thatta, she had some conversation at Bakar with Sultán Mahmúd Bakarí, who was one of the officers of Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún, and his *koka;* and, after the death of Mirzá Sháh, Bakar remained in his possession. This Sultán Mahmúd Saláí Samarkandí told Náhíd Begam that if Muhibb 'Alí Khán would undertake the conquest of Thatta, he would join and assist him, and that he would have no need of any further support. In consequence of this promise, Náhíd Begam was very desirous of going to Sind. Muhibb 'Alí Khán had for a long time given up the military life, so the Emperor granted him a banner and a kettle-drum, and he gave him a *jágir* of fifty *lacs* of *tankas* in the *sarkár* of Multán, towards the expense of the campaign. He also sent with him his daughter's son Mujáhid, a young man of resolution and courage, and he wrote a *farmán* to Sa'íd Khán, the ruler of Multán, directing him to support Muhibb 'Alí Khán.

When the Emperor left the Panjáb for Fathpúr his royal residence (*dáru-l khiláfat*), he sent Muhibb 'Alí on his expedition. Upon arriving at his *jágir* in Multán, Muhibb 'Alí set about collecting men, and got together nearly 400 horse. Relying upon Sultán Mahmúd Bakarí, he wrote letters to him, and began his march. But Sultán Mahmúd was adverse to the entrance of any Imperial forces into his territory, so, disregarding the promises he had made to Náhíd Begam, he sent to say that he would not allow Muhibb 'Alí to pass through his country; but that if Muhibb 'Alí would march by way of Jesalmír, he would send his army to him, and render him all the assistance he could.

Muhibb 'Alí, and his grandson Mujáhid, took a bold course, and proceeded towards Bakar. Sultán Mahmúd sent his whole army to oppose them, but his men were defeated, and obliged to seek refuge in the fort of Mánila. Mujáhid and Muhibb 'Alí Khán besieged the fort for six months, and at length obtained possession of it by capitulation. At this time Mubárak Khán, a slave of Sultán Mahmúd's, who acted as his *vakíl*, being aggrieved with his master, went and joined Muhibb 'Alí. The latter having increased his force, laid siege to Bakar. Sultán Mahmúd sent out his army, amounting to nearly 2000 horse and 4000 foot, archers, and gunners. They were defeated in battle and driven back into the fort. For three years Sultán Mahmúd sometimes daily, sometimes every two or three days, sent out armed ships and *ghrábs* to fight. Three times he sent out his whole army, horse and foot, to fight a regular battle, but each time he was defeated. In consequence of the large number of men which he had crowded into the fort, pestilence and sickness[1] broke out and became very fatal, so that 500 to 1000 persons died daily. At length, in the year 983, Mahmúd himself died, and the fort came into the possession of the Emperor's adherents.

When the Emperor left the Panjáb and proceeded to Fathpúr, Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán came from Jaunpúr, bringing Sikandar Khán with him. The offences of Sikandar Khán were pardoned, and the *jágír* of Lucknow was conferred upon him. Khán-khánán quickly returned to secure his Bengal frontier. Sikandar Khan also took his leave, and was sent along with Khán-khánán to his *jágír*. Each received a jewelled sword-belt and four horses with golden saddles. Soon after his arrival at Lucknow, Sikandar Khán fell sick, and died on the 10th Jumáda-l awwal, 979 H.

Seventeenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 25th Shawwál, 979 H. (11th March, 1572 A.D.)

Campaign in Gujarát.[2]

In the Court of the Emperor conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarát, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities. Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarát. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmír. On the 15th Rabí'u-l awwal, he paid a visit to the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts. Next day he made a visit to the tomb of Saiyid Husain Kháng-sawár, a descendant of Zainu-l 'ábidín, which is on the top of a hill at Ajmír. Next day, Mír Muhammad Khán Atka, better known by the title of Khán-i kalán, was sent on in advance with 10,000 horse, and His Majesty followed on the 22nd Rabí'u-s sání.

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[1] "*'ufúnat o bímárí.*" Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 135) calls it "*wabá.*"

[2] "Gujarát had for a long time had no legitimate master, and its *amírs* were quarrel-

Two stages from Nágor, messengers brought him the news that in the night of Wednesday, 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, a son was born to him [at Ajmír].[1] He spent several days in rejoicing, and made many happy by his munificence. As the child had been born in the house of Shaikh Dániyál, one of the most pious and celebrated *shaikhs* of the time, he gave the prince the name of Dániyál. After the rejoicings were over, he again marched and arrived at Nágor, on the 9th Jumáda-l awwal. There he remained fourteen days employed in arranging for the supply of his army.

From thence he marched to Mírath, and there he was informed that when Mír Muhammad Khán came near to Sirohí, the Rájá of that place professed subjection and obedience, and sent some Rájpúts as envoys to wait upon the Mír. The envoys arrived and delivered their message. Mír Muhammad

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ling with each other, and oppressing the peasants. 'Itimad Khán was minister of the country, but was not able to keep it in his grasp, and each chief in his own city considered himself supreme ruler of Gujarát."—*Táríkh-i Alfí.*

[1] Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 139.

Khán gave them an appropriate answer and fine robes, and then, according to the etiquette observed among the people of India, he dismissed them with his own hand.[1] One of those desperate envoys at that moment stabbed the Khán in the breast, and the weapon pierced through to his back under the shoulder. Bahádur Khán, a young man and a servant of the Khán, who was standing behind Sher Khán, but now has his place among the nobles, rushed forward, and seizing the Rájpút, dashed him to the ground. Muhammad Sádik Khán, who was seated by the side of the Khán, arose and despatched the accursed wretch with his dagger. When this intelligence reached the Emperor, on the same day he sent Lashkar Khán *Mír-bakhshi* to inquire after Mír Muhammad Khán, and next day he marched forward himself. Sádik Muhammad Khán and the other *amírs* called in surgeons, who dressed the Khán's wounds, and by the Emperor's good fortune the severe wound was cured in fifteen days, and the Khán mounted his horse with his quiver girt upon his loins.

The Emperor continued his march, and on the 8th Jumáda-s sání formed a junction with the advanced force. When he reached Sirohí, eighty Rájpúts in a temple and seventy in the Rájá's house, stood ready to perform the vow they had made to die. In a few moments they were all despatched. Dost Muhammad, son of Tátár Khán, perished in the Rájá's house. At this stage His Majesty resolved to send one of his officers to make sure of the territory of Joudhpúr, and keep the road to Gujarát open, so that none of the Ránás might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rái Singh Bikanírí,[2] who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Farmáns* were written to the *amírs* and *jágírdárs* of that province, directing them to render Ráí Singh every assistance he might require. At this stage Yár 'Alí Turkomán, with an escort of Turkománs, came as an ambassador from Sultán Muhammad Mirzá, and from Sháh Tahmásp, King of Khurásán, bringing with them Arab and Persian horses, and other presents. They were received by His Majesty with all due state and honour. The Emperor then marched from Sirohí to Pattan Nahrwála, and when he arrived near the fort of Dísa, which is twenty *kos* from Pattan, intelligence was brought that the sons of Sher Khán Fúládí had taken off their troops and families towards Ídar. The Emperor sent Rájá Mán Singh in command of a detachment after them. On the 1st Rajab, 980, the army arrived in sight of Pattan, and rested there for a week. The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khán Bárha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Saiyids of Hindústán. At this halt Rájá Mán Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afgháns.

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[1] "When the envoy was taking leave, according to the custom of the country, he asked for *pán*, and the Khán taking some in his hand, called him forward to give it to him. The envoy then drew a dagger (*jamdhar*) from his bosom, and stabbed the Khán in the breast. * * * The attendants of the Khán killed all the followers of the ambassador, although they denied any complicity in the shameful deed."—*T. Alfi.*

[2] "Rái Singh of Bikanír was sent to Joudhpúr to keep the road to Gujarát open, and to prevent any annoyance from Ráná Kíka, chief of Kokanda and Kombalmír." —Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 146.

The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadábád. Sher Khán Fúládí had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadábád, which was held by 'Itimád Khán;[1] but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pattan, when Sultán Muzaffar, son of Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí, whom 'Itimád Khán had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor, and on Sunday,[2] the 9th Rajab, was admitted to an interview. Next day, 'Itimád Khán, the ruler of Ahmadábád, Mír Abú Turáb, Saiyid Ahmad Bukhárí, Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, Malik Ashraf, Wajhu-l Mulk, Ulúgh Khán Habshí,

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[1] "The slave and prime minister of Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 141. He was originally a Hindu slave. See *A'ín-i Akbarí*, vol. ii. p. 385.

[2] According to Abú-l Fazl, Sultán Muzaffar separated from Sher Khán Fuládí, and wandered about without aim or purpose. Akbar sent a party to search for him. He was found hiding in a corn-field, and was brought to the Emperor, who treated him very kindly.—*Akbar-náma.* (*There is here a lacuna of about six months in the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-náma.*)

Jajhár Khán Habshí, and other *amírs* and chiefs of Gujarát, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. 'Itimád Khán presented the keys of Ahmadábád, and showed every sign of submission.

Thr officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshís* (Abyssinians), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th Rajab, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadábád. The *khutba* was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings. On the 20th Rajab, Saiyid Mahmúd Khán Bárha and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhárí brought their wives into the royal camp. On the same day Jalál Khán, who had been sent on an embassy to a Ráná, returned.

Ibráhím Husain Mirzá and Muhammad Husain Mirzá held Broach, Baroda, and Surat[1] in defiance of the Emperor, so he resolved to free the country of Gujarát from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd Sha'bán, he started from the river of Ahmadábád, and marched towards Kambay. 'Itimád Khán and other of the Gujarát *amírs* were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadábád for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarát, fled on the 4th Sha'bán from Ahmadábád to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarát, 'Itimád Khán was given into the custody of Sháhbáz Khán Kambú. On the 6th the Emperor reached Kambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Kambay on the 12th, he reached Baroda on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarát, he appointed Mirzá 'Azíz Muhammad

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[1] Ibráhím Mirzá held Baroda, Muhammad Husain Mirzá held Surat, and Shah Mirzá had Chámpanír.—*Akbar-náma.*

Kokaltásh the *Khán-i 'azim* to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadábád.

A detachment sent to invest Surat.

After the departure of the *'Azam-khán*, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat, which was the home and stronghold of the Mirzás. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmúd Khán Bárha, Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram Khán-i 'álam, Rájá Bhagwán Dás, Kunwar Mán Singh * * * and several others, to overpower Husain Mirzá, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th Sha'bán, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibráhím Mirzá Khán, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance, had murdered Rustam Khán Rúmí,[1] and then left the town, intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

On hearing this, the Emperor's wrath was kindled. He instantly gave orders that Khwája-jahán, Shujá'at Khán, Kalíj Khán, and Sádik Khán should take charge of the young prince Salím, while he went to chastise Ibráhím Mírza. He took with him Maliku-sh Shark Gujarátí, who was well acquainted with the roads, and he sent Sháhbáz Khán *Mír Bakhshi* in all haste, to recall to his side Saiyid Muhammad Khán, and the forces which had marched against Surat.[2] The remainder of that night, and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindrí.[3] Ibráhím Husain Mirzá was in the town of Sarnál, on the other side of the river. When they heard this, the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves.

At this crisis, Saiyid Mahmúd Khán Bárha, Kulí Khán Mahram Khán-i 'álam, Rájá Bhagwán Dás, Kunwar Mán Singh,

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[1] "Who was desirous of returning to his allegiance."—*Akbar-náma.*

[2] The force he took with him numbered about 2000 men.—*Akbar-náma.*

[3] Abú-l Fazl calls the river also "Sakánír."—*Ib.* There is a "Sinnole" on the Maujam river, thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.

* * * Bhoj the son of Surjan, and others of the force sent against Surat, by a forced march came up and joined the. Emperor. Kunwar Mán Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men,[1] the Emperor, without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over.

Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, who had with him about 1000 horsemen, on perceiving this bold movement, went out of the town of Sarnál by another road, telling his men that he intended to give battle in the open. The road between the river and the fort was very broken, so Kunwar Mán Singh, and the advance under his command, took another road, and the Emperor passed by a road to the gate of the town by the water-side. Some of the enemy, whose blood was up, made a stand in the street, and showed fight. Makbúl Khán, a Kalmuck slave, who on that day went in front of the Emperor, cut one of them down, and wounded several others.

It was now discovered that Ibráhím Husain had quitted the town, and the Emperor gave orders for the pursuit. The troops accordingly left the walls and went out into the plain, and there the two parties confronted each other. Ibráhím Husain made an attack upon Bábá Khán Kákshál, who had been sent forward with a party of bowmen. Although these made a stout resistance, they were driven back a short distance. But every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhúpat, son of Rájá Bihár Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was all hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the front, and Rájá Bhagwán Dás had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Rájá. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Rájá Bhagwán Dás hurled his spear at him and severely wounded him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

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[1] The text says distinctly that the whole of the Emperor's men did not exceed one hundred. Firishta makes them 156. Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 142), however, states that Mán Sing crossed the river with 100 men. See Extract from *Akbar-náma*, *infrà*.

At this time, Makbúl Khán Ghulám and Surokh[1] Badakhshí joined His Majesty, and he sent them in pursuit of his assailants. The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibráhím Husain Mirzá was disheartened, and took to flight. Some brave men pursued him, and cut down several men on their way. But the night came on darker than the fate of that band, so the Emperor gave orders to stop the pursuit. Ibráhím Husain Khán, glad to save his life, made off with a few persons by the Ahmadnagar road to Sirohí. The Emperor went into the town of Sarnál, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jágírs*.

Next day the Emperor started on his return to the royal camp, but he sent on in advance Surokh Badakhshí, whose conduct in this affair had gained the royal approbation, to carry news of the victory to the princes. When the news arrived, the princes and the ladies of the *harem*, and the *amírs* and the officials, were filled with joy sufficient to last them their lives. On Wednesday, the 18th Sha'bán, when one watch of the night was passed, the Emperor rejoined his camp at Baroda. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Rájá Bhagwán Dás, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

March against Surat.

The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said, that a slave of Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí, Safar Áká by name, who received the title of Khudáwand Khán, built this fortress on the sea-shore[1] in the year 947, in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musulmáns. When Khudáwand Khán was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it, but could not succeed in their object. Khudáwand Khán then called for his architect, a very clever man, to provide for the security of the fort. After a little reflection, the careful builder determined on his plan. On the two sides of the fort which face the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were twenty yards (*dará*)[2] wide, and filled with water; they were built of stone, chunam, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls[3] is five yards, and the height twenty yards, and these are likewise built of stone, chunam, and burnt brick. The thickness of the four walls is fifteen yards, and the height twenty yards. It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron, having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *chaukandí*,[4] which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of the fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudáwand Khán, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure.

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[1] One MS. invariably calls him "Iraj."

After the death of Changíz Khán, the fortress came into the possession of the Mirzás. When the Emperor marched into Gujarát, the Mirzás placed all their soldiers in the place, and left it under the command of Ham-zabán, who had formerly been one of the orderlies (*korchián*) of the Emperor Humáyún, but had fled from the Imperial Court, and joined the rebels. The Mirzás themselves did their best to stir up war and strife outside.

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[1] "On the shore of the Persian gulf," but it is really on the river Táptí, twenty miles from the sea.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 146) uses "gaz" as the equivalent of "dara'."

[3] دیوار دو تہی.

[4] This word is used for the *howda* of an elephant, and so by inference may mean a watch tower or a cupola; or perhaps it was something in derision of Christianity. Badáúní uses the word "*ghurfa*, upper room," as an equivalent. See Sir H. Elliot's note in the Extract from Badáúní, *infrà*.

When Ibráhím Husain Mirzá was defeated and put to flight at Sarnál, the Emperor returned to Baroda, and renewed his design of conquering Surat. He sent forward Sháh Kulí Khán and Sádik Khán, with instructions to invest the fort so that no one could get out. Upon this movement becoming known to the garrison, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Prince Kámrán and wife of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, took her son Muzaffar Khán Mirzá with her, and fled to the Dekhin before the arrival of the Imperial forces. When the *amírs* heard of her escape, Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram pursued her for fifty *kos*, and returned unsuccessful, but some of the Begam's servants fell into his hands. Some days afterwards the Emperor sent Rájá Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report.[1]

His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Baroda on the 25th Sha'bán, and encamped at the distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th Ramazán. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among his *amírs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it. But the chief carpet-spreader brought to his knowledge through the *amírs* that there was near at hand a tank called Golí-táláb, and although the bank of the tank was close to the fort, the uneven ground and the trees would prevent balls from reaching it. So the order was given for the removal of the royal tents to this spot.

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[1] He considered its reduction an easy matter, not requiring the presence of the Emperor.—*Akbar-náma.* Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 144.

The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for nearly two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress or egress was closed. (The soldiers and the followers of the *amírs* collected a vast quantity of earth, and raised a high mound, which commanded the fort. And the gunners and musketeers stationed upon the mound kept up a fire that greatly harassed the garrison, and prevented the men from moving about or bringing anything up. Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs),[1] they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress.

The wretched disloyal Ham-zabán and all the people in the fort sent out Mauláná Nizámu-d dín Lárí, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter. The Mauláná was conducted to the royal tent, and made his plea for mercy through the *amírs* and officials. The chief *amírs* reminded His Majesty that the batteries had been advanced very forward, and when they saw that he was inclined to mercy, they remarked that the garrison had resisted and fought with all their might so long as they had any power; and now that they saw that the fall of the place was imminent, they were ready to beg for mercy. His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition. Mauláná Nizámu-d dín Lárí was allowed to pay his homage to the Emperor, and, being dismissed, he returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded.

A royal order was then issued for Kásim 'Alí Khán and Khwája Daulat Názir to proceed into the fortress with the

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[1] The passage in parenthesis is not given in the MS. of the E. I. Library, but is found in the margin of the Nawab of Jhajhar's copy, from which Sir H. Elliot's was transcribed. It is written in a different hand from that of the MS., and does not fit in very well with the context; but it is found in Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 144). There are other similar additions, which are in accord with Badáúní, and the probability is that they have been borrowed from his work.

Maulánú, to give assurances to Ham-zabán and the men of the garrison, and to bring them out with them. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live stock and dead stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor. Kásim 'Alí and Khwája Daulat Názir, by order of His Majesty, brought Ham-zabán and all the men before him, and Ham-zabán, for all his fluency, hung down his head with shame, and could not speak. In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zabán and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody.[1] This conquest was effected on the 23rd Shawwál, in the year 980.[2]

Next day the Emperor went in to inspect the fortress. After much consideration and examination, he gave orders for the necessary repairs and improvements. During his inspection some large mortars (*deg*) and guns (*zarba-zan*) attracted his attention. Those mortars bore the title of Sulaimání, from the name of Sulaimán Sultán of Turkey. When he made his attempt to conquer the ports of Gujarát, he sent these mortars and some guns,[3] which are in the fort of Junágarh, with a large army by sea. As the Turks were unable to overcome the difficulties and obstacles they encountered, and were obliged to return, they left these mortars and the gun which is now in Junágarh on the sea-shore, and returned to their country. The mortars remained upon the sea-shore until Khudáwand Khán built the fortress of Surat, when he placed them in the fort. The one which was left in the country of Súrath[4] was taken to the fort of Junágarh by the ruler of that country. As there was no great necessity for these mortars in the fort of Surat, the Emperor gave orders for their being removed to A'gra. On the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalíj Khán. On the last day of the month Rájá Bihár Jíú, Rájá of the country of Baglána, captured and sent to His Majesty's presence Sharafu-d dín Husain Mirzá, who for ten years past had been engaged in various turbulent and rebellious proceedings. His Majesty's anger had been roused by the disturbances of the country's peace, so he censured the Mirzá and placed him under restraint.

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[1] The tongue of Ham-zabán was cut out.—*Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl and Faizí.

[2] The siege having lasted one month and seventeen days.—*Akbar-náma.*

[3] The plural is here used, but it would seem that only one gun was taken to Junágarh.

[4] The names "Surat" and "Súrath" are identical, both being derived from the Sanskrit *Suráshtra;* but as they belong to very different places, a distinction in spelling has been maintained. "Surat" is the city; "Súrath" is a *pránt* or district of Kattiwár, of which Junágarh is the chief town.

When the Emperor had settled to his satisfaction all the affairs of the province, on Monday, 4th Zí-l ka'da, 980, he marched towards Ahmadábád. When he came to Broach, the mother of Changíz Khán complained to him that Jajhár Khán Habshí had unjustly killed her son, and the order was given for Jajhár Khán's being brought up to answer the charge.[1] Upon being questioned, Jajhar Khán acknowledged the deed, and the Emperor, in his indignation, ordered him to be cast under the feet of an elephant.

Various Events that occurred during the Siege of Surat.

While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat, several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá to Hindústán, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnál, Ibráhím fled to the neighbourhood of Pattan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá should go into Hindústán and create disturbances, while the other two Mirzás, along with Sher Khán Fuládí, laid siege to Pattan: their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadábád, to repress these two outbreaks.[1] Having induced Sher Khán Fuládí to join them, they invested Pattan. Saiyid Ahmad Khán Bárha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders that Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán and * * * all the *jágírdárs* of Málwa, Ráisín, and Chanderí, and all the other nobles and adherents of the Imperial throne, such as * * *, should assemble under the command of 'Azam Khán to repress this rebellious attempt.

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[1] He was tried and found guilty.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 5.

The nobles accordingly joined 'Azam Khán and marched to Pattan. When they were five *kos* distant from Pattan, Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sher Khán Fúládí came forward to meet them.[2] The Mirzás fell upon the advance and defeated it. They then attacked the right, which was under Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, and defeated it also. Sháh Muhammad Atka received a wound and fled. These two divisions being broken, fled towards Ahmadábád. Kutbu-d dín's camp was plundered, and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhárí[3] was killed. When 'Azam Khán saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukhárí, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight. But Bidágh Khán, who was himself a man of war, held his bridle, and would not let him go. When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but few in array, 'Azam Khán, with Bidágh Khán, formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side.[4] Sher Khán Fuládí, in a forlorn and helpless state, went to Amín Khán, the ruler of Junágarh, and there found refuge. Muhammad Husain Mirzá fled to the Dekhin. This victory was won on the 18th Ramazán, 980.

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[1] Abú-l Fazl's view is different. He says that Ibráhím, who was as able with the sword as he was wanting in sense, quarrelled with his brothers, and left them with the crude design of making an attempt on the capital.—*Akbar-náma.*

[2] Abú-l Fazl and Faizí state that the rebels endeavoured to treat and gain time for the arrival of expected reinforcements.—*Akbar-náma.*

[3] He held the *jágír* of Dúlaka.—Faizí.

[4] Abú-l Fazl attributes the victory to Kutbu-d dín, who rallied his broken forces, and led them again to the fight.

'Azam Khán, after setting things in order at Pattan, left Saiyid Ahmad Khán Bárha in command as before, and went to the Emperor, whom he joined under the fort of Surat, on the 20th Shawwál, and reported the devotion and bravery of the *amirs* and all the troops. On his way back, he sent Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán and some other *amirs* to Ma'múrábád, in order to chastise Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk[1] and the defeated troops who were scattered in the jungles and forts. Kutbu-d dín drove Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk and the other *Habshis* out of the jungles, took possession of the forts, and left his own garrisons in them. When the Emperor departed from Surat for Ahmadábád, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán, and the *amirs* who had taken part in his campaign, joined him on the road at the town of Mahmúdábád.

Eighteenth Year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Wednesday, 5th Zí-l ka'da, 980 (11th March, 1573). The Emperor arrived at Ahmadábád on the last day of Zí-l ka'da, and there he entrusted the government of Gujarát to Khán-i 'azam (Mirzá Koka).[2] On the 10th Zí-l hijja, the *'I'd-zuha*, he commenced his journey to the capital. On the 18th Zí-l hijja, at the town of Haibatpúr, one of the dependencies of Pattan, he gave fine robes and horses to 'Azam Khán and the other *amirs*, and dismissed them to their *jágirs*. At the same place, Muzaffar Khán (late King of Gujarát) received the Imperial bounty. The *sarkárs* of Sárangpúr and Ujjain in Malwa were taken from the Rání and granted to him, with fifty *lacs* of *tankas* in *jágir*.[3] He was then sent to his *jágír*. The Emperor continued his journey by Jálor towards Fathpúr. At one stage from Ajmír, he received a communication from Sa'íd Khán, the governor of Multán, to inform him of the death of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá.

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[1] He had escaped from prison at Ahmadnagar.—Badaúní, vol. ii. p. 149.

[2] Pattan was given to Mír Muhammad Khán-i kalán; Broach to Kutbu-d dín Muhammad; and Dúlaka and Dandúka to Saiyid Hámid Bukhárí.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 6, and MS.

[3] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 149) says, "Two and a half *krors* in *jágir*, Sárangpúr, Ujjain, and the whole of Málwa."

When Ibráhím Husain Mirzá hurried off from Gujarát, he proceeded to the town of Mírtha.[1] At eleven *kos* from that place, he plundered a caravan which was on its way from Gujarát to Ágra. Upon reaching Nágor, Farrukh Khán, son of Khán-i kalán, who governed there on behalf of his father, withdrew into the fort, and the Mirzá, after plundering the houses of the poor people in the environs of the city, went on to Nárnaul. Ráí Rám and Ráí Singh, whom the Emperor had left at Joudhpúr with about 1000 horse to keep open the communications when he marched into Gujarát, gathered their men and pursued the Mirzá. On reaching Nágor, they joined Farrukh Khán, and continuing the pursuit, they came up with the Mirzá one evening at the village of Katholí,[3] twenty *kos* from Nágor, but he took the alarm, and managed to make his escape.

On the 2nd Ramazán, 980, the troops halted on the banks of a great tank, when the Mirzá, who was only a little in advance, turned back and attacked the troops which were in pursuit of him. The troops held their ground and defended themselves. Three times the Mirzá, forming his men in two divisions, attacked them on two sides, and showered arrows upon them. Finding he could make no impression, he again fled. One division got separated in the darkness, and the men were scattered in the neighbouring villages, where they were taken prisoners, and many of them were put to death. Nearly 200 fell alive into the hands of Farrukh Khán and the *amírs* of Joudhpúr.

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[1] He had with him his youngest brother, Mas'úd Husain Mirzá.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 8. Faizí Sirhindí.

[2] The Mirzá besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 8. Faizí Sirhindí.

[3] "Kahtoli."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 160. "Kahntoni."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 8. "Kahtoli."—Faizí.

The Mirzá, with about 300 men who accompanied him, plundered the villages and places in their road, and crossing the Jumna and Ganges, he proceeded to the *pargana* of 'Azampúr, in the district of Sambal, which had been his *jágír* while he was loyal to the Emperor. He stayed there five or six days, and then started for the Panjáb. He plundered Pánipat, Sonpat, Karnál, and other places on his route. Many plunderers and adventurers joined him, and inflicted great wrongs upon the people.

When he reached the Panjáb, Husain Kulí Khán Turkomán, *Amíru-l umará* of the Panjáb, was engaged with the forces of his province in besieging Kángra, well known as Nagarkot. On hearing of the Mirzá's arrival, Husain Kulí Khán set off with his brother Isma'íl Khán * * * and other *amírs*, and by forced marches came up with the Mirzá near the town of Tulambha, forty *kos* from Multán. He was returning from hunting free from apprehension and in disorder, when he was attacked. His men were dispersed, and were unable to reach him. His brother Mas'úd Husain Mirzá, who had come up before him, attacked the troops of Husain Kulí Khán, but was taken prisoner. Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, being unable to do anything, made off. Upon arriving near Multán, he wanted to pass the Gára, which is the name of the river formed by the junction of the Biyáh and Satlej. But it was night, and he had no boats, so he rested on the bank. A party of *Jhils*, who are fishermen dwelling about Multán, made an attack upon him in the night, and the Mirzá received a wound in his throat from an arrow. Seeing no other means of escape, he quickly changed his clothes, and separating from his people, endeavoured to get away. But some of the people of that country recognized him, took him prisoner, and carried him to Sa'íd Khán at Multán, and in the custody of the Khán he died.[1]

On the 12th Muharram, 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances. From thence he started for the capital, and on reaching Sangánír, he left his camp and went on express with a few attendants to Fathpúr. In two nights and one day he reached the town of Bachúna, twelve *kos* from Fathpúr. To secure an auspicious time, he remained there three days, and on the 2nd Safar he arrived at Fathpúr.

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[1] He had received a severe wound, and died soon after his capture.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 12. Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 159.

March of Husain Kulí Khán against Nagarkot.

(There was a brahman named Brahma Dás, a bard (*bád-farosh*), who was distinguished above all his compeers for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindí verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rái, chief of poets).[1]

When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Rájá Jai Chandar, Rájá of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Rájá's son, Badí Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead, broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rái the title of Rájá Bírbal,[2] bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot. Hereupon *farmáns* were sent to Husain Kulí Khán, and the *amírs* of the Panjáb commanding them to take Nagarkot from Badí Chand, and place it in the possession of Rájá Bírbal.[3] Bírbal in Hindí signifies courageous and great, so his title means "Brave and mighty Rájá."

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[1] This passage is another marginal addition apparently taken from Badáúní.

[2] In the MSS. the name is more frequently written "Bírbar"; but the more familiar form has been here adopted.

[3] Abú-l Fazl places this transaction in the seventeenth year of the reign.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. ii. p. 426.

When the Rájá arrived at Lahore, Husain Kulí Khán, * * * and other nobles of the Panjáb, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Damharí, the holder of that place, whose name was Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakíls* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keeping the roads clear. Husain Kulí Khán presented the *vakíls* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at a village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards.

On arriving at the fort of Kútila, he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Rájá Rám Chandar, of Gwálior;[1] but Rájá Dharm Chand and Rájá Jai Chand had obtained possession of it by force.

The officers left in charge of the fort by Rájá Jai Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Kulí Khán mounted his horse with the other *amírs* to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night, the Rájpúts who were in the fortress, and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Kulí Khán, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kútila, which he delivered over to the Rájá of Gwalior, to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged; but he left a garrison of his own there.

Continuing his march, he came to a thickly wooded country, through which it was difficult even for an ant or a snake to creep; so a party of men was set to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab, 990, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot. The fortress (*hisár*) of Bhún, which is an idol temple of Mahámáí, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault. A party of Rájpúts, who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans, who for many years had served the temple, never gave one thought to flight, and were killed. Nearly 200 black cows belonging to the Hindús, during the struggle, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

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[1] The Gwalior in the hills. See Vol. IV. p. 494.

The outer fortifications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. *Sábáts* were formed, and a mound commanding the fort (*sar-kob*) was raised. Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Rájá. One day the commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Rájá had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building. Among them was Bhúj deo, son of Rájá Takhat Mal.

In the beginning of Shawwál, letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá had crossed the Satlada (Satlej), and was marching upon Dípálpúr. Husain Kulí Khán held a secret council with the *amírs* about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Kulí Khán felt constrained to accede.[1] The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute: five *mans* of gold, Akbarsháhí weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Rájá Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Háfiz Muhammad Bákir read the *khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwál, 980. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor, gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *khutba* read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Kulí Khán marched away.

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[1] Husain Kulí required each of the *amírs* to give him a written opinion, signed and sealed, in favour of granting a capitulation. Abú-l Fazl gives a somewhat different version of the terms. 1. The Rájá was to send his daughter to the

He then proceeded against Ibráhím Husain Mirzá. At the town of Jamárí he paid a visit to the holy Khwája 'Abdu-sh shahíd, who presented him with his garment, and sent his blessings with him. When he reached Tulambha, he achieved the victory, which has already been described. Upon His Majesty arriving at Fathpúr after his campaign in Gujarát, Husain Kulí Khán took Mas'úd Husain Mirzá with him, and went to wait upon the Emperor. The other prisoners, nearly 300 in number, were presented to the eyes of the Emperor with cow-hides placed on their necks in a strange fashion.[1] The eyes of Mas'úd Husain Mirzá were sewed up, but the Emperor in his kindness ordered them to be opened. Several of the prisoners were liberated, but some, who had taken a leading part among the rebels, were kept in custody. On the same day Sa'íd Khán arrived, bringing with him as an offering the head of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá, and he received distinguished marks of favour.

When the Emperor returned from Gujarát, there remained

Emperor's harem. 2. To pay a proper tribute. 3. To give his children and some relations as hostages for the surrender of the fort, if the Emperor refused to ratify the peace. 4. To compensate Rájá Bírbal for the loss of his *jágír*.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 10. Faizí Sirhindí incorporates the versions of the *Tabakát* and *Akbar-náma*.

[1] "*Charmháe gáo dar galú andákhtah.*" Such are the words in the text and in Faizí. *Charm-i gáo* means a thong or lash, the American "cowhide"; but Abú-l Fazl makes the matter clear. He says, "The prisoners were brought in cow-skins, from which the horns had not been taken away."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 14.

no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaign were sent to strengthen 'Azam Khán. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time, and 'Azam Khán himself wrote for reinforcements.

Events which occurred in Gujarát.

When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarát, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men, who had crept into corners and hidden themselves in dread of the royal forces, once more raised their heads. Having assembled round Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk,[1] they got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory.

Muhammad Husain Mirzá left the Dekhin[2] with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kalíj Khán, who was *jágírdár* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so Husain Mirzá gave up the project, and made a rapid march upon Kambáy.[3] Hasan Khán Karkaráh, the *shikkdár*, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadábád.[4]

Khán-i 'azam sent Naurang Khán and Saiyid Ahmad Bukhárí against the Mirzá, while he himself marched to Ahmadnagar and Ídar against Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk. When Naurang Khán and Saiyid Bukhárí approached Kambáy, Muhammad Husain Mirzá came out to meet him. Sharp fighting went on for several days, and Saiyid Jalál, son of Saiyid Baháu-d dín Bukhárí, was killed. At length the Mirzá was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk. 'Azam Khán, who had marched against Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Ídar with no decisive result.

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[1] He was in the neighbourhood of Ídar, and was supported by Ráí Naráín, the *zamíndár* of that place.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 13.

[2] The neighbourhood of Daulatábád.—*Ib.* p. 14.

[3] He got possession of Broach on his way.—*Ib.* p. 13.

[4] Abú-l Fazl imputes negligence to Hasan Khán.—*Ib.* p. 13.

Intelligence now came that the sons of Sher Khán Fuládí, the son of Jajhár Khán, and Mirzá Muhammad Husain had joined Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, and had formed the plan of making a rapid march by a different road to Ahmadábád. On being informed of this, Khán-i 'azam marched for that city, and when he reached it he sent a messenger to summon Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán from Broach, who accordingly marched and joined Khán-i 'azam at Ahmadábád. Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk and Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujarátís, Habshís, Afgháns, and Rájpúts—around Ahmadábád. The Rájá of Ídar also kept up a connexion with them.

Khán-i 'azam and Kutbu-d dín, being unable to depend upon some of their men, shut themselves up in the town, but sallied out every day and fought under the walls. One day Fázil Khán, son of Khán-i kalán, went out and made a bold attack upon the enemy, and killed several men; but he was slain by a thrust from a spear. Khán-i 'azam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for assistance. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarát, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families.

The Emperor summoned his clerks and officials, and gave them directions to provide for the outfit of an army. The former campaign had lasted a year, and the men through the length of the march were without accoutrements. After returning they had not had sufficient time to get money from their *jágírs* to replace their necessaries. His Majesty therefore issued money from the public treasury to the soldiers, and made liberal grants for procuring the materials of war. He sent Shujá'at Khán[1] on in advance with his camp equipage, and he sent with it his horses under the charge of Khwája Áká Khán. He personally enjoined the *díwání* officers to use the greatest despatch in outfitting the army. To expedite matters he on the same day sent the men of his advanced guard out of the city to join his camp equipage. He frequently said that although he was exerting himself in the organization and despatch of the army, no one would be ready sooner than himself to take his part in its work.

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[1] Rájá Bhagwán Das and Rái Singh were sent with him.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 18.

When several *amírs* with their troops had been set in motion for Gujarát, he bestowed the title of Khán-jahán upon Husain Kulí Khán, who had rendered good service, and he increased his *jágírs* and allowances. He confirmed to him the government of Lahore and the *sarkár* of the Panjáb, and then dismissed him to his duty. Each person who sought for an increase of dignity, or for an increase of his allowances, met with a favourable hearing. Rájá Todar Mal was ordered to join Khán-jahán Husain Kulí Khán, and to give him and the *amírs* of the Panjáb the benefit of his experience and advice in the management of the province. All the *amírs* of the Panjáb took their leave with Khán-jahán, excepting Mirzá Yúsuf Khán. The Mirzá and Muhammad Zamán, who exhibited great intelligence, were to accompany the Emperor. Sa'íd Khán, the ruler of Multán, was sent to his *jágír*, taking with him his brother Makhsús Khán, who had been promoted.

In the early morning of Sunday, 24th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 981, the Emperor, with his companions and attendants, mounted swift she-camels,[1] and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda[2] without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and continued his journey. On the morning of Monday, he took a short rest at Hans-mahál, but quickly resumed his journey. One watch of the night of Tuesday had passed, when he reached the village of Mu'izábád.[3] He was now fatigued,[1] and several of his attendants had dropped behind, so he stayed a few hours to take rest. After his attendants had come up, he mounted a fast-going cart,[2] and travelled all night. On Tuesday he reached the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí (at Ajmír),[3] where he went through the usual observances, and bestowed his gifts upon the poor. He rested for a while in the palace, which he had built for his own use, but towards the end of the day he mounted his horse, and continued his journey. Among his attendants when he started were Mirzá Khán, son of Khán-khánán Bairám, A'saf Khán Koka, Zain Khán Koka, and * * *. The night was bright moonlight. In the morning they joined Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, and Muhammad Kulí Khán *Túghbání*, who had been sent on in advance from Fathpúr. The intelligencers now brought the information of the royal army having marched. His Majesty alighted at the town of Pálí,[4] which was near at hand, and then, having chosen Khwája 'Abdu-lla, A'saf Khán Bakshí, and Ráísál Darbárí, he took them along with him. On the 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, 981, he reached the town of Dísa, twenty *kos* from Pattan, in Gujarát, where the *shikkdar* * * came forth to meet him. His Majesty now sent A'saf Khán to Muhammad Khán, directing him to collect his forces, and join the party at the town of Bálísána, five *kos* from Pattan. In the middle of the night His Majesty started from Dísa for Bálísána, and turning aside from Pattan, came in sight of Bálísána[5] in the morning, and there halted. Here he was joined by Mír Muhammad

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[1] Abú-l Fazl (vol. iii. p. 18) agrees. The words used are *jummáza* and *náka*; and the annotator of the *Akbar-náma* gives as an explanation the Hindi *sáudní*. According to Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 165), the animals were *bukhtís*, or two-humped camels. Faizí uses both terms, *jummáza* and *bukhtí*.

[2] About seventy miles W. by S. from Ágra. "He proceeded by way of Basáwar and Toda, and accomplished 100 *kos* in two days. On the 26th he arrived at Ajmír." —Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 165.

[3] Thirty miles S.W. from Jaipur.

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[1] According to Faizí, his limbs had to be anointed with oil, to assuage the effects of the friction.

[2] Here the *T. Alfí* says they rode on swift female camels, but Abú-l Fazl agrees as to the carriages.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 19.

[3] Distance 140 *kos*.—Faizí. "228 miles."—Thornton.

[4] The route from Ajmír was by Mírtha, thirty miles to the N.W. Jítáran forty-five miles S.W. Thirty miles farther to Sojhat, and from thence twenty to Pálí. From thence to Bhagwánpúr. He now wished to take the shortest road by Sirohí; but as that route was dangerous, his attendants were in favour of Jálor. The guide pretended to lose the way in the night, and they went to Jálor, and so on to Pattanwál.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 20. Faizí.

[5] About five miles south-east of Pattan.

Khán with his army and all his *amírs* and attendants, such as * * * and a party of the principal Rájpúts, such as Khangár, the nephew of Rája Bhagwán Dás, who had previously marched from Fathpúr to support Khán-i 'azam, but whom caution had restrained from advancing beyond Pattan.

An order was now issued for all the troops to appear fully armed and accoutred. The *amírs* accordingly brought out their men, and the Emperor reviewed them. Although he had full trust and hope of heavenly assistance, he neglected no material means of success. He gave the command of the centre, which is the place of the Sultán, to Mirzá Khán, son of (the late) Khán-khánán Bairám Khán, a young man of great parts and promise. He also appointed Saiyid Muhammad Khán Bárha, a man of great bravery, and Shujá'at Khán and Sádik Khán to the centre. The command of the right was given to Mír Muhammad Khán-i kalán, and that of the left to Wazír Khán. The advance, composed of a number of brave fellows, was placed under the command of Muhammad Kulí Khán and Tarkhán Díwána. His Majesty kept under his own immediate direction 100[1] horsemen, men who had been picked out from a thousand thousand—a reserve intended to support any division which might be hard pressed. Strict orders were issued that no man was to stray from his place.

Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Bálísána towards Ahmadábád. A messenger was sent to apprise Khán-i 'azam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd Jumáda-l awwal, he reached Karí, a town twenty *kos* from Ahmadábád. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle.[2] Orders were accordingly given to attack them, and drive them from the road, but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort. Leaving the fort untouched, in obedience to orders, the army marched five *kos* from Karí, where it rested till dawn.

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[1] This is the number given by Abú-l Fazl, Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 166), and Firishta; but one of our MSS. has "500."

[2] Under the command of Roliyá, an officer serving under Sher Khán Fuládí.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 23.

As soon as it was light, the *bakhshis* drew up the forces, and marched on without drawing rein to a place about three *kos* from Ahmadábád. Orders were given for every man to arm himself, and the royal armoury was opened, so that every man who had lost or damaged a weapon might choose one to suit him. Ásaf Khán was sent to Khán-i 'azam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fathpúr to the outskirts of Ahmadábád, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine,[1] were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks, that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares, and that they would wait till he was roused.[2] When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, in amaze and alarm, rushed to their horses.[3] Muhammad Husain Mirzá advanced with two or three horsemen to the bank of the river to ascertain the truth, and it so happened that Subhán Kulí Turk had also gone down to the river with two or three men from our side. Muhammad Husain Mirzá called out to Subhán Kulí, inquiring whose army it was, and he was answered that it was the Emperor, who had marched from Fathpúr to punish traitors. The Mirzá replied, "My spies have informed me, that fourteen days ago the Emperor was at Fathpúr; and if this is the Imperial army, where are the royal elephants which always accompany it?" Subhán 'Alí said, "How could elephants have travelled with us 400 *kos* in nine days?" Muhammad Husain Mirzá returned amazed and troubled to his army, and drawing out his forces, he prepared for battle. He directed Ikhtiyár Khán to take 5000 horse, and prevent Khán-i 'azám from sallying out of the city.

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[1] This is probably figurative. Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 166) employs a more common simile, "the sleep of neglect."

[2] The battle was fought on the 5th Jumáda-l awwal.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 26.

[3] Some thought a reinforcement had arrived for themselves, and others that it was a force come from Pattan to support Khán-i kalán.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 26.

When the time for delay drew to an end, the Emperor directed the advance to cross the river, and that Wazír Khán also should cross with the left. This being done, he himself crossed over at the head of his chosen men. Some little confusion occurred in the passage, but the troops all got over together, and advanced a short distance on the other side, when a strong force of the enemy came in view. Muhammad Husain Mirzá, with 1500 Mughals,[1] all devoted men of his own, came up and fell upon the advanced force under Muhammad Kulí Khán and Tarkhán Díwána. Simultaneously the Habshís and Afgháns attacked Wazír Khán, and then the fight grew close and warm.

The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness and distress in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the royal forces came up and took them in flank. Saif Khán Koka made a rash charge and was killed. Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled. The royal troops advanced and cut off some. His Majesty with several of his men drew up and stood fast. Muhammad Husain Mirzá had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thorn hedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, a Turk named Gadá 'Alí, who pursued him, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner.

Wazír Khán on the left fought well and bravely, but the Habshí and Gujarátí troops made charge after charge, until they became acquainted with the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá. Then they also turned their backs. Mír Muhammad Khán on the right drove back the sons of Sher Khán Fuládí, and put many of their men to the sword. Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed.

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[1] The name is generally spelt "Mughúl" in this work.

Gadá 'Alí Badakhshí and a servant of Khán-i kalán now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mirzá a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Rájá Bírbal asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty;" and he spoke the truth. His Majesty spoke a few kind words to him, and gave him into the custody of Rái Singh. Among the prisoners taken was a man named Mard Azmái Sháh, who declared himself the Koka of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain. His Majesty struck him to the earth with a spear, and the attendants cut him to pieces with their swords. It was afterwards found out that he had killed in the battle of Sarnál, Bhúpat, brother of Rájá Bhagwán Dás.[1]

An hour after the victory was won, another large division of the enemy[2] made its appearance, and the vedettes brought the information that it was Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk Gujarátí. He had been charged with the duty of closing the road against 'Azam Khán, but when he heard of the defeat of the Mirzás, he left the city roads and came out into the field. His Majesty ordered a force to advance and assail him with arrows. When he came in sight, some fierce horsemen charged and overthrew the troop which preceded him. Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk in his fright cast a look upon the hill whereon the royal standard was planted, and he (and his men) ran off on both sides of it in such disgraceful panic that the royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives, and used them against them. A Turkomán named Suhráb Beg now recognized Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk, and pursued him. Coming to a thorn hedge, the fugitive endeavoured to make his horse leap over, but the animal threw him. Suhráb Beg dismounted and took him prisoner. Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk said, "You look like a Turkomán, and the Turkománs are followers of 'Alí. I belong to the Saiyids of Bokhára, do not kill me." Suhráb Beg replied, "I recognized you and pursued you. You are Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk." Thus having said he cut off his head and returned to mount his horse, but some one had taken it, so he wrapped the head in the skirt of his garment and walked back. At the time that Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk advanced towards the hill on which the Emperor was standing, the Rájpúts of Rái Singh, who had charge of Muhammad Husain Mirzá, cast the Mirzá off an elephant to the ground, and despatched him with a spear.

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[1] According to Abú-l Fazl, it was the knowledge of this fact which induced the Emperor to kill him."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 36.

[2] "More than 5000 in number."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 37; Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 168.

After the victory, 'Azam Khán and the other officers who had been besieged in the city came out to the Emperor, who bestowed upon the Khán many marks of his approval. To every one of the Kháns he gave promotion or other distinctions, and he had hardly finished with them, when Suhráb Beg Turkomán, came up and threw down the head of Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk. When the Emperor saw it, he praised him and liberally rewarded him; and then he ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadábád, and occupied the royal abode, which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations. He rested five days in the citadel, and then he removed to the house of 'Itimád Khán, in the middle of the city.

His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign, especially those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads of

Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Ikhtiyáru-l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of A'gra and Fathpúr.

After attending to the wants of the poor people of Ahmadábád, he sent Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán and Naurang Khán to Broach and Chámpánír, to uproot the power of Sháh Mirzá. Rájá Bhagwán Dás, Sháh Kulí Mahram, Lashkar Khán Mír-bakhshí, and several others, were sent to I'dar, to ravage the country which Ráná U'dí Singh had abandoned. The government of Pattan was again confided to Mír Muhammad Khán (Khán-i Kalán). Wazír Khán was appointed to Dúlaka and Dandúka, and he was to support Khán-i 'azam.

When the Emperor had made all his arrangements, he resolved to return home, and on Sunday, 16th Jumáda-l awwal, he left Ahmadábád for Mahmudábád, and rested in the lofty and fine palace of Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát. Khwája Ghiyásu-d dín 'Alí Bakhshí, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of A'saf Khán, and he was appointed *díwán* and *bakhshi* of Gujarát, so he remained behind with Khán-i 'azam. The Emperor travelled by night from Dúlaka to Karí, and from Karí also by night to Sítápúr. Here a despatch was received from Rájá Bhagwán Dás, and Sháh Kulí Mahram, reporting the capture of the fort of Barnagar,[1] and a letter of thanks was returned. He made no other halt till he reached Sírohí, where he gave Sádik Khán a commission to chastise rebels and robbers. On Wednesday, 3rd Jumáda-l awwal, 981, he reached Ajmír, and immediately went to visit the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, and made liberal donations to the poor. Next day he departed, and marching night and day, he reached the village of Púna, three *kos* from Sángánír, in the *jágír* of Rám Dás Kachhwáha. Here Rám Dás had prepared an entertainment for His Majesty and all his attendants.

At this station Rájá Todar Mal, who had been directed to fit out a thousand boats (*kishti*) and *ghrabs* at Ágra, had an interview with His Majesty. The revenues of Gujarát had not been paid up satisfactorily, so the Rájá was sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer. The Emperor started again at midnight, and rode to Toda, which he reached on the morning of the 6th, and, after resting for a while, he again mounted and reached Basáwar in the middle of the night, where he was met by Khwája-jahán and Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, who had come out of Fathpúr to meet him. At dawn he again started and went to the town of Bajúna, where he remained till the following day. He then ordered his attendants to march into Fathpúr with spears in their hands. He himself followed, riding upon a gray horse, and holding a spear in his hand. Thus he reached Fathpúr on Saturday, 7th Jumáda-l ákhir, having been absent forty-three days.

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[1] About thirty miles east of Pattan.

Events after the Emperor's Return to Fathpúr.

On the 25th of Jumáda-l ákhir, the ceremony of circumcising the young princes was performed, amid great rejoicings and congratulations. The time was now arrived for beginning the education of Prince Salím, so on the 22nd Rajab His Majesty appointed Mauláná Mír Kalán Harawí to be his tutor, and to instruct him in the creed and the Kurán.[1]

Muzaffar Khán, who had been formerly appointed to the government of Sárangpúr, in the territories of Ahmadábád, was summoned to Court, and on the 4th Rajab he was appointed *wazír* or prime minister of Hindústán, and received the additional title of Jumlatu-l Mulkí. The general management of the affairs of the country was committed to his hands.

The debts of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhárí, who was killed at the battle of Pattan, and of Saif Khán Koka, who fell in the second campaign of Ahmadábád, were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. The total amounted to one *lac* of Akbar-sháhí rupees, equal to 2500 *tumáns* of 'Irák. Such a fact has not been recorded of any king in books of history.

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[1] The translation of this and other unimportant passages of this section is abridged.

Rájá Todar Mal, who had been sent to settle the revenues of Gujarát, having made the necessary arrangements, now returned, bringing the accounts of his settlement, and suitable presents for His Majesty. He was highly applauded. After a few days the Emperor gave him one of his own swords, and sent him along with Lashkar Khán Mír-bakhshí to serve under Khán-khánán Mu'ním Khán, and assist in the conquest of Bengal.

Mír Muhsin Rizwí, who had been sent on a mission to the rulers of the Dekhin, returned, bringing with him the presents they had sent to His Majesty.

On the 16th Shawwál the Emperor went to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín at Ajmír, for although he had visited it this year on his return from the second campaign in Gujarát, he had now determined upon an invasion of Bengal; and as this campaign might last longer than a year, he might be prevented from making his usual pilgrimage; so he determined to proceed thither at once, and offer up his prayers for divine help in his war against Bengal. He accordingly set out on the 16th Shawwál, 981, and remained till the 20th in the village of Dáír.[1] * * * At this place Diláwar Khán, assisted by the Emperor's orderlies (*yasáwals*), was directed to protect the cultivated land in the vicinity of the camp; and besides that, trustworthy men were appointed to carefully examine the land after the camp had passed, and were ordered to place the amount of any damage done, against the government claim for revenue. This practice became a rule in all his campaigns, and sometimes even bags of money were given to these inspectors, so that they might at once estimate and satisfy the claims of the *raiyats* and farmers, and obviate any interference with the revenue collections. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he proceeded, he arrived at a spot seven *kos* from Ajmír, on the 12th Zí-l ka'da.

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[1] "Four *kos* from Fathpúr."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 171.

Next day he went on foot to pay his visit to the tomb, and from thence he repaired to his palace in Ajmír. There he remained twelve days, visiting the tomb every day, and enriching the poor with his bounty.

Nineteenth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 17th Zí-l ka'da, 981 H. (11th March, 1574 A.D.)

After paying his visit to the tomb of the holy Khwája, who is the helper and protector of kings, the Emperor started on his return from Ajmír on the 23rd Zí-l ka'da. Hunting as he went along, he arrived at Fathpúr on the 17th Zí-l hijja.

Campaign against Patna and Hájípúr.

Sulaimán Kiráni, one of the *amírs* of Salím Khán Afghán [Salím Sháh], and ruler of Bengal and Bihár, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H. His eldest son Báyazíd succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amírs*,[1] and the younger son Dáúd was raised to the throne. The Emperor was informed that Dáúd had stepped out of his proper sphere, had assumed the title of king, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khán-zamán built when he was ruler of Jaunpúr. A *farmán* was immediately sent to Khán-khánán, directing him to chastise Dáúd, and to conquer the country of Bihár.

At that time Dáúd was at Hájípúr, and his chief noble, Lodí, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtás, and set up a claim to independence. Khán-khánán Mu'nim Khán marched with the Imperial forces against Patna and Hájípúr. Lodí, knowing the destruction of the Afgháns to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Dáúd, made a sort of peace with Khán-khánán. The old friendship and respect which Khán-khánán had for the late Sulaimán Kiráni led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of *rupees* in money and one *lac* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jalál Khán Krorí, he entered into a peace with Dáúd.

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[1] "In consequence of his evil conduct."—Badáuní, vol. ii. p. 173. According to Abú-l Fazl, the nephew and son-in-law of Báyazíd, whose name was Hánsú, took an active part in his removal. He in his turn was killed by Lodí, and Dáúd was placed upon the throne.—*Akbar-náma.*

But Dáúd was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlú Khán, who had for a long time held the country of Jagannáth and of Srídhar Hindú Bengálí, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodí his *amíru-l umará*, and put him in confinement under the charge of Srídhar Bengálí. When in prison, Lodí sent for Katlú and Srídhar, and sent Dáúd this message, "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good. And this is my advice: After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time."

The power of Dáúd and of all the Afgháns was on the wane: it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Dáúd resolved to put Lodí out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his own satisfaction. Katlú Khán and Srídhar Bengálí had a bitter animosity against Lodí, and they thought that if he were removed, the offices of *vakíl* and *wazír* would fall to them, so they made the best of their opportunity. They represented themselves to Dáúd as purely disinterested, but they repeatedly reminded him of those things which made Lodí's death desirable. Dáúd, in the pride and intoxication of youth, listened to the words of these sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Dáúd became the master of his elephants, his treasure, and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodí had concluded, he banished all care.

When the death of Lodí was reported to Khán-khánán and his circle, which was full of *amírs* of renown, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnautí, and marched against Patna and Hájípúr. In high spirits he arrived in the vicinity of Patna. Dáúd now deeply regretted the murder of Lodí, who, by his wisdom, and judgment, and devotion, had kept the affairs of Bengal in order. He marched towards Patna, and was at first resolved upon battle; but he afterwards recoiled from trying an action, and resolved to take shelter in his fortifications. Khán-khánán was delighted when he was informed of this resolution, and he already foresaw the conquest of Patna and Hájípúr. Dáúd, without drawing a sword or shooting an arrow, retired precipitately into the fort of Patna, and set about repairing the works.

Khán-khánán, with the concurrence of the *amírs*, proceeded to invest Patna. Upon hearing this, the Emperor determined to personally direct the operations against Patna and Hájípúr. After resting for a few days at Fathpúr, he sent off his camp and elephants by land under the command of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Rizwí one of his chief *amírs*. He placed Ágra in charge of Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán Naishapúrí, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday the last day of Safar, 982 H. The young princes went with him. The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen utensils, stud, etc., etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the *amírs* for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats, and so they started. On arriving at the village of Ratambh, one of the dependencies of Ágra, he stopped and sent a letter to Khán-khánán Mu'nim Khán, to give information of his approach. On the 1st Rabí'u-l awwal the expedition proceeded. Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore.[1] Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops. [*Punishment of a brahman guilty of incest with his daughter.*]

On the 23rd of the month the Emperor reached Illahabás, which is situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. This is a great place of pilgrimage for the Hindús, and contains some fine buildings. It is celebrated in all parts of the world as a holy place of the Hindús, who resort thither from all parts. On the 25th he reached Benares, from whence he sent on Sher Beg Tawáchí in a boat to Khán-khánán Mu'ním Khán, to apprise him of the Emperor's arrival at Benares. At that city he remained three days taking rest. On the 28th he reached the village of Korí, a dependency of Saiyidpúr,[2] at the confluence of the Gumti[3] and Ganges, and there anchored.[4] Here he was waited upon by Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, who had brought down the army by land. He now determined that until he received accurate intelligence from Khán-khánán, he and the young prince and his wives would go and stay at Jaunpúr.[5] So he left the army at this encampment, and went up the Gumtí in boats to Jaunpúr.

On the 2nd Rabí'u-s sání he reached the village of Yahyápúr, a dependency of Jaunpúr. Here a despatch arrived from Khán-khánán, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he sent on the young prince and ladies to Jaunpúr, and then departed on his campaign against Bengal.[1] On the 4th the boats fell down the Gumtí to the Ganges, and Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla. On the 6th it encamped in the plain of Gházípúr, and the Emperor went hunting. * * * On the 7th he halted at Gangadáspúr, and here he was met by the eunuch 'Itimád Khán, a distinguished noble, who had been rendering good service in the siege of Patna, and who now made a full report of all the occurrences to His Majesty, and urged him to hasten forward. His Majesty thereupon directed Saiyid Mírak Ispahání, one of his principal attendants, who was learned in charms, to seek an augury in his books by sortilege. The augury was favourable, and a few days proved its truth.

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[1] "In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussions upon science and poetry," etc.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 176.

[2] Badáúní for Saiyidpúr has Jaunpúr, and is probably right.

[3] Here called in the MS. "Gúda" and "Gúri"; by Badáúní "Gúdí," and by Abú-l Fazl "Kúdí."

[4] The expedition encountered three violent storms, and several boats sank.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 64.

[5] The *T. Alfí* writes the name indifferently "Jaunpúr" and "Jáunpúr."

On Tuesday, the 8th Rabí'u-s sání, he encamped at the ferry of Chaunsá, and here a despatch arrived from Khán-khánán, reporting that 'Ísa Khán Niází, an Afghán renowned for his courage, had made a sortie with elephants and a large force from Patna, and had attacked the besiegers. 'Ísá Khán was slain by Lashkar Khán, one of the Emperor's men, and a great number of Afgháns fell. This news was sent on to the princes.

On the following day Diláwar Khán was ordered to transport the army over at the ferry of Chaunsá, and on the 10th the army encamped at the village of Domní, belonging to Bhojpúr. Kásim 'Alí Khán, was now sent to inform Khán-khánán of the near approach of the Emperor, and to inquire what he advised to be done. The Khán advised the Emperor to advance as hitherto, himself by boat and his army by land; and he requested that some horses might be sent to replace those that had been rendered useless by the rains.[2] Horses and arms were accordingly sent. Khán-khánán and the other *amírs* advanced two *kos* from Patna to meet His Majesty, who, on the 16th Rabí'u-s sání, reached his destination, and took up his abode in the tents of Khán-khánán. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made.

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[1] "News arrived on this day of the conquest of Bhakar." This is in the text, but has been placed here as a note. Badáúní's version is, "News arrived of the death of Sultán Mahmúd of Bhakar, and of Muhibb 'Alí Khán's obtaining possession of that country."

[2] The weather continued very stormy; heavy rains fell, and the waters were much out.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 76.

On the 17th Akbar called a council of war in the tents of Khán-khánán, when he observed that the siege had now lasted a long time, that he was resolved upon reducing the place, and upon crushing the defenders, so that they should be unable to make any further resistance either in the city or in the country. He thought that the best course to pursue was to first reduce the fort of Hájípúr,[1] which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna, and that their operations must be directed to that object. The Kháns greatly applauded this scheme. At that same council Khán-'álam was sent off with three thousand men in boats, with the materials required for a siege. Rájá Gajpati, the *zamíndár* of that country, who had many armed adherents, was directed to support Khán-'álam.

Next day, the 18th, Khán-'álam crossed the river, embarked immediately, and went to lay siege to Hájípúr, while the troops marched by land.[2] In order to see the field, His Majesty mounted a battery of Sháham Khán Jaláir, which was upon a hill on the bank of the Ganges, and from which Hájípúr was visible. As, however, he could get no certain information of what was passing, in the evening he sent a party of men in three boats toward Hájípúr to gain intelligence. When the enemy saw these boats approaching, they sent eighteen boats full of fighting men against them. But the three Imperial boats prevented them from advancing, and by hard fighting cut their way through, and joined Khán-'álam. Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor.[3] Fath Khán Bárha, commander of

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[1] "A fort which stood opposite to Patna; the Ganges, about two *kos* in width, flowing between them."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 73.

[2] He went up the Gandak.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 75.

[3] Faizí Sirhindí follows this account; but Abú-l Fazl's version is somewhat different. See *infrà*.

Hájípúr, and many Afgháns, were slain, and the place fell into the hands of Khán-'álam. The head of Fath Khán Bárha and the heads of other Afgháns were thrown into boats, and sent to the Emperor. After offering his thanksgiving for this victory, he sent the heads of Fath Khán and of the others to Dáúd, that he might see with his own eyes what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Dáúd's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight.

On the same day, the 16th, the Emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the environs of the city, and he ascended the Panj-pahárí, which is opposite the fort. This Panj-pahárí, or "Five domes," is a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages. The Afgháns, who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress, saw the Emperor and his suite as he was making his survey, and in their despair and recklessness they fired some guns at the Panj-pahárí, but they did no injury at all to any one.

When Dáúd saw the Imperial forces swarming in the plain, and when he was informed of the fall of Hájípúr, although he had 20,000 horse, abundance of artillery, and many elephants, he determined to fly, and at midnight of Sunday, the 21st Rabí'u-s sání, he embarked in a boat and made his escape. Srídhar the Bengálí, who was Dáúd's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Rájá Bikramájít, placed his valuables and treasure in a boat and followed him.

Gújar Khán Kiráni, who was Dáúd's minister,[1] brought the elephants out, and fled by the rear of the city. On that dreadful night, a foretaste of the day of judgment, the inhabitants were in a state of bewilderment and despair. Some endeavoured to escape by the river, but through the crowding and struggling many of them were drowned. Others endeavoured to fly by land, but were crushed under the feet of elephants and horses in the narrow lanes and streets. Some in their despair cast themselves down from the walls, and others perished in the moat. When Gújar Khán came to the Punpun[1] river, he passed his elephants over the bridge; but the fugitives in his rear so pressed and crowded upon the bridge that it broke down, and numbers were precipitated into the water. Those who came up afterwards threw away their arms and clothes, and cast themselves naked into the river.

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[1] His title was "Ruknu-d daula."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 181.

Late at night, when the flight of Dáúd was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light Khán-khánán having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line, "*Mulk-i Sulaimán zi Dáúd raft*" (983).

The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khán-khánán in command of the army, while he himself dashed off with a detachment in pursuit of Gújar Khán and the elephants. When he reached the Punpun, he swam over on horseback, and the *amirs* and soldiers followed his example. Then he gave orders for every officer and man to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward. The *amirs*, driving Gújar Khán before them, secured Dáúd's elephants, and brought them to His Majesty. On reaching the *pargana* of Daryápúr,[2] twenty-six *kos*[3] from Patna on the banks of the Ganges, they drew rein, and it was found that nearly 400 elephants[4] had been taken. His Majesty halted at Daryápúr, but ordered Shahbáz Khán *Mir-bakhshi* and Majnún Khán Kákshál to continue the pursuit. They went on to the river Balbhúnd, seven *kos* from Daryápúr.

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[1] A river which runs from the south, and falls into the Ganges near Patna.

[2] On the right bank of the Ganges, sixty miles east from Patna.

[3] Abú-l Fazl makes it thirty *kos*.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 78.

[4] "Two hundred and sixty-five."—*Ib.*

There they learned that Gújar, worn out and half dead, had passed over the river, and that some of his men had been lost in the water. Shahbáz Khán and Majnún Khán then returned.

On Monday, the 21st, Khán-khánán, according to orders, came by water to wait upon His Majesty, bringing with him the royal boats and attendant establishments. The Emperor stayed at Daryápúr six days. He appointed Khán-khánán to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowances twenty-five or thirty per cent., he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Ágra, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khán-khánán and the other *amírs.* Next day he marched to the town of Ghiyáspúr on the bank of the Ganges. There he rested four days, employed in the pleasing occupation of viewing the elephants captured from Dáúd and his Afgháns. From thence he determined to go on to Jaunpúr rapidly. Leaving the command of the army as usual with Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, he started at midnight of the 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, 982, mounted upon an elephant. In the morning he halted at an encampment of the royal forces between Daryápúr and Ghiyáspúr, where he witnessed some elephant fights.

At this stage Muzaffar Khán,[1] who was formerly a clerk, but now an *amír* of reputation, was sent along with Farhat Khán, one of the late Emperor's slaves, and now enrolled in His Majesty's service, to besiege the fortress of Rohtás, a very lofty and strong place. And he gave orders that after its capture it should be placed under the command of Farhat Khán, and that Muzaffar Khán should return to Court. On Friday, 3rd Jumáda-l awwal, he proceeded to Patna, and spent a short time in examining the buildings of Dáúd.[1] From thence he started to make the best of his way, and on Saturday, the 4th, he reached the village of Fathpúr Sahína, which is twenty-one *kos* distant, and on Monday, 6th Jumáda-l awwal, at mid-day, he arrived at Jaunpúr. Mirzá Yúsuf Khán arrived with the army on the 7th. The Emperor remained at Jaunpúr thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpúr, Benares, the fort of Chunár, and sundry other *mahál*s and *parganas* directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the management of them to Mirzá Mírak Rizwí and Shaikh Ibráhím Síkrí. On the 9th Jumáda-s sání, 982, he departed from Jaunpúr, and went to Khánpúr, where he stayed four days. Here he was waited upon by Kází Nizám Badakhshí, who [*being graciously received and appointed to office*] afterwards achieved a high position among the nobles.

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[1] Muzaffar Khán, who was appointed prime minister (see *suprà*), had been since removed from office, for reasons which will appear in an Extract from the *Akbar-náma, infrà.* Abú-l Fazl says he was sent on this campaign to Rohtás in disgrace.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 81.

A despatch now arrived from Khán-khánán, reporting the capture of the fort of Garhí.[2] When Dáúd fled from Patna, he went to Garhí. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tánda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhí that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khán-khánán marched against Tánda, and arrived near Garhí.[3] As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afgháns fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhí without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khán-khánán and the other *amírs*. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he went, he arrived, on the 8th Jumáda-s sání, at the town of Iskandarpúr, where he received intelligence of the fall of Tánda.

After taking possession of the fort of Garhí, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tánda, which is the capital of the kingdom (of Bengal). Khán-khánán's explorers at first reported that Dáúd intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khán-khánán thereupon summoned his *amírs*, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces, and advanced in great force against Tánda. When Dáúd's spies carried him the intelligence of Khán-khánán's advance, he and his associates thought of the black night of Patna, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus on the 4th Jumáda-s sání, the capital of Tánda was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people.

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[1] "It is a curious fact that in this place there are thatched houses called *chhappar-band*, which, although they are covered only with wood (*chob posh*), are worth 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 182.

[2] See Vol. IV. p. 367. Also Extract from *Ak.-náma*, *infrá*, respecting Garhí and Tánda.

[3] He had previously made himself master of Surajghar, on the Ganges, about eighty miles from Patna; of Mongír, with the help of Rájá Sangrám of Gorakhpúr and Púran Mal Rájá of Kidhúr; and of Bhágalpur.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 84.

Again the Emperor was delighted with this good news. He determined to go on to Dehlí, and he arrived there on the 1st Rajab. He made a pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints and holy men; he also visited the tomb of his father, and he dispensed his bounty among the needy, and offered up prayers suitable to his position. To give his escort rest he remained at Dehlí some days, and employed himself in hunting. In the beginning of Sha'bán he started for Ajmír, and hunted as he went. At the town of Nárnaul he was waited upon by Khán-jahán, who came from Lahore to see him. The Emperor was much pleased to see the Khán, and gave him some princely marks of his approval. A few days afterwards 'Azám Khán also came from Ahmadábád expressly to offer his congratulations. In the beginning of Ramazán, the Emperor reached Ajmír, and hastened immediately to pay his visit to the tomb. Out of the spoils of Bengal he presented to the *nakára-khána* of the Khwája a pair of drums which had belonged to Dáúd. He also dispensed the usual gifts.

It now came to his knowledge that Chandar Sen, son of Mál Deo, was oppressing the *raiyats* in the neighbourhood of the forts of Joudhpúr and Siwánah, and was creating disturbances.[1] His

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[1] This intelligence was brought from Siwánah by Rájá Rái Singh. — *Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 87. Siwánah is about sixty miles S.W. of Joudhpúr.

Majesty sent Tayib Khán, son of Táhir Khán *Mír-i farághat* the governor of Dehlí, and Súbhán Kulí Túrk, with a suitable force, to chastise him. When they approached, the rebel withdrew with his followers[1] into dense jungles and places hard of access. But some of the fugitives were caught and put to the sword, and the royal troops returned with considerable spoil. In the middle of Ramazán the Emperor started on his return to the capital, and on the same day Khán-i 'azam departed for Gujarát. The Emperor arrived at Fathpúr on the last day of Ramazán.

It had become manifest that much of the cultivable land of Hindústán was lying uncultivated; and to encourage cultivation, some rule for dividing the profits of the first year between the Government and the cultivator seemed to be required. After careful consideration, it was arranged that the various *parganas* should be examined, and that those which contained so much land as being cultivated would yield a *kror* of *tankas*, should be divided off and given into the charge of an honest and intelligent officer, who was to receive the name of *krori*. The clerks and accountants of the Exchequer were to make arrangements with these officers, and send them to their respective districts, where, by vigilance and attention, in the course of three years the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the revenues recovered for Government. To carry out these views, a number of the most honest and trustworthy servants of the State were selected, such as * * and appointed to the office of *krori*. The *amírs* also were called upon severally to appoint *kroris*, who were sent into the country upon their responsibility.

At this time Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram, Jalál Khán Korchí, and some other *amírs*, were sent to effect the reduction of the fort of Síwánah, belonging to the son of Ráí Mál Deo. The fort was besieged for a long time, and Jalál Khán Korchí, one of the officers of the Court, was killed there. After that Shahbáz Khán Kambú was sent there, and he took the place in a very short time.

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[1] "by way of Rámpúr."—*Ak.-náma.* Rámpúr in Tonk, seventy miles S. from Jaipúr.

A statement was now received from the ministers (*wukalá*) of Sultán Mahmúd of Bakar, reporting that Sultán Mahmúd was dead, and that they had no confidence in Muhibb 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán. If, therefore, his Majesty would send one of his officers, they would render up the fort into his charge. His Majesty accordingly sent Mír Kísú *Bakáwal-begi*, who had received the title of Kísú Khán.

In this year a great pestilence (*wabá*) and famine occurred in Gujarát, and lasted for nearly six months. From the severity of these calamities, the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled the country, and were scattered abroad. For all this, grain rose to the price of 120 *tankas* per *man*,[1] and horses and cows had to feed upon the bark of trees.

Khwája Amínu-d dín Mahmúd *Khwája-jahán*, who was *wazír-i mustakill* of the territories of Hindústán, died at Lucknow.

Twentieth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 29th Zí-l ka'da, 982 H. (13th March, 1575).

Defeat of Dáúd Khán by Khán-khánán.

After the conquest of Tánda and the flight of Dáúd to Orissa, Khán-khánán devoted his attention to the settlement of the affairs of the country. Then he sent Rájá Todar Mal with some other *amírs* towards Orissa, in pursuit of Dáúd. He appointed Majnún Khán Kákshál to the government of Ghora-ghát. When the Khán proceeded to Ghora-ghát,[2] Sulaimán Mangalí, the *jágírdár* of the place, and one of the bravest of the Afgháns, collected a force to resist his taking possession. Some sharp fighting followed, and Sulaimán was killed, and the wives and children of him and of other Afgháns were made prisoners. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Kákshál. Majnún Khán married Sulaimán's daughter to his own son

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[1] "*Jawárí* rose to the price of 120 black *tankas* per *man*."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 186.

[2] Forty-eight miles S.E. of Dinájpúr.

Jabbárí. He then went on to Ghorá-ghát, and after dividing the whole of the country among the Káksháls, he made a report to Khán-khánán.

Rájá Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of Dáúd, when he reached Madáran,[1] was informed by his scouts that Dáúd was engaged collecting men in Dín-kasárí, and that his forces were daily increasing. Todar Mal stopped at Madáran, and wrote a full report from thence to Khán-khánán. On receiving it, the Khán sent Muhammad Kulí Khán Bírlás * * with reinforcements for the Rájá. Upon their arrival, all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowálpára, ten *kos* from Dín-kasárí, with all speed. When Dáúd heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dharpúr.[2]

The spies now brought in information that Junaid, son of Dáúd's uncle, a man of high repute among the Afgháns for bravery and resolution, who had formerly come into the service of the Emperor, but fled from Ágra to Gujarát, and afterwards came from Gujarát to Bengal, was now at Dín-kasárí, seeking to form a junction with Dáúd. Rájá Todar Mal, with the approval of the other *amirs*, sent Abú-l Kásim Namakí and Nazar Bahádur to attack Junaid. These men, making light of the matter, neglected the precautions necessary in warfare, and were defeated by Junaid, thus bringing disgrace upon themselves.

Rájá Todar Mal, on receiving the news, with the approval of his *amirs*, marched against Junaid; but before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into the jungles. Todar Mal therefore stopped at Midnapúr. Muhammad Kulí Khán Bírlás died here after a few days' illness. He was an able man, and his loss was a great cause of weakness in the Imperial forces.

In concurrence with the remaining *amirs*, Rájá Todar Mal returned from Midnapúr to Madáran. Here Kiyá Khán Gang, being offended with the other *amírs*[1] without reason, went off into the jungle. Todar Mal reported the fact to Khán-khánán, and remained for some days in Madáran. Hereupon Khán-khánán sent Sháham Khán Jaláír and * * * to support Rájá Todar Mal. When they joined the Rájá at Bardwán, the Rájá left them, and went out into the jungle after Kiyá Khán, and having pacified him, brought him back with him. From Madáran they marched to Jitúra. There they were informed that Dáúd, with his forces, had gone into the fort of Katak Banáras,[2] and was engaged in preparations for war.

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[1] In the Húglí district between Bardwan and Midnapúr. See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 375.

[2] "A place lying between Bengal and Orissa."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 99.

Rájá Todar Mal halted, and sent swift messengers to inform Khán-khánán of the position of affairs. Khán-khánán then left Tánda to march against Dáúd, and he formed a junction with Rájá Todar Mal. Dáúd had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afgháns entrenched their camp.

On the 20th Zí-l ka'da, 982,[3] the armies met.[4] After the array was formed, the Afgháns advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khán-khánán ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarb-zan*) and light guns (*zambúrak*), which were mounted on *arábas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghán attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afgháns who were in the advance. Gújar Khán, with his division in excellent order, now came up boldly, and drove back Khán-khánán's advanced force upon the *Altamsh*.[1] Khán-i 'álam, who commanded the advance, held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamsh* division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty. Khán-khánán did all in his power, but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gújar Khán attacked and wounded Khán-khánán, and as the latter had no sword, he returned Gújar Khán's cuts with slashes of his whip. In this conjuncture Khán-khánán's horse took fright; and although his rider was anxious to stop him and rally the fugitives, he could not restrain him. The Afgháns pursued Khán-khánán for half a *kos*, when Kiyá Khán Gang attacked the Afgháns, and showered arrows upon them. The Afgháns were exhausted by their long ride, and could not move. Then Khán-khánán got his horse under control, and rallying his men, led them back to the field. They discharged showers of arrows, and by the guidance of fate, an arrow struck Gújar Khán, and brought him down. When the Afgháns saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in their flight. Rájá Todar Mal, Lashkar Khán, and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the enemy. Sháham Khán and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Dáúd. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of his army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. The banner of Khán-khánán now became visible, and the death of Gújar Khán came to the knowledge of Dáúd. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khán-khánán encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, to have his wounds tended, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword. Lashkar Khán *Mír-bakhshí*, who had rendered such good service, died of his wounds before the army moved.

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[1] With Khán-khánán in particular.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 98.

[2] Attock and Cuttack, at the two extremities of the Empire, both have the word Banáras (Benares) added to their names in the *Tabakát.*

[3] This date shows that Abú-l Fazl is right in placing the battle in the nineteenth year of the reign. Several lines are occupied with the names of the *amirs* in command of the various divisions of the two armies.

[4] "at Bajhora."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 194. The MSS. of the *Akbar-náma* have "Takaroí." The name is not given in the MSS. of the *Tabakát,* nor in the *Akbar-náma* of Faizí Sirhindí. Mr. Blochmann finds the locality of the battle in the Trigonometrical Map of Orissa, in two places called Mughulmárí (Mughal's fight), and "Tookaroe," a village about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughulmárí and Jalesar (Jellasore), and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, lat. 21° 53'. The battle extended over a large space. Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 195) speaks of three or four *kos, i.e.* about six miles."—See *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 375.

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[1] *Altamsh* is a Turkí word meaning "sixty," and it is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general.—See *suprà*, p. 364.

Conclusion of peace with Dáúd. His interview with Khán-khánán.

After his defeat, Dáúd fled to Katak Banáras (Cuttack), in the centre of Orissa, and Khán-khánán, who remained stationary on account of his wounds, held a council, in which he and his *amírs* determined to pursue Dáúd.[1] Rájá Todar Mal and * * * were directed to proceed after him, and it was agreed that Khán-khánán himself would follow as soon as his wounds permitted. The Rájá and his *amírs* accordingly started, and did not halt until they reached Kalkal-ghátí.[2] After resting there a while, the scouts brought in the intelligence that Dáúd and the Afgháns, with their wives and children, were shut up in the fort of Katak Banáras. Reduced to extremities, and having no other refuge, the men were resolved upon fighting, and fugitives from the field of battle daily gathered round them. Rájá Todar Mal sent a report of the state of affairs to Khán-khánán,[3] and the Khán set out for Katak Banáras, never resting till he came within two *kos* of that place. Then he held a council with his *amírs*, and having pitched his camp on the banks of the Mahánadí, which is half a *kos* from Katak, he began to collect materials for a siege.

Dáúd had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gújar Khán, his mainstay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khán-khánán with a message to this effect: "The striving to crush a party of Musulmáns is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengál sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel." The *amirs* communicated this to Khán-khánán, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal,[1] upon the condition that Dáúd himself should come out to meet Khán-khánán, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths.[2]

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[1] "A large number of Afghán prisoners were put to death by order of Khán-khánán."—*T. Alfi.*

[2] Abú-l Fazl calls the place "Bhadrak." The "Bhudruck" of Thornton, north of Cuttack. Badáúní and Faizí Sirhindí follow the *Tabakát*, and have "Kalkal-ghátí."

[3] According to Abú-l Fazl, the Rájá's men were despondent, and he was obliged to call for support.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 107.

Next day[3] Khán-khánán ordered a grand Court to be held, and all the nobles and attendants to be present in their places in fine array, and the troops drawn up in arms in front of the tents. Dáúd came out of the fort, attended by his Afghán nobles and officers, and proceeded to the tent of Khán-khánán. When he approached it, Khán-khánán, with great courtesy and respect, rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Dáúd loosened his sword from the belt, and holding it before him, said, "I am tired of war since it inflicts wounds on worthy men like you." Khán-khánán took the sword, and handed it to one of his attendants. Then gently taking Dáúd by the hand, he seated him by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. Food and drink and sweetmeats were served, of which the Khán pressed him to partake.

After the dishes were removed, the terms of peace came under discussion. Dáúd protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne, and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khán-khánán brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Dáúd, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you as my *tankhwáh* has been granted to me. I now gird you afresh with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khán-khánán started on his return.

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[1] "Rájá Todar Mal, who well understood the true position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet (to prevent the armistice), met with no support." He refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 108.

[2] The terms were that Dáúd was to do homage of service, to surrender his best elephants, and pay up his tribute. Eventually he was to go to Court and do homage in person, but for the present some relations were to be sent as hostages. His nephew Shaikh Muhammad was the hostage.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 108.

[3] 1st Muharram, 983 (12th April, 1575).—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 108.

On the 10th Safar, 983, he reached Tánda the capital, and sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khán-khánán, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

While Khán-khánán was occupied at Katak Banáras, the sons of Jalálu-d dín Súr, in concert with the *zamíndárs* of Ghorághát, attacked and defeated Majnún Khán, drove him to the neighbourhood of Tánda, and captured the fort of Gaur. Mu'ín Khán and Majnún Khán provided for the security of Tánda, and awaited intelligence of Khán-khánan's success. When his return became known, the insurgents scattered and hid themselves in the jungles.[1]

Building of an 'Ibádat-Khána.

The Emperor had from his early youth taken delight in the society of learned and accomplished men, and had found pleasure in the assemblies of men of imagination and genius. He always treated them with the greatest respect and honour, and frequently graced their heavenly meetings. He listened to their discussions of nice points of science, of the ancient and modern history of religions and people and sects, and of all matters of worldly interest; and he profited by what he heard. His great favour for such men, led him at the time of his return from Ajmír in the month of Zí-l ka'da, 982, and in the twentieth year of his reign, to issue his commands for skilful architects and clever builders to erect in the gardens of the royal palace a refuge for *súfis*, and a home for holy men, into which none should be allowed to enter but *saiyids* of high rank, learned men (*'ulamá*), and *shaikhs*. In obedience to the Imperial commands, skilful architects planned a building, containing four halls (*aiwán*), and in a brief period completed it. When this happy abode was finished, the Emperor used to go there on Friday nights and on holy nights, and pass the night until the rising of the sun in the society of distinguished men. It was arranged that the western hall should be occupied by *saiyids*, the south by the learned (*'ulamá*) and the wise, the northern by *shaikhs* and men of ecstasy (*arbáb-i hál*); all without confusion or intermixture. The nobles and officers of the Court, whose tastes were in unison with those of men of greatness and excellence, were to sit in the eastern hall. His Majesty graced each of the four halls with his presence, and enriched those present with his gifts and bounty. The members of the assembly used to select a number of the most worthy among those present to be presented to His Majesty, and to receive from him handfuls of *ashrafis* and rupees. Those, who from evil fortune did not participate in the royal bounty in the evening, used to sit down in rows before the *'ibádat-khána* on Friday mornings, and receive handfuls of *ashrafis* and rupees from His Majesty's own hands. This assemblage used frequently to last beyond mid-day on Fridays. Sometimes, when His Majesty was tired, one of the attendants of the Court, in whose kindness and gentleness he had confidence, was deputed to perform this duty. * *

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[1] Abú-l Fazl says that Mu'ním Khán went to Ghorá-ghát, and suppressed the insurrection.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 140.

In this year Gulbadan Bēgam, daughter of the Emperor Bábar, and aunt of Akbar, piously undertook the journey to Mecca. When Gujarát was annexed to the Imperial dominions, he determined that every year one of the officers of his Court should be appointed Mír Hájí, or Leader of the Pilgrims, to conduct a caravan from Hindústán, like the caravans from Egypt and Syria, to the holy places. This design was carried out, and every year a party of enlightened men of Hind, of Máwaráu-n nahr, and Khurásán, received provision for their journey from the royal treasury, and went under the appointed leader from the ports of Gujarát to the holy places.[1] Never before had any monarch provided for the annual departure of a caravan from India, nor had any one furnished means to the needy, to enable them to perform the pilgrimage. Gulbadan and Salíma Sultán Begam[2] now obtained the Emperor's permission to go the pilgrimage, and received from him a sum of money for the expenses of the journey. All the pious poor who desired to join in the pilgrimage obtained the means of travelling.

Arrival of Mirzá Sulaimán.

Mirzá Sulaimán had been ruler of Badakhshán since the time of the Emperor Bábar. He had a son, Mirzá Ibráhím, a fine intelligent young man, who was taken prisoner in battle and killed by the adherents of Pír Muhammad Khán Uzbek, in the year that Mirzá Sulaimán invaded Balkh. Mirzá Ibráhím left a son, Sháh Rukh by name, whom Sulaimán carefully brought up, and to whom, in spite of his tender age, he gave several districts of Badakhshán.

When Sháh Rukh arrived at years of discretion, and Mirzá Sulaimán grew old, some designing people incited the youth with stories of his rights. But the Mirzá's wife was a clever woman; she kept a sharp watch over Sháh Rukh, and prevented any outbreak. But when she died, these same people stirred up Sháh Rukh's ambition to be ruler of Badakhshán. He came from Kunduz to Koláb, and being supported by his party, the whole of Badakhshán, from Hisár Shádmán to Kábul, fell into his hands, and he wanted to send his grandfather to join his father.

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[1] "After five or six years, this arrangement was set aside."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 213.

[2] "Daughter of Nuru-d dín Muhammad Mirzá, who was married to Bairám Khán" (see *suprà*, p. 256).—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 213.

Mirzá Sulaimán fled in great distress to seek assistance from Muhammad Hakím Mirzá. But he did not meet with the reception he expected, so he begged to be sent on to the Indus. Hakím Mirzá did not comply with this trifling request. He sent him a party of pretended guides, who left him at the first stage and fled to Kábul. But Mirzá Sulaimán, trusting in God, continued his journey,[1] and although he was sometimes opposed by the Afgháns, and had to fight his way, and was wounded by an arrow, he at length reached the Indus. Thence he wrote to the Emperor, who sent him 50,000 rupees, horses, and necessaries, by the hand of Khwája A'ká Khán, * * * and after some days Rájá Bhagwán Dás[2] came to the Indus with an escort, and conducted him honourably to Lahore.

At this time a *farmán* was sent to summon 'Azam Khán from Gujarát, and he arrived at Court[3] with speed and alacrity. Some cavillers and fault-finders made insinuations about his management of affairs,[4] and the Khán, in defending himself, passed the bounds of prudence and respect, and made use of unseemly words, which brought upon him the displeasure of the Emperor. Thereupon the Khán, forgetful of his duty, retired to his garden at A'gra, shut himself up alone, and refused admission to everybody.

Mirzá Sulaimán, after staying a few days at Lahore, started for Fathpúr. On reaching Mathúra, twenty *kos* from Fathpúr, the Emperor sent * * several nobles to meet him, and to arrange for his meeting the Emperor on the 15th Rajab, 983. All the nobles and officers were sent out to the distance of five *kos* from

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[1] He had his daughter with him.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 214.

[2] Then ruler of Lahore.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 214.

[3] On the 4th Rajab, 983 H.

[4] Abú-l Fazl (*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 126) says the charge was about the branding of the horses; but Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 214) states that there were complaints also against his revenue, military and general administration. They agree that he was sent into retirement.

Fathpúr to receive him. And when intelligence of his having left this stage was brought, the Emperor himself went out on horseback to meet him. Five thousand elephants, with housings of velvet and brocade, with gold and silver chains, and with white and black fringes on their necks and trunks, were drawn up in lines on each side of the road to the distance of five *kos* from Fathpúr. Between each two elephants there was a cart (*arába*), the *chítas* in which had collars studded with gold and housings of fine cloth; also two bullock-carts, which had animals that wore gold-embroidered headstalls.

When all the arrangements were made, the Emperor went out with great pomp and splendour. Upon approaching, the Mirzá hastened to dismount, and ran forward to His Majesty; but the Emperor observing the venerable age of the Mirzá, also alighted from his horse, and would not allow the Mirzá to go through the usual observances and ceremonies. He fondly embraced him; then he mounted and made the Mirzá ride on his right hand. All the five *kos* he inquired about his circumstances, and on reaching the palace he seated him by his side on the throne. The young princes also were present, and were introduced to the Mirzá, and after a great entertainment, he gave the Mirzá a house near to the royal palace. On this occasion an order was issued to Khán-jahán, the ruler of the Panjáb, to take 5000 horse and proceed to Badakhshán in attendance on the Mirzá, to recover the country and restore it to him, and then to return to Lahore.

Death of Khán-khánán Mu'nim Khán.

When Khán-khánán, with his mind at ease about Dáúd, returned to Tánda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his evil destiny, he took a dislike to Tánda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal,[1] and he ordered that all the soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tánda to Gaur. In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tánda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave,[1] and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached to such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river.[2] Every day the deaths of many *amírs* and officers were reported to Khán-khánán, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days, in the month of Safar, 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Sháham Khán Jaláir in command,[3] and made a report of the facts to the Emperor. Khán-khánán had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khán-jahán, who had been supreme governor of the Panjáb, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *amíru-l umará*, commended the *raiyats* and people to his tender care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly-caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government. Khán-jahán, furnished with full credentials, then departed to assume his authority.

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[1] He was influenced by two reasons. It was on the side of the river nearest to Ghorá-ghát, the seat of the rebellion, and it contained many handsome and convenient buildings.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 140. Faizí Sirhindí.

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[1] *Az gaur ba gor*: the two words being written exactly alike. A neat though misplaced pun.

[2] "Out of the many thousand men that were sent to that country, not more than a hundred were known to have returned in safety."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 217.

[3] Upon this appointment, Badáúní, in his caustic way, quotes the proverb—"In the treeless land the shrub *Palma Christi* is a tree."

Twenty-first year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Zí-l hijja, 983 H. (11th March, 1576 A.D.)

Mirzá Sulaimán's Journey to Mecca.

* * The Emperor had determined that Khán-jahán should march with the army of the Panjáb to recover the country of Badakhshán, but fate ruled otherwise. Khán-khánán, the ruler of Bengal, was removed by death, and the Emperor deeming the retention and administration of that country more important than the conquest of Badakhshán, sent Khán-jahán thither. When Mirzá Sulaimán saw this change of fortune, he sought leave of the Emperor, through the officers of state, to go on the pilgrimage. The Emperor complied with his request, and furnished him with 50,000 rupees in cash, besides other things required for the journey. He sent with him, to attend upon him in his journey to the coast, Muhammad Kalíj Khán, one of the chief nobles, who had been appointed governor of Surat. When the Mirzá went on board ship, twenty thousand rupees more were given to him out of the revenues of Gujarát. The Mirzá performed the pilgrimage in the same year, and afterwards returned and recovered his kingdom of Badakhshán.

On the 7th Zí-l ka'da, 984, the Emperor set off on a visit to Ajmír. He hunted as he went, and on the 4th Zí-l hijja he encamped at ten *kos* from Ajmír. He afterwards, as usual, walked five *kos* on foot to the tomb of the saint, and after going through all the observances of the pilgrimage, he gave away two thousand rupees in charity.

Twenty-second year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 20th Zí-l hijja, 984 H. (11th March, 1577 A.D.).

While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmír, the intelligence was brought to him that Dáúd Afghán had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khán-khánán, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tánda. The Imperial officers in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hájípúr and Patna. All this commotion had arisen because Khán-jahán had taken his time in going there in consequence of his army being at Lahore. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Emperor sent a letter by Subhán Kulí Turk to Khán-jahán, directing him to take with him all the *amírs* and *jágírdárs* who had abandoned Bengal, and to march against Dáúd. In twenty-two days Subhán Kulí travelled nearly a thousand *kos*,[1] (!) and delivered the *farman* to Khán-jahán. The Khán took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with three thousand men whom Dáúd had left in charge of Garhí, and took the place. Nearly fifteen hundred of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.

Whilst the Emperor was staying at Ajmír, he sent Kunwar Mán Singh, a brave and able man, with five thousand horse, against Ráná Kíká.[2] He also sent Kází Khán Badakhshí, * * * and other ambitious young men with him. A'saf Khán was appointed *Mír-bakhshi* of this army. His Majesty presented Kunwar Mán Singh and all the *amírs* and *sardárs* of the army with robes and horses. After fitting out this army, he started to return home on the 20th Muharram, and reached Fathpúr on the 1st Safar, 985 H.

After his arrival at Fathpúr, messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khán-jahán, after the capture of Garhí, had advanced to the vicinity of Tánda. There he found that Dáúd had evacuated Tánda, and had taken up a position in the village of A'k.[3] On one flank was the river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khán-jahán marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwája 'Abdu-lla, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghán entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall, the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Muzaffar Khán, the governor of Patna and Bihár, to assemble all the troops in his province, and to march to the assistance of Khán-jahán. In a few days, a letter arrived from Khán-jahán, with the news that there had been a battle with the enemy, in which the royal troops had fought bravely, and had won a victory, in which they killed the commander of the enemy's army, who was called Khán-khánán.

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[1] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 227) confirms this.

[2] "Against Kokanda and Kombalmír, the territory of Ráná Kíká."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 228. Kombalmír is in the Arávalli mountains, about forty miles north of Udípúr.

[3] Or "A'k-mahál" or A'gá-mahál, afterwards called "Ráj-mahál" by Rájá Mán Singh, when governor of Bengal. The ancient name was Rájá-griha.

Defeat of Ráná Kíká by Kunwar Mán Singh.

Ráná Kíká was chief among the Rájás of Hindústán. After the conquest of Chitor, he built a town called Kokandà,[1] with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hinduwára. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Mán Sing[2] drew near to Kokanda, Ráná Kíká called all the Rájás of Hinduwára to his aid, and came out of Ghátí Haldeo[3] with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Mán Singh, in agreement with his *amirs*, put his troops in array and marched to the battle-field. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle raged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rájpúts in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.[4] Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more than 500 Rájpúts of the enemy's army were sent to perdition.[1] The enemy lost Rámeswar Gwaliárí and his son,[2] and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Ráná Kíká fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rájpúts, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Mán Sing wrote an account of his victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Ráná Kíká, and again returned thanks to the Almighty (*sic*). Ráná Kíká fled into the high hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Mán Sing and his *amírs* with robes and horses.

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[1] This is the spelling of our MSS., of Badáúní and of the Lucknow edition of the *Akbar-náma*. Todd calls the place "Gogoonda." Blochmann (*Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 339) writes it "Gogandah."

[2] Mán Singh was supported by Ásaf Khan, and marched from Ajmír by way of Mándalgarh.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 230.

[3] Or Haldi-ghát.

[4] The Rájpúts of the royal army were commanded by Rájá Lon Karan of Sámbhar.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 331.

Khán-jahán's campaign against Dáúd.

When the battle fought by Khán-jahán became known to the Emperor, he sent five *lacs* of rupees by *dák-chauki* towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Ágra, for the use of the army. * * *

Gajpatí was a *zamíndár* in the neighbourhood of Hájípúr and Patna, who had been enrolled among the partisans of the Emperor. When Muzaffar Khán went with reinforcements to Khán-jahán, leaving this country void of troops, he collected a party and attacked Farhat Khán and his son Mírak Ráwí, who were at the station of Árah. In the fight which ensued Farhat Khán and his son were killed. Great disturbances followed, and the roads were closed.

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[1] Badáúní was in this battle, and gives a detailed account of it. The Imperialists had a hard victory, and were much indebted to their Hindú auxiliaries on this, as on many other occasions. But notwithstanding this and the enlightened policy of the Emperor, the Musulmán generals could not repress their contemptuous hatred of the infidel. Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 231) relates that he was with a party of the advanced force, and in the middle of the fight he asked Ásaf Khán how they were to distinguish between their Rájpút friends and foes. They were told to shoot at a venture, let the consequences be what they might. "So," says he, "we kept up the discharge of arrows, and our aim at that mountain-like mass (of men) never failed."

[2] Named "Sálibahán" (Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 233). The Jai Mal referred to was the hero of Chitor.

When intelligence of this reached the Emperor at Fathpúr, on the 25th Rabí'u-l ákhir he set off. At five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by 'Abdu-lla Khán, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khán-jahán, and who now returned to cast the head of Dáúd at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory, he returned to the capital.

Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khán thus rehearsed the story of the victory. Muzaffar Khán arrived with the forces of Bihár, Hájípúr, and Patna, amounting to nearly 5000 horse, and joined Khán-jahán. On the 15th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 984, they drew out their forces and attacked the enemy. Dáúd also, supported by his uncle Junaid Kiráni and other Afghán chiefs, made his dispositions. Junaid was struck by a cannon-ball. His leg was broken. After a while the armies closed with each other, and the enemy was defeated. Dáúd being left behind, was made prisoner, and Khán-jahán had his head struck off, and sent it to His Majesty. Great spoil and many elephants fell into the hands of the victors. * * *

At this time, Sultán Khwája was appointed Mír Hájí, and a sum of six *lacs* of rupees in cash and goods was assigned for the benefit of the poor people about to make the pilgrimage to the holy places, and given into his charge. He was directed to furnish what was necessary to any one desirous of being a pilgrim, and many benefited by this liberality.

[*The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín at Ajmír.*]

It has already been related how Rájá Mán Singh defeated Ráná Kíká, and occupied his country—how the Ráná fled into the high hills, and how the army penetrated to Kokanda, which was the Ráná's home. The roads to this place were so difficult that little grain reached it, and the army was nearly famished. The order was given for Mán Singh to fall back quickly, and he very soon arrived at the Emperor's throne. When the distress of the army was inquired into, it appeared that, although the men were in such great straits, Kunwar Mán Singh would not suffer any plundering ofRáná Kíká's country. This caused the Emperor to be displeased with him, and he was banished from Court for a time.[1] After a while he was forgiven, and was sent at the head of a force to ravage the Ráná's country. It must be understood that in the language of Hind "Kunwar" signifies "son of a Rájá." On the 19th of the month the army marched from Ajmír towards the Ráná's country.

Khwája Sháh Mansúr made Díwán.

Sháh Mansúr, a Shírází clerk, at the beginning of his career was employed in the royal perfumery department. But Muzaffar Khán was then in power, and he caused him to be first imprisoned, and afterwards banished from Court. He then entered the service of Khán-khánán Mu'nim Khán at Jaunpúr, and rose to be his *díwán*. The conversation of the Khán made his abilities known to the Emperor, and after Khán-khánán's death, Mansúr was summoned to Court, and appointed to the office of *díwán* in chief.[2]

Sultán Khwája had been appointed Mír Hájí, or Leader of the Pilgrims, and as the road to Gujarát *viâ* Kokanda was nearest, Kutbu-d dín Khán * * and the other *amírs* were ordered to escort the caravan through Kokanda. They were directed to plunder and lay waste the country of Ráná Kíká, and to follow him up, and harry him wherever they might hear of him. When Sultán Khwája was about to depart on the pilgrimage, the Emperor, acting after the manner of pilgrims, stripped himself, put on the *ihrám* or pilgrim's garment, and went some steps after the Khwája.[3] A cry arose from those present, and their voices were raised in benediction and praise.

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[1] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 240) tells us that Ásaf Khán fell into disgrace along with the Kunwar; but that the others, including Badáúní himself, received rewards and promotion.

[2] Abridged translation.

[3] According to the *Akbar-náma* (vol. iii. p. 165), the Emperor had a strong desire to go on the pilgrimage, but was dissuaded by his friends and counsellors.

When His Majesty reached the *pargana* of Mohí,[1] news came in from the front that Kutbu-d dín Khán and the other *amirs*, on arriving at Kokanda, found that the Ráná had fled into the hills. Orders were then given for Kutbu-d dín and Rájá Bhagwán Dás to remain at Kokanda, and for Kalíj Khán and the other *amírs* to accompany the caravan of pilgrims as far as I'dar. The *amírs* were to stop at I'dar, and lay siege to it; but they were to send on an escort with the caravan as far as Ahmadábád, forty-eight *kos* from I'dar. When Kalíj Khán arrived there, he found that the Rájá[2] had fled into the hills, but that a party of Rájpúts remained in the temple resolved upon death. They were all killed in a short time. Next day Kalíj Khán sent on Tímúr Badakhshí with the caravan to Ahmadábád. Here Shahábu-d dín Ahmad * * * and other *jágírdárs* of Málwa came in to pay their respects.

Grants of mansabs to various chiefs.

When the Emperor reached U'dipúr, a despatch arrived from Sultán Khwája, the Mír Hájí, from the port of Surat, reporting that, owing to no pass (*kaul*) having been obtained from the Europeans, the ship was useless. The Emperor directed a messenger to be sent to Kalíj Khán to bring him quickly to Surat, in order to secure the departure of the vessel. During Kalíj Khán's absence, A'saf Khán was to have the command of his army.

Kutbu-d dín Khán and Rájá Bhagwán Dás returned from Kokanda, and waited upon the Emperor. Sháh Fakhru-d dín and Jagannáth were left in U'dipúr, and Rajá Bhagwán Dás and Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khán were left in Dhauli-ghátí of U'dipúr. When His Majesty came into the territory of Bánswála (Bánswára) and Dúngarpúr, the Rájás and *zamíndárs* of the country came to wait upon him with their offerings, and were right royally received.[3] Here also Rájá Todar Mal came from

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[1] "Mohaní."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 241.

[2] "Náráin Dás" by name.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 241.

[3] Abú-l Fazl specifies "Ráwal Partáb, chief of Bánswára, and Ráwal Askaran, chief (*marzbán*) of Dúngarpúr."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 169.

Bengal to wait upon him, bringing nearly 500 elephants from the spoils of Bengal, with other presents and offerings. Kalíj Khán also arrived to attend upon him, and was sent to Surat to despatch the ships. He went along with[1] Kalyán Ráí, a merchant (*bakkál*); and having got passes (*kaul*) from the Europeans, he sent off the ships. He quickly returned, and waited upon His Majesty, while he was in Málwa. After arranging his posts (*thánaját*) to his satisfaction, and securing the loyalty of the *zamíndárs*, he entered Málwa.

Twenty-third year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H.[1] (11th March, 1578).

The festivals of the Nau-roz and of the Emperor's accession were celebrated in the *pargana* of Dípálpúr, a dependency of Málwa. The Emperor devoted his attention to measures for increasing the prosperity of this country, and the *raiyats* waited upon him in parties, and made statements of their circumstances. He paid the kindest attention to every one's case, and made a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of the province. Many *zamíndárs* became submissive and obedient to his will.

Rájá 'Alí Khán, the ruler of Ásír and Burhánpúr, had not been duly subordinate, and it being deemed necessary to chastise him, several *amírs*, such as Shahábu-d dín Ahmad and * *, with other *jágírdárs* of Málwa, were sent against him. Shahábú-d dín was appointed commander. Shahbáz Khán, the *Mír-bakhshí*, was to check the brands (of the horses) and the muster of the army. The other *amírs* were to exercise their diligence, and secure the speedy departure of the force.

At this same place Rájá Todar Mal was commissioned to settle the revenue and other affairs of the province of Gujarát. News also was brought from the force at Ídar, that a battle had been fought with Rájá Náráin Dás and a victory gained. The particulars of the occurrence were these: When Muhammad Kalíj Khán, in obedience to orders, repaired to the Imperial camp along with 'Alí Murád Uzbek, the army was left under the command of Ásaf Khán. Intelligence came in that the Rájá of Ídar, with a number of Rájpúts who had been driven from their homes, together with some *zamindárs* of the country, and supported by Rájá Kíká, had gathered a force which was posted ten *kos* distance, and contemplated a night attack. When this intelligence was confirmed, Ásaf Khán and * * * held a council. About 500 men were left to secure the camp, and the rest of the force was called out at midnight, and marched towards the enemy. On the morning of the 4th Zí-l hijja, after marching seven *kos*, they encountered the foe, and a battle began. Mirzá Muhammad Mukím, who led the advance, was killed; but the enemy was defeated. Rájá Náráin Dás fled, and the chiefs of the royal army obtained the victory. Ásaf Khán's despatch gave His Majesty much pleasure, and he ordered letters of thanks to be written to the *amírs* and officers of the army.

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[1] The MS. has 985, but this is a manifest error. The *Akbar-náma* (vol. iii. p. 203) is correct. The twenty-second year began (*suprà*, p. 396) on the 20th Zí-l hijja, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985, and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abú-l Fazl in the twenty-second. See Table, p. 246 *suprà*.

When His Majesty had arranged the affairs of Málwa, and settled the matters of the *amírs* of Ásír and Burhánpúr, he turned homewards; and, hunting as he went, he arrived at Fathpúr on Sunday, 23rd Safar. After three months, troubles arose in Gujarát, through the coming thither of Muzaffar Husain Mirzá, son of Ibráhím Mirzá, who was son of the daughter of Kámrán Mirzá. The circumstances of his case are these: When the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Kámrán and wife of Ibráhím, carried off her child Muzaffar Husain, as has been related in the account given of the conquest of Ahmadábád. A disaffected man named Mihr 'Alí, a servant of the late Ibráhím Mirzá, who accompanied Gulrukh Begam when she fled from Surat to the Dekhin, now stirred up the ambition of Muzaffar Husain, who was fifteen or sixteen years of age. He induced him to leave the Dekhin, and collecting a number of adventurers from all directions, he entered Gujarát intent upon insurrection.

At this time Rájá Todar Mal was in Pattan, engaged in the settlement of the revenue. The insurrection spread, and the disaffected were everywhere raising their heads. Wazír Khán, the ruler of Gujarát, had 3000 horsemen, but there were amongst them many adventurous men upon whom he could not rely, so he retired into a fortress, and sent an account of the occurrences to Rájá Todar Mal. Before the Rájá came to his assistance, Báz Bahádur, son of Sharíf Khán, and Bábá Gadáí, the *díwán* of Gujarát, attacked Muzaffar Husain in the *pargana* of Nandurbár,[1] and were defeated. Muzaffar Husain then went to Kambay,[2] and after staying two or three days, he went off towards Ahmadábád. Rájá Todar Mal turned back from Pattan, and arrived at Ahmadábád.

When the insurgents heard of this, they fell back, and went towards Dúlaka. The Rájá and Wazír Khán pursued them, and coming up with them at Dúlaka, a battle ensued, in which the royal forces were victorious, and the enemy drew off to Júnágarh. Rájá Todar Mal then departed on his return to Court.

Muzaffar Husain, as soon as he heard of the Rájá's departure, came back and besieged Wazír Khán in Ahmadábád; for although Wazír Khán's force was large, it was not trustworthy, and so he was obliged to seek the shelter of the fortress.[3] Mihr 'Alí, the *vakíl* of Muzaffar Husain, and the great prop of the revolt, brought forward scaling-ladders to attempt an assault, but he was sent to hell[4] by a bullet from the fortress. When he was removed, Muzaffar Husain withdrew, and went towards Sultánpúr. So the insurrection came to an end.

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[1] In Khándesh. This is written Nadarbar and Naryadaba in the MSS. Badáúní has "Patlad."

[2] But failed to gain possession of the fort.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 181.

[3] The rebels had a number of partisans in the city also, who acted in concert with them.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 187.

[4] This charitable expression, though commonly used for the deaths of infidels, is not reserved exclusively for them.

Arrival of the amirs with an Imperial army at Ásír and Burhánpúr.

It has been mentioned above, that Shaháb Khán and other *amirs* were sent with 10,000 horse against Ásír and Burhánpúr. When Rájá 'Alí Khán heard of the approach of this force, he drew in his horns and crept into his fortress. The *amirs* entered the country, and did not stop till they reached Bijanagar.[1] Great dissension arose in the country of Ásír, and Rájá 'Alí Khán was reduced to beg pardon for his offences. He promised the *amirs* to send suitable tribute and some elephants in charge of his people to the Emperor's Court. At this time, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán separated from the other *amirs*, and went off to Nandurbár and Sultánpúr, in consequence of disturbances which had arisen in his *jágírs* of Broach and Baroda, through the proceedings of Muzaffar Husain. The disorders in Ásír and Burhánpúr which the *amirs* had been sent to settle being ended, by the submission of Rájá 'Alí and his payment of tribute, the *amirs* retired to their respective *jágírs*. When Hakím 'Aínu-l Mulk, who had gone on an embassy to 'Ádil the ruler of the Dekhin, returned, he was sent with the elephants and the tribute to the Imperial Court.

[*The annual pilgrimage to Ajmír.*]

The Emperor, on his return journey, when he reached the neighbourhood of Ambír,[2] ordered a fort and town to be founded in the village of Mulathán,[3] one of the dependencies of Ambír, on the site of an old city which had been in ruins for some thousand years. Walls and forts, and gates and gardens were allotted out among the *amirs*, and injunctions were given for the completion of the work. So a building (*'imárat*), which might have taken years for its completion, was finished in twenty days. Orders were then given for *raiyats* and all sorts of mechanics to be collected from all the *parganas* of that province, to populate the fortress (*hisár*). The land of this place was an ancient possession of Ráí Lon Karan,[1] and his son, who was young and was being brought up with the princes, was named Manohar, so the town was called Manohar-nagar after that child. This child has now grown up a clever young man, and composes poetry under the *takhallus* (*nom de plume*) of Tánsaní.[2]

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[1] "Bíjagarh," about seventy miles N.W. of Burhánpúr?

[2] Four miles N.E. of Jaipúr.

[3] Or as Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 251) writes the name "Multán."

Appearance of a Comet.[3]

At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinion of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindústán, but probably in Khurásán and 'Irák. Shortly afterwards, Sháh Isma'íl, son of Sháh Tahmásp Safawí, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia.

On arriving at Nárnaul, the Emperor paid a visit to Shaikh Nizám Nárnaulí. * * From thence he proceeded to Dehlí, and encamped near the *Hauz-i Khás*, and paid a visit to the tomb of his father with due ceremony. Then he visited the tombs of the holy men who sleep at Dehlí and dispensed large charities. He next halted at the *sarái* of Báwalí, and here he was waited upon by Hájí Habíbu-lla, who had visited Europe, and had brought with him fine goods and fabrics for His Majesty's inspection. He started from thence, and passed through the *pargana* of Pálam. He passed the night in the house of the

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[1] "Ruler of Sámbhar."—Badáúní.

[2] The celebrated wit and poet.

[3] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 240) places the appearance of this comet in the twenty-second year of the reign. He also records a joke of the time. Sháh Mansúr, the *díwán*, used to wear a turban with the end hanging down his back; so he got the name of "The Comet," or "Long-tailed Star." Abú-l Fazl likewise places this comet in the twenty-second year of the reign, or 1577 A.D., and according to Fergusson, the comet passed its perihelion on the 26th October, 1577 (*Fergusson's Astronomy*, vol. ii. p. 234). Abú-l Fazl enters into a learned discussion upon comets in general.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 192.

mukaddam of the village, and in the morning he directed that the revenue officers, whenever he so rested in the house of a cultivator, should remit the tax and tribute (*báj o khiráj*) of his cultivated land by way of *madad-m'ásh*,[1] or help for subsistence.[2] * * * When he arrived at the *pargana* of Hánsí, he went to pay a visit in the town to Shaikh Jamál Hánsawí, and made his offerings and alms. Here a despatch arrived announcing that Muzaffar Husain Mirzá, after flying from Gujarát, had been taken prisoner by Rájá 'Alí Khán, the ruler of Ásír and Burhánpúr. On the 1st Zí-l ka'da the camp moved for the Panjáb, and a *farmán* was sent to Rájá 'Alí Khán, directing him to send Muzaffar Husain Mirzá with his (the Rájá's) son to Court.

[The *maulúd-náma* or horoscope of His Majesty.]

Twenty-fourth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 13th Muharram, 987[3] H. (12th March, 1579) * * * [*Hunting, etc.*]

The Emperor marched to the town of Bahíra, and here intelligence was brought of the approach of Her Highness Maryam Makání from the capital, and Prince Salím was sent to meet her. * * * After conferring the government of the Panjáb on Sa'íd Khán, the Emperor started on his return homewards, and on reaching the village of Sultánpúr, appertaining to Khizrábád,[4] he ordered boats to be collected, so that the rest of the journey might be performed by water. Muhammad Kásim Khán, the *Mír-bahr*, collected the vessels, and on the 3rd Jumáda-s sání, 986 H., the Emperor embarked. The camp returned by land. He reached Dehlí, and the boats were moored opposite the tomb of Khwája Khizr on the 29th of the month. This being the time of the *'ars*, or anniversary of Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín, he left the boats on the 1st Rajab, and set off. Travelling thirty *kos* a day, he reached Ajmír on the evening of the 6th, which was the day of the festival, and paid his visit to the tomb. Next day he started for Fathpúr, and travelling fifty *kos* a day, he arrived there on the evening of the 9th.[1] There he spent much of his time in the building called the *'Ibádat-khána*, in the company of learned and holy men, every one of whom he enriched with gifts of gold and silver. Every Friday he used to pass the night there, making offerings and dispensing charity.

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[1] This is the title of a very common *lá-khiráj* tenure.

[2] This passage, and a few more lines of no importance, are found in only one copy.

[3] The text has "986," but see note, p. 403, *suprà*.

[4] "Sádhaura."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 264.

In those days there was a reservoir in the court-yard of the palace at Fathpúr, twenty *gaz* long by twenty broad and three *gaz* deep. This he caused to be filled with red, white, and black money (*i.e.* gold, silver, and copper), the whole of which he gave away to the *amírs*, the poor, the holy, and the learned. The total of this money amounted to twenty *krors* of *tankas*,[2] and the distribution of it lasted for three years.

In this year Ma'súm Khán, Koka of Mirzá Hakím, a young man of courage, who had done some great things, being offended with the Mirzá, left him and came to the Court of the Emperor, who received him with great kindness. He gave him a *mansab* of 500, and a *jágír* in Bihár, whither he sent him. When Ma'súm went there, Kálá Pahár, one of the highest and bravest of the Afghán *amírs*, attacked him; but he was victorious, although he received several wounds. The Emperor bestowed upon him as a recognition a *mansab* of 1000, with a horse and a robe.

In the month of Shawwál he appointed Mullá Taiyib to the *díwání* of the province of Bihár and Hájípúr, Purkhottam to be *bakhshí*, Mullá Majdí *amín*, and the eunuch Shamshír Khán to the charge of the *khálisa* of that province.[3] In the same month

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[1] The journey was performed on horseback, with an escort of nine persons. The distance was 120 *kos* in two days.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 214.

[2] "Rájá Todar Mal collected seventeen *krors* of *dáms* for this purpose."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 210.

[3] Badáúní was not pleased with the appointment of these officers. He says they were low base men, and acted as such, serving neither God nor the king.—Vol. ii. p. 266.

Maksúd Jauharí, who went to fetch Mirzá Muzaffar Husain from Rájá ʿAlí Khán of Ásír, arrived at Court with the Mirzá and the Rájá's tribute, and presented it to His Majesty.

Campaign against Ráná Kíká.

His Majesty's mind was always intent upon clearing the land of Hindústán from the troubles and disturbances created by infidels and evil men. He sent Shahbáz Khán *Mír-bakhshí* * * and several other *amírs*, against Ráná Kíká, to ravage and occupy his country. Shahbáz Khán accordingly laid the country waste, and pursued the Ráná into the mountains and jungles. Upon reaching the fort of Kombalmír, Shahbáz Khán laid siege to it, and captured it in a few days. The Ráná made his escape from the fort by night.

Sultán Khwája, whom His Majesty had appointed *Mír-i háj*, now returned from Mecca, and waited upon him with presents—fabrics and stuffs of Turkey and of Europe, Arab horses, Abyssinian slaves, holy relics, and curiosities. These His Majesty accepted with much satisfaction, and he raised Sultán Khwája to the *mansáb* of Sadr (chief judge). As it had been determined to send a leader of the pilgrims every year, Khwája Muhammad Yahya * * was now appointed, and he received four *lacs* of rupees for expenses.

At the end of this year, 987, intelligence arrived of the death of Khán-jahán, the ruler of Bengal. His Majesty was much grieved, and sent a letter of condolence to Isma'íl Khán, the brother of the deceased. Muzaffar Khán, who had been appointed *díwán*, was promoted to be governor of Bengal, Rizwí Khán to be *bakhshí*, and Hakím Abú-l Fath and Patar Dás to discharge jointly the office of *díwán*.

Twenty-fifth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, the 24th Muharram, 988 H.[1] (12th March, 1580).

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[1] The author has now got the date correct.

The rulers of Kashmír had always been well-wishers and servants of the Imperial house. His Majesty now intended, after performing his usual pilgrimage to Ajmír, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Faríd Shakar-ganj, and to visit the Panjáb. So he sent Mullá Ishkí, one of the old servants of the Court, along with Kazí Sadru-d dín, to Kashmír. 'Alí Khán, the ruler of Kashmír, entertained them nobly and respectfully, and exhibited his fidelity and devotion. Along with the two envoys he sent his own *vakíl,* Muhammad Kásim, to carry his tribute and productions of Kashmír as presents to the Emperor—saffron, musk, paper, shawls, etc. They accordingly brought them to His Majesty, and reported what they had seen and knew of 'Alí Khan's cordiality and good wishes.

Muzaffar Husain Mirzá, whom Maksúd Jauharí had brought from Rájá 'Alí Khán, was pardoned through His Majesty's clemency, and released from prison.

One day, when His Majesty was taking his dinner, it occurred to his mind that probably the eyes of some hungry one had fallen upon the food; how, therefore, could he eat it while the hungry were debarred from it? He therefore gave orders that every day some hungry persons should be fed with some of the food prepared for himself, and that afterwards he should be served.

Hakím 'Alí was now sent to Bíjagarh along with the envoys of 'Ádil Khán Dakhiní. The rulers of the Dakhin, every one of them severally, had been accustomed to send their envoys every year with tribute and presents to the Imperial Court. When Khwája 'Abdu-lla brought presents and elephants from 'Ádil Khán, the ambassador, and his son Sháhí Beg were presented with robes, one hundred Akbar-sháhí *ashrafis,* one thousand five hundred and one rupees, and twenty-four *tankas.*

Mír Nizám, husband of the sister of Mirzá Sháh Rukh, the ruler of Badakhshán, came on a mission to the Imperial Court, bringing Turkí horses bred in Badakhshán, fine rubies, several camels, and other gifts.

The Emperor used to keep every year the anniversary of the Prophet's birth. This year he kept it on the 12th Rabí'u-l awwal, and he gave a great entertainment, at which the *saiyids*, learned men, *shaikhs*, and *amírs* attended. Open table was kept, and no one in the city was debarred from partaking of the refreshments. On this occasion it was represented to him that the Prophet and the four lawful Khalífas[1] used themselves to preach. The 'Abbáside Khalífas also observed this tradition, and themselves used to speak.[2] Sultáns such as Sáhib Kirán Amír Tímúr and Mirzá Ulugh Beg used to follow the examples thus set them. His Majesty therefore felt it to be his duty to carry into practice on some Friday the custom observed by the Khalífas and Imáms. On Friday, 1st Jumáda-l awwal, he went into the *Masjid-i jáma'* of Fathpúr, and mounting the pulpit, he opened his speech with these lines:

The Lord who gave me empire,
Gave me a wise heart and a strong arm,
Guided me in the way of justice and equity,
And drove all but justice from my thoughts.
His praise surpasses understanding!
Great is His power—Great is God![3]

To these eloquent lines he briefly added some verses of the *Kurán*, expressing thanks for mercies and favours; then he repeated the *fátiha*, and came down from the pulpit and said his prayers.

Muzaffar Khán, since his appointment to the government of Bengal, had not sent a single article of the productions of the country, or any portion of its revenue, to the Imperial treasury; but he now sent five *lacs* of rupees in cash, various goods and articles of the country, and elephants and rarities of great value, which were graciously accepted. Muhammad Ma'súm Kábulí also sent thirty-nine elephants as tribute.

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[1] Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman, and 'Alí.

[2] "*Khutba mí khwándand.*" This, however, is not the technical *Khutba*, but simply a speech.

[3] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 268) says these verses were the production of Shaikh Faizí, and that the Emperor, "stammering, trembling, and in great confusion, got half through them with the help of others."

On a Friday in this month notice was given for all the poor and needy to assemble on the *chaugán* ground. Sultán Khwája Kalíj Khán distributed the alms to them one by one. Nearly a *lac* of persons assembled, and there was such a crowd and crush that eighty weak women and children were trampled to death. When the Emperor was informed of this, he ordered that for the future the people should come a few at a time, and not make a crowd.

Kutbu-d dín Atka, a nobleman of high rank, was now appointed tutor to Prince Salím. In celebration of this appointment he gave a grand feast, and the young prince honoured him with his presence. There was a grand assemblage, and Kutbu-d dín made many offerings of elephants and Arab horses, jewels and cloths. According to the usual custom, Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Atka carried the prince upon his back, and raised his aspiring head to the pinnacle of grandeur. He made presents of money and jewels to the prince, and the clamour of congratulations reached the sky.

'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, ruler of Máwaráu-n nahr, had always kept up a friendly intercourse and community of feeling, and used to send his envoys to the Imperial Court. His Majesty now sent Mirzá Fulád with Khwája Khatíb, a native of Bukhárá, as his envoys to 'Abdu-lla Khán, bearing a letter[1] full of kind words, and a great variety of presents. [*A legal discussion. The usual journey to Ajmír.*] On the 21st Shawwál he returned to Fathpúr. Mihtar Sa'ádat, whose title is Peshrau Khán, and who had been sent on an embassy to Nizámu-l Mulk Dakhiní, now returned with the Dakhiní envoys, who brought with them elephants and other tribute.

Twenty-sixth year of the Reign.

Corresponding to 988 H.[2]

An Imperial order was made abolishing the *tamghá* (tolls) and the *zakát*[1] (customs) throughout the empire. *Farmáns* enforcing this abolition were issued. These taxes amounted to as much as the whole revenue of Írán, and it is clear that no king would have remitted them without divine guidance.[2] In this year Muhammad Ma'súm Khán, son of Mu'ínu-d dín Ahmad Khán Farankhúdí, who held the government of Jaunpúr, came to Court, and was allowed to return to that place. Mullá Muhammad Yazdí was appointed chief *kázi* of Jaunpúr. The government of Dehlí was given to Muhibb 'Alí Khán, son of Mír Khalífa.

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[1] See *Inshác Abú-l Fazl, Daftar* IV.

[2] See Table, p. 246.

Affairs of Bengal.

Muzaffar Khán, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amírs* of their *jágírs*, he demanded the *dágh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

Bábá Khán Kákshál, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jágír* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dágh*, and received no attention. The *pargana* of Jalesar, which was the *jágír* of Khâldí Khán, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwáh* to the *jágír* of Sháh Jamálu-d dín Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khâldí Khán, and to recover this Muzaffar Khán put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

At this time a *farmán* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khán to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím named Roshan Beg, who had left Kábul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Beg was among the Kákshâls, and Muzaffar Beg issued an order for his execution. He also spake some harsh words about Bábá Khán Kákshál. The soldiers who were present, and especially Bábá Khán and the Kákshals, trembled together, and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps,[1] and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnautí. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khán in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffar Khán collected boats, and sent Hakím Abú-l Fath and Patar Dás,[2] with an army against them on the banks of the river.

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[1] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 276) substitutes "*jizya*" for "*zakát*," and says that the produce of these taxes amounted to several *krors* (of *dáms* ?). Abú-l Fazl calls them "*báj* (misprinted *táj*) and *tamghá*."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 258.

[2] "*taufík na-yáfta.*"

When the disaffection of the Kákshals was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farmán* to Muzaffar Khán, in which he said that the Kákshals had long been servants of the throne, and that it was not right to hurt them; they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jágirs* was to be settled. The *farmán* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khán was in face of the insurgents.

Upon the arrival of the *farmán*, Bábá Khán and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khán, asking him to send Rizwí Khán and Patar Dás to arrange terms with them, and to set their minds at ease. He accordingly sent Rizwí Khán, Mír Abú Ishák, son of Mír Rafí'u-d dín and Rái Patar Dás. Bábá Khán put all three of them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warfare.

Coincident with this, it so happened that Mullá Taiyib, Purkhottam *Bakhshi*, and the revenue officials of Bihár, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jágirs* of Muhammad Ma'súm Kábulí, 'Arab Bahádur, and all the *amírs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Ma'súm Kábulí, who after this insurrection obtained the cognomen of 'Ásí, having leagued with 'Arab Bahádur and Sufaid Badakhshí, resolved to rebel, and kill Mullá Taiyib and Rái Purkhottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purkhottam rallied some loyal subjects, and crossed the river Jausa with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel 'Arab Bahádur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

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[1] *tákíhde Mughúli*, "Mughal caps."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 280.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 281) observes that Abú-l Fath was fonder of feasts than of war, and Patar Dás was a mere Hindu clerk, so that no vigorous action could be expected.

Upon intelligence of 'Ásí Ma'súm's rebellion reaching Bábá Khán Kákshál, a correspondence was opened between them; and when the Kákshál confronted Muzaffar Khán, 'Ásí marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhí. Muzaffar Khán then sent Khwája Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Khwáfí with a detachment and some guns to the passes of Garhí, to arrest the progress of 'Ásí Ma'súm. But the latter had a strong force; he broke through Garhí, and attached the Khwája and defeated him. He then formed a junction with the Kákshál, and the revolt gathered strength.

The Kákshál then crossed the river, and advanced against Muzaffar Khán. Wazír Jamíl,[1] one of the old *amírs* of the State, along with Ján Muhammad Bihbúdí and some others, deserted Muzaffar Khán, and joined the insurgents. Muzaffar Khán then took shelter in the fort of Tánda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tánda. They took Hakím Abú-l Fath, Khwája Shamsu-d dín and others prisoners, and began to pillage. Hakím Abú-l Fath with the Khwája and Rái Patar Dás effected their escape by artifice, and fled on foot. By the help of the *zamíndárs*, they managed to reach Hájípúr. The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tánda, brought Muzaffar Khán out of his house upon a solemn assurance (of safety), and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihár fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor some time before this had taken Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khán.[1] The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

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[1] "Wazír Khán Jamíl Beg."—Badáúní.

Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Rájá Todar Mal * * and other *amírs* to repress it. *Farmáns* were sent to Muhammad Ma'súm Farankhúdí, governor of Jaunpúr, and Samánjí Khán and the *jágírdárs* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

While the Imperial army was on the march, Sháham Khán Jaláir fought with Saiyid Badakhshí and killed him. When the army reached Jaunpúr, Muhammad Ma'súm joined Todar Mal with 3000 horsemen fully armed, and marched on with him. But Muhammad Ma'súm was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his army had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Rájá Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporized with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

When the Imperial army reached Mongír, 'Ásí Kábulí and the Kákshá1s, and Mirzá Sharafu-d dín Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war-boats and artillery, in battle order, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Rájá Todar Mal had no confidence in the (cohesion of the) adventurers composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongír, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he on one occasion sent Zainu-d dín Kambú by *dák-chaukí* with a *lac* of rupees for the expenditure of the army. Some days after, he sent the same amount by the hands of Daryá Khán *áb-dár*, and so on by different persons. At different times he sent a great deal of money.

At this time Humáyún Farmúlí and Tarkhán Díwána deserted the Imperial army and joined the insurgents. For four months the loyal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamíndárs* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Bábá Khán Kákshál fell sick at Tánda and died. Jabbárí, son of Majnún Khán Kákshál, who was the main prop of the rabble, being informed of the sinking condition of Bábá Khán, wanted to go to Tánda. 'Ásí [Ma'súm], not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihár. 'Arab Bahádur made a rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure. Bihár Khán Khássa-khail[1] went into the fort of Patna, and held out. Rájá Todar Mal and his supporters sent Muhammad Ma'súm Farankhúdí with a detachment to the relief of Patna. On hearing of his approach, 'Arab Bahádur raised the siege, and went off towards Gajpatí, one of the chief *zamíndárs* of that country.

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[1] To be kept in custody.—*Akbar-náma.*

The Rájá and Sádik Khán and * * * and the other *amírs* marched to Bihár after 'Ásí Ma'súm, who sought an opportunity to make a night attack upon Sádik Khán's camp. But Sádik Khán was a wary commander, and on that night he and his men were prepared. Ján Beg and Ulúgh Khán Habshí were in command of his advanced force, and the enemy attacking them unawares, Ján Beg was killed and Ulúgh Khán fell back. Sádik Khán had to resist a sharp attack, but the Emperor's good fortune aided him, and he defeated Ma'súm, who went off to Bengal in sorry plight. Now, Garhí fell into the hands of the royal troops.

Among the strange occurrences of the time was this: A letter was sent by the hands of Hasan *tawáchí-báshí* to Shujá'at Khán, ruler of Málwa, summoning him to Court. Accordingly, he and his son Kiyám Khán set off from Sárangpúr to attend upon His Majesty. His attendants were seized with the desire to rebel, so they killed both him and his son, and then dispersed, each one taking his own way. When the Emperor heard this, he sent Sharíf Khán Atka to be governor of Málwa, and called the young surviving children of Shujá'at Khán to Court.

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[1] "Commonly known as Saiyid 'Árif."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 283.

In consequence of the state of affairs in Bengal, 'Azam Khán who had been living for some time in retirement at Ágra, was again received into favour, and he was sent with 5000 horse to assume the government of Bihár.[1] For greater security, Sháhbáz Khán Kambú, who was engaged against Ráná Kíká, and had nearly driven the Ráná from the country, was summoned and sent with an army to the support of the forces in Bengal. When Sháhbáz Khán came near to Hâjípúr, where 'Arab Bahádur had taken refuge with Rájá Gajpatí, he marched to attack him. For one month he carried on operations against him, clearing away the jungle, until at length he drove off 'Arab Bahádur, and made the Rájá succumb.

[*The Emperor pays a visit to Sharíf Khán Atka. Hakímu-l Mulk Gílání appointed "Leader of the Pilgrimage."*]

A despatch now arrived from Rájá Todar Mal, stating that he had kept Muhammad Ma'súm Farankhúdí along with him by conciliatory treatment and all kinds of expedients. That Khwája Mansúr [the *díwán*] had written sharp letters to him, claiming a good deal of money due from him. He [the *díwán*] had also written letters to Tarsún Muhammad Khán, one of the great *amírs* and commander of an army, holding out threats to him, at a time when encouragement was necessary. The sharp practice of the *díwán* having been repeatedly mentioned to His Majesty, he removed him from office, and placed him in charge of Sháh Kulí Khán. An order was promulgated appointing Wazír Khán to be *díwán* in chief instead of him, and Kází 'Alí, son of Kutbu-d dín Baghdádí, was to assist him in deciding important questions.

A great natural curiosity was brought to the notice of the Emperor at this time. It was a man born without ears or any orifice of the ears, who yet heard all that was spoken, just like people with ears. His Majesty was greatly interested in the man, and settled a pension upon him.

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[1] The MSS. agree in this, but Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 285) says "Bengal." Abú-l Fazl seems more accurate in saying he was appointed to the command in the Eastern provinces.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 275.

[*Prince Dániyál makes the usual pilgrimage to Ajmír instead of the Emperor.*]

Rájá Todar Mal, Tarsún Muhammad Khán, and the other *amírs* took up their quarters in Hájípúr during the rainy season, and Ma'súm Farankhúdí, with their permission, went to Jaunpúr, which was his *jágír*. There he began to show signs of disaffection. His Majesty therefore sent Peshrau Khán, *dárogha* of the *farásh-khána*, to set him at ease; he also gave him the country of Oudh instead of Jaunpúr, and bestowed the latter upon Tarsún Khán. Ma'súm spoke dutiful words to Peshrau Khán, and did not show his disaffection; but as Oudh was near, he went there.

Niyábat Khán, son of Háshim Khán Naishapúrí, who had grown up in the nurture of the Imperial Court, broke out in rebellion in his *jágír* of Jausa and Payág (Allahábád), and attacked the fort of Karra, which was the *jágír* of Isma'íl Kulí Khán. Ilyás Khán, who was *shikkdár* of that place for Isma'íl Kulí, fought with him and was killed. He then invested the fort of Garha, and began to pillage. This being reported to His Majesty, he sent Ismá'íl Kulí Khán, * * and several other *amírs* to repress him. He also sent Rájá Birbal and Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram to excite the hopes of Ma'súm Khán Farankhúdí, and bring him to Court.

When Wazír Khán had departed, Khwája Mansúr was released from confinement, and again appointed to the office of *díwán*.

As soon as Niyábat heard of the approach of the royal army, he raised the siege of Karra, and went towards Kantal, one of the dependencies of Patna. The *amírs* followed him, crossed over the river, and came up with him. Niyábat Khán attacked them, and a hard fight ensued, but at last he was defeated and went off to Ma'súm Khán.

At this time, also, 'Arab Bahádur fled before Sháhbáz Khán, and took refuge with Ma'súm.[1] Sháhbáz Khán, in pursuit of him, went to Jaunpúr, and from thence to Oudh against Ma'súm. But Ma'súm advanced to meet him, defeated him, and put him to flight. In one day Sháhbáz Khán travelled forty *kos* to Jaunpúr. Tarsún Muhammad Khán, who commanded the right wing of Sháhbáz Khán's force, had been hidden by the jungle, and when Ma'súm's army was disordered, this force came up and defeated it. When Sháhbáz Khán was informed of this, he returned immediately, joined his right wing, and rallying his forces, pursued the enemy. Ma'súm fought again in the vicinity of the city of Oudh, and was again defeated. His mother and sisters, wives and children, property and troops were taken. He himself fled to the Siwálik hills. This happened in the month of Zí-l hijja, in the year 988[2] H.

Twenty-seventh year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 15th Safar, 989.[3]

In the beginning of this year intelligence arrived that Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by 'Ásí Ma'súm Kábulí and Ma'súm Farankhúdí, and urged on by his maternal uncle Farídún, had set out from Kábul with the object of conquering Hindústán. He sent his servant Shádmán over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Mán Singh, son of Rájá Bhagwán Dás, attacked him and killed him.[4] On hearing of this, the Mirzá crossed the river, and encamped in the *pargana* of Saiyidpúr.

The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Panjáb. Prince Dániyál remained at Fathpúr, and

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[1] Ma'súm Khán had an immense stock of the materials of war, "and there were thirty or forty banners, *tughs* and kettle-drums in his army."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 290.

[2] Should be 989.

[3] This should be 990 (11th March, 1582).

[4] A force sent in advance of this had been defeated by Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, governor of the Panjáb.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 310.

Sultán Khwája and Shaikh Ibráhím were there left in charge of affairs. Upon the Emperor's reaching the *sarái* of Bád, fifteen *kos* from Fathpúr, he received intelligence of the victory of Sháhbáz Khán over Ma'súm Farankhúdí. Deeming this an auspicious omen, he continued his march.

When Kunwar Mán Singh defeated Shádmán, he obtained from Shádmán's portfolio three letters from Mirzá Muhammad Hakím: one to Hakímu-l Mulk, one to Khwája Sháh Mansúr, and one to Muhammad Kásim Khán *Mír-bahr;* all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Mán Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed.

After the Emperor marched from Dehlí, Mirzá Muhammad Hakím advanced to Lahore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdí Kásim Khán. Kunwar Mán Singh, Sa'íd Khán, and Rájá Bhagwán Dás had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Pánipat, Malik Sání Kábulí, *díwán* of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, who had the title of Wazír Khán, deserted the Mirzá, and came to the Imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwája Sháh Mansúr, and made him the channel for offering his services to the Emperor. When Khwája Sháh Mansúr announced his arrival, the Emperor's suspicions were aroused, and he thought that the *díwán's* arriving at the time when his master was invading Hindústán must have some policy in it. He was already suspicious of Mansúr, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansúr, and showed him the Mirzá's letters. Mansúr asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

The Emperor proceeded to Sháhábád, and Malik 'Alí brought him a letter to the following effect: "When my scouts were coming from the ford of Ludíáná, which is under my charge, and reached the *sarái* of Sirhind, they found a footman with swollen feet. This footman said to them, 'I belong to Sharaf Beg, the servant of Khwája Sháh Mansúr. He is the Khwája's *shikkdár* in his *jágír* of Fírozpúr, thirty *kos* from Lahore. These letters are to be delivered to the Khwája; as my feet are in a bad state, do you convey the letters quickly to him.' These letters my men have brought to me." When the secretary opened them, one was a letter from Sharaf Beg to Khwája Mansúr, about the affairs of Fírozpúr, and the other was a letter from one person to another person, and of the following purport: "I met Farídún Khán, and he carried me to wait upon Muhammad Hakím Bádsháh. Although he had sent his revenue collectors into all the *parganas* of this quarter, he has not sent any to ours, but has held us exempt." On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to His Majesty that Sharaf Beg had written one of them to Khwája Mansúr, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím's *díwán*, Malik Sání, to Khwája Mansúr. Many of the *amírs* and officers of State were on bad terms with the Khwája, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

Three days afterwards, intelligence came in that Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Panjáb, had passed the river of Lahore, and gone off to Kábul. The Emperor advanced from Sirhind to Kalánor,[1] and from thence to New Rohtás. There he received good news, and hunting as he went along, he reached the Indus. In the month of Rabí'u-s sání, he ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sind-ságar, and he called it Atak Banáras.[2] Boats were scarce, so he ordered the *amírs* and soldiers to search for and produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the various *amírs*. Kunwar Mán Singh, with Shaikh Jamál Bakhtiyár and Mádhú Singh his brother * * and others were sent over the river towards Parshor (Peshávar). When they took possession of that city, the Emperor sent Prince

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[1] According to Abú-l Fazl, he paid a visit to Nagarkot before reaching Kalánor.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 326.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 293) says this was "in contradistinction to Katak Banáras," at the other extremity of the empire.

Murád along with Kalíj Khán, Rái Singh, Mirzá Yúsuf, and other *amírs*, to effect the conquest of Kábul.

At this time Khwája Abú-l Fazl and * * came as envoys from Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Hájí Habíbu-lla along with them to Kábul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court. Prince Murád passed through the Khaibar Pass, and on the 15th Jumáda-s sání, the Emperor crossed over the river Sind-ságar (Indus), and there encamped.

Here he sent the least of his servants, Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the author of this work, to proceed rapidly in advance of Prince Murád, and open communications with the *amírs* who had gone on first, and to ascertain whether they could get to Kábul without the Emperor, or if they needed his presence; by what road he ought to proceed; and whether he should come with all his army or travel express (*jarída*). In one night and day I reached Jalálábád, a distance of seventy-five *kos*, and delivered my message to the Prince. He was determined upon proceeding to Kábul, and thought it advisable to send me back speedily to the Emperor. He also sent along with me Hájí Habíbu-lla, who had come from Kábul to Jalálábád, and I was to report that Mirzá Muhammad Hakím was sincerely repentant of the past, that he had taken oaths, and that he was willing to send his sister, but that Khwája Husain, her husband, had carried her off to Badakhshán. When I and Hájí Habíbu-lla joined His Majesty, he on the following day marched to Pershor (Peshávar). There he left Prince Salím in camp with Rájá Bhagwán Dás, Sa'íd Khán [etc.], and went on with speed, travelling about twenty *kos* a day. When Prince Murád came to within seven *kos* of Kábul, Mirzá Muhammad Hakím issued forth to the village of Khurd-kábul, and attacked him; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kábul.

On the night before this action Farídún, the uncle of Mirzá Hakím, attacked the rear of the Prince's army, killed a good many men, and carried off considerable spoil. This day the Emperor advanced and encamped at Surkháb, fifteen *kos* from the army of the Prince. When the rear of the Prince's army was attacked and plundered, it so happened that Hájí Muhammad Ahadí, who had gone on in advance as messenger (*dák-chaukí*) to the Prince, arrived upon the spot, and beheld the rout. He turned back and reported the disaster, which annoyed the Emperor. But notwithstanding this news, next day the Emperor went on a stage, and then received accounts of the victory that had been gained, and for which he offered up his thanksgiving.

On Friday, 10th Rajáb, he entered Kábul, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens. Here he was informed that Mirzá Muhammad Hakím intended to abandon his country, and take refuge with the Uzbeks. Deeming this a disgrace and shame, he sent Latíf Khwája to Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, who was at Ghorband, to tell him that his offences were forgiven. The Mirzá, having in the presence of Latíf Khwája made a promise and a vow of fidelity, executed an engagement, and sent it by 'Alí Muhammad Asp along with Latíf Khwája to the Emperor.

His Majesty then turned homewards to Hindústán, after conferring Kábul upon Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. Leaving the army, he went on quickly to Jalálábád, where there was a large encampment. Prince Salím, and the nobles who were with him, hastened forth to meet His Majesty, and to congratulate him on his victory. Khwájagí Muhammad Husain, the brother of Kásim Khán *Mír-bahr*, who was one of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím's nobles, came to proffer his services to the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his friends.

From Jalálábád he sent a detachment to attack the hills of the Kator infidels. Travelling by regular stages, he reached the banks of the Sind-ságar (Indus).[1] Muhammad Kásim Khán, who had been left behind to make a bridge, had constructed one of boats. The journey to Kábul had been performed in one month. In one day he [and his escort] crossed the river and went on to Láhore, where he arrived on the last day of Ramazán. He again entrusted the government of the Panjáb to Sa'íd Khán, Rájá Bhagwán Dás, and Kunwar Mán Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fathpúr. At Pánipat Sháhbáz Khán came to wait upon him. On the 25th Shawwál he arrived at Dehlí. Prince Dániyál and the *amírs* who had remained at Fathpúr, and Her Highness Maryam Makání came forth to meet him, and on the 5th Zí-l ka'da he arrived there.

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[1] "On the 12th Sha'bán."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 295.

While the Emperor was engaged in the Kábul campaign, Bahádur 'Alí, son of Saiyid Badakhshí entered the country of Tirhút, and gave himself the title of Bahádur Sháh;[1] but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khán-i 'azam. Ma'súm Khán Farankhúdí, being in great distress and anxiety in the Siwálik hills, begged forgiveness for his offences through Khán-i 'azam; and in consequence of the Khán's intercession he was pardoned. Then he waited upon Khán-i 'azam in humble guise, and was afterwards admitted to an interview with the Emperor at Fathpúr.[2]

When the Emperor was waited upon at Kábul by the confidential servants of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, he made inquiry into the case of Khwája Sháh Mansúr, and it appeared that Karmu-lla, brother of Sháhbáz, had colluded with others to concoct letters, and that he had forged the last letter on the evidence of which Khwája Mansúr was executed. After this was discovered, the Emperor often regretted the execution of the Khwája. He now remained for some time at Fathpúr, administering justice, dispensing charity, and arranging public business.

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[1] According to Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 298), he caused the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in his name.

[2] He was soon afterwards murdered, as he was returning home from the palace. Niyábat was also "pardoned for the sake of his uncle Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán, ruler of Málwa; but he was sent to the fort of Rantambhor, and confined. There he was guilty of things which cannot be mentioned, and stirred up a great mutiny among the prisoners: so in 998 he was condemned and executed."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 299.

On the 19th Muharram, 990 H., Khán-i 'azam, governor of Hájípúr and Patna, came to wait upon the Emperor, and to give an account of the affairs of Bengal. After staying several days, he was sent back to Bengal, and several nobles and soldiers who had been to Kábul were sent with him.

Twenty-eighth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 27th Safar, 991 (11th March, 1583 A.D.).

[*A festival of eighteen days' duration at the Nau-roz.*]

Sháham Khán Jalesar from Bengal, and Rájá Bhagwán Dás from Lahore, came to wait upon His Majesty. It has been mentioned in a previous page how Khán-i 'azam came with a number of *jágírdárs* from Bengal to wait upon the Emperor, leaving the *súba* empty. Evil-minded men took advantage of their absence, and coming out of every corner began to excite disturbances. A servant of Ma'súm Kábulí, by name Khabíta, in concert with Tarkhán Díwána and Surkh Badakhshí, raised commotions in Bihár. Muhammad Sádik Khán, with Muhibb 'Alí Khán, defeated him and killed him.

[*Return of Gulbadan Begam and Salíma Sultán Begam from Mecca. Prince Salím sent to Ajmír to meet them, and to visit the shrine of Mu'ínu-d dín.*]

Muhammad Sádik Khán came from Bihár, and was well received, but he was soon sent to assist Khán-i 'azam in suppressing the revolt of 'Ásí Kábulí. Sháh Kulí Khán and other *amírs* who had been on the Kábul campaign were sent with him. About this time Mír Abú Turáb and 'Itimád Khán, who had visited the holy temple together, came to Court, and had an interview with His Majesty. Abú Turáb had brought a stone upon which there was said to be an impression of the Prophet's foot. His Majesty went out four *kos* to receive this stone with every mark of honour. An order was issued that all the *amírs* in turn should carry it on their backs a few steps. So each one carried it a little way, and brought it into the city. [*Weighing of Prince Salím against gold and silver.*] The traitor, Núr Muhammad by name, was brought a prisoner from Tirhút, and suffered punishment in the market.[1]

Twenty-ninth year of the Reign.

Agreeing with 991[2] H.

[*Festival of the new year.*]

The news from Bengal was, that Khán-i 'azam had occupied Tánda, that Khâldí Khán, Jabbár Burdí, and Mirzá Beg Kákshál had separated from 'Ásí Kábulí, and had come to Khán-i 'azam, and that 'Ásí had sought refuge with certain *zamindárs.* All the parts of Bengal that were in the possession of the rebels now came again under the authority of the Imperial officers.

As 'Itimád Khán had held the government of Gujarát for several years, he was better acquainted with the prosperous management of the country than others could be, and if the government were confirmed to him it might be the means of exciting the emulation of rulers in other countries. For this reason he was appointed governor of Gujarát. Mír Abú Turáb was appointed *amín*, Khwája Abú-l Kásim, brother of Mullá 'Abdu-l Kádir was appointed *díwán*, and the humble servant Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the author of this work, was appointed *bakhshí.* Muhammad Husain Shaikh and * * * were made *jágírdárs* of Gujarát.

Amír Fathu-lla, one of the *saiyids* of Shíráz, a very wise and learned man, had gone from Shíráz to 'Ádil Khán in the Dakhin, and had there held high office. On the 22nd Rabí'u-s sání he came to visit the Emperor at Fathpúr. Khán-khánán and

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[1] He was a Tarkhán, and had been a rebel in Bengal. Having attacked a caravan of salt-merchants, they made a breastwork of their bags, and beat him off. He was afterwards taken near Gaya.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 388.

[2] Should be 992 (1584 A.D.).

Hakím Abú-l Fath were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him in with due honour. He was appointed to the exalted office of *Ṣadr*.

The suppression and dispersion of the rebels in Bengal was reported to the Emperor. It was known that 'Ạsí Kábulí was in the country of 'Aisí, and Khán-i 'azam was desirous of returning home. For these reasons the Emperor ordered Sháhbáz Khán to proceed to Bengal, to allot the whole of that *sarkár* in *jágírs* to the soldiers, and to do his best to exterminate 'Ạsí Kábulí. On the 17th Jumáda-s sání, he started to assume his duties.

In this year, an order was given for the translation into Persian of the *Mahá-bhárat*, which is the chief book of history of the Brahmans. The translation was completed, and received the name of *Razm-náma* (Book of War).

Information was now brought that Khán-i 'azam had sent Shaikh Faríd to make peace with Katlú Afghán (in Orissa). When the Shaikh reached his dwelling, and had an interview with him, Katlú was very humble. Bahádur Gauriya, one of the *zamíndárs* of Bengal, and a high officer in the army of Katlú, came to see the Shaikh, who then travelled on under the eyes of the *zamíndárs* and the servants of Katlú. Bahádur, in a hostile manner, blocked up the road by which the Shaikh was returning, and attacked him. Many of his men were killed, but the Shaikh escaped without injury.

Burhánu-l Mulk, brother of Murtaza Nizámu-l Mulk, ruler of the Dakhin, fled from his brother to Kutbu-d dín Khán,[1] and by command he came from thence to wait upon the Emperor in the month of Rajab. But before this, a person calling himself Burhánu-l Mulk had waited upon the Emperor, and had obtained a *jágír*. Now that the real man had come, and the imposture was displayed, the impostor fled and hid himself; but he was discovered after the lapse of a week among some *jogís*, and was cast into prison.

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[1] "In Málwa."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 324.

An order was given to 'Itimád Khán to take away the country of Sirohí from Sarmán Deorí, and to give it to Jagmál his brother, who was an adherent of the Imperial throne: 1000 *mohurs* (*muhrs*) was sent in charge of the writer of this work towards payment of the expenses. When 'Itimád Khán arrived at Jálor, the author, Muhammad Ma'súm Bakharí, Kambar Beg Íshang Áká, Zainu-d dín Kambú, and Pahlawán 'Alí Sístaní, who was appointed *kotwal* of Ahmadábád, joined 'Itimád Khán. Muhammad Husain Shaikh and several *jágírdárs* of Gujarát remained behind. After 'Itimád Khán arrived at Jálor, he proceeded to Sirohí, and having removed Sarmán Deorí, he installed Jagmál, whom he left there with Aghzan Khán, Mahmúd Jálorí, Bíjád Deora, Ráí Singh, son of Chandar Sen, son of Ráí Mál Deo. Then he proceeded towards Ahmadábád, and on approaching the city, Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán came out and posted himself in 'Usmánpúr, one of the suburbs. On the 12th Sha'bán, 'Itimád Khán went into the city. Two days afterwards it was discovered that 'Ábid Badakhshí * * and a large party of the servants of Shahábu-d dín Khán had left him, and gone off to Káthíwár, to invite Muzaffar Gujarátí,[1] who was there living in the retirement to which he had been driven by the Imperial arms; their object being to promote a revolt.

'Itimád Khán thought it desirable to have a conference with Shahábu-d dín upon the subject; so he sent me, the author of this work, to him. When I saw him, he told me that this band of conspirators had a design against his life, and that they had for a long time been preparing this plot. Now that they had torn the veil from their designs, they would receive no encouragement or help from him. When I reported the state of the case to 'Itimád Khán, he thought it expedient to conciliate the conspirators; so he sent me and two other persons to appease them. But they rejected our overtures, and continued their journey.

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[1] "Who had fled from the Imperial Court, and had sought refuge with his mother's relations."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 327. Abú-l Fazl says he was really an obscure individual named Tannú, who took the name of Muzaffar, and called himself son of Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 404.

Shahábu-d dín removed and went to Karí, twenty *kos* from Ahmadábád. We now sent several letters to Shahábu-d dín, urging him to delay his departure for a few days; but making no stay, he went on his way.[1]

On the 27th Sha'ban, the intelligence arrived that the rebels had come to Dúlaka,[2] bringing with them Muzaffar and some Káthíwár people.

Kambar Beg I'shang A'ká now came in from Shahábu-d dín, reporting that he had promised to stay at Karí. 'Itimád Khán, Mír Abú Turáb, and I, therefore went forth to see Shahábu-d dín, to mollify him and bring him back with us. Towards the close of day, 'Itimád Khán set off for Karí. It had been urged upon him that it was not right for the ruler of a city to leave it when the enemy was at a distance of only twelve *kos*. But it was of no avail. He left his own son with Amír Ma'súm Bakharí and * * * and my son, and started. When he and I reached Karí, we talked with Shahábu-d dín, and we reconciled him, upon our promise that the *parganas* which he had for a long time held in *jágír* should be relinquished to him, and that he should be paid a subsidy of two *lacs* of rupees. In fact, all he asked was conceded. Towards close of day, 'Itimád Khán and he set out from Karí, to return to Ahmadábád. On the same day that 'Itimád Khán went to Karí, Muzaffar Gujarátí came to Ahmadábád. The men of the city gave him (access to) the fort, and as part of the wall was broken down, he made his way in immediately.

At midnight, when ['Itimád Khán and] Shahábu-d dín were ten *kos* from Ahmadábád, they were met by Mír Ma'súm Bakharí and Zainu-d dín Kambú, who had come out of the city and brought the news. They alighted, and after consultation decided that as the enemy had gained only one day, he had had no time to strengthen himself, and that we must get into the city as he had done. So we went on to the city, and in the morning arrived at 'Usmánpúr, which is on the side of the river near the city. Muzaffar Gujarátí came forth, and drew up his forces on the sandy bank of the river. Shahábu-d dín was quite helpless, because his men were not trustworthy, and many of them ran off. I did all I could with a few men, but without effect. My son, who had been left in the city in charge of the fort, was plundered of everything. Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán and 'Itimád Khán took to flight, and went to Nahrwála, better known as Pattan, forty-five *kos* from Ahmadábád. I, the author, wrote a report of the occurrences to the Emperor.

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[1] The author's words are explicit, though they seem to be inconsistent with what follows.

[2] "Twelve *kos* from Ahmadábád."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 327.

Three days afterwards Muhammad Husain Shaikh * * and other *jágirdárs* of Gujarát came to Pattan, and having set the fort in order, prepared to hold out. Muzaffar Gujarátí gave away *jágírs* and titles to the leading rebels, and busied himself in collecting forces. Sher Khán Fuládí had been governor of Pattan for many years, but had (since) lived for some years in adversity in the country of Súrath. He joined Muzaffar Gujarátí, who sent him with four thousand horse towards Pattan. When Sher Khán arrived at Karí, he sent forward his men to the town of Jútána, twenty *kos* from Pattan.[1] I attacked them and defeated them, and left Mír Muhíbbu-lla * * and a detachment of soldiers at that place. Zainu-d dín Kambú was sent to Kutbu-d dín, governor of Broach and Baroda, desiring him to advance from that side against Ahmadábád, so that the enemy might be attacked on two sides and overpowered. Zainu-d dín went to Kutbu-d dín, and brought him to Baroda. When Muzaffar was informed of his arrival there, he led a large force to attack him, and Kutbu-d dín, having fought in an unsoldier-like way, was defeated, and had to take refuge in the fort of Baroda. Many of his men and officers joined Muzaffar.

Sher Khán Fuládí now advanced as far as the town of Masána,[2] fifteen *kos* from Pattan, and great consternation fell upon the garrison, so much so that they were on the point of abandoning Pattan, and going off to Jálor. I resolved at all hazards to fight, and went to encounter Sher Khán. Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán and 'Itimád Khán stopped in Pattan,[1] the other *amírs* joined me. When we reached Masána, we found that Sher Khán had drawn up his forces, and he advanced to attack us with five thousand horse, while we did not exceed two thousand. Sher Khán was defeated, and went off to Ahmadábád. Many of his men were killed, and a large booty fell into our hands. I strenuously urged that we should advance against Ahmadábád,[2] but the *amírs* who were with me would not agree.

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[1] South of Pattan, and about twelve miles north of Karí.

[2] "Mysana" in the maps. About twenty miles north of Karí.

When we reached Karí, we remained there, awaiting the arrival of the soldiers who had been sent to Pattan with the spoils of our victory. We waited twelve days, and during that time several persons were sent to Pattan to collect men. We now heard that Muzaffar Gujarátí had bombarded the fort of Baroda, and that Kutbu-d dín, having received a promise (of safe conduct), had sent Zainu-d dín Kambú out (to treat). Muzaffar, regardless of his pledge, put Zainu-d dín to death. Kutbu-d dín, although the perfidy and vow-breaking of Muzaffar were manifest, was so demented, so blinded by fate, that he trusted to the promise of that promise-breaker, and went out to him.[3] Then, at the instigation of Tarwárí, *zamíndár* of Pipla, he was put to death. Upon hearing of this, I, and the men who were with me at Karí, returned to Pattan.

From Baroda Muzaffar went to Broach, and the officers of Kutbu-d dín surrendered the fortress. He obtained there fourteen *lacs* of rupees which were in the royal treasury at Kambay, and had been conveyed to Broach by Khwája 'Imádu-d dín Husain.

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[1] These two nobles "had determined to fly towards Jálor, but through the efforts of Nizámu-d dín Ahmad they remained in Pattan."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 339.

[2] "This was the proper course under the circumstances, for intelligence of Kutbu-d dín Muhammad's affair had not as yet been received."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 330.

[3] He was at first received with great kindness and honour.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 331.

And he also got possession of all the property and treasures of Kutbu-d dín, which exceeded ten *krors*. Collecting the soldiers and Rájpúts from all parts near him, he raised his force to nearly thirty thousand men.

When these occurrences were brought to the knowledge of the Emperor, he sent Mirzá Khán, son of Bairam Khán, along with the *jágírdárs* of Ajmír, such as Páyinda Muhammad Khán Mughal * * and others too numerous to mention, by way of Jálor and Pattan; and he also sent Kalíj Khán, who was the *jágírdár* of Surat, with * * *jágírdárs* of Málwa, by the way of Málwa. This latter force had arrived at Sultánpúr and Nandurbár[1] while Muzaffar was engaged at Broach, but dread of Muzaffar prevented them from advancing a step further. I, the author, every day wrote letters from Pattan to Mirzá Khán, urging his speedy approach. When he arrived with his force at Sirohí, I went forth to meet him, and brought him on with all speed. He remained one day in Pattan, and then advanced.

When Mirzá Khán's arrival became known to Muzaffar Gujarátí, he left Broach, and returned to Ahmadábád, leaving the fort of Broach in charge of Nasír, his brother's son, and Charkas Rúmí, one of the Imperial servants who had deserted to Muzaffar. Mirzá Khán and his army encamped at Sarkaj, three *kos* from Ahmadábád. Muzaffar pitched his camp opposite the Imperial army, two *kos* distant, near the tomb of Sháh Bhíkan (God rest his soul!).

On the day the two armies were thus brought near to each other and afterwards some fighting went on, to the advantage of the Imperial arms, until Friday, 16th Muharram, 991, when Muzaffar marshalled his forces and attacked us. Mirzá Khán, on his side, had made his dispositions. I, the author, and * * were directed to keep the town of Sarkaj on our right, and to fall upon the rear of the enemy. The two armies met, and the battle began. Saiyid Háshim and Khizr Áká, *vakíl* of Mirzá Khán, were slain, and many men fell. While Muzaffar was engaged with Mirza Khán, I brought round my men, and fell upon his rear. Rái Durgá, also, of the left wing, under the orders of Mirzá Khán, followed to support me. Muzaffar was put to flight, and great numbers of his men were slain.[1] Next morning Mirzá Khán entered the city, and issued a proclamation of amnesty, so that every one felt reassured. Muzaffar fled to Ma'múrábád and the banks of the Mahindarí river. From thence he went to Kambay. Many of the fugitives rejoined him there, so that his force again rose to nearly ten[2] thousand men.[3]

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[1] Sultánpúr lies about twenty miles north of the Tápti; Nandurbár nearly the same distance south of it.

Three days after the victory, Kalíj Khán arrived at Ahmadábád with the army of Málwa. Mirzá Khán and all the *amírs* then marched towards Kambay. On their arriving at ten *kos* from the place, Muzaffar went off towards Baroda. When Mirzá Khán reached the village of Básad, near Patlád, on the bank of the Mahindarí,[4] he sent Kalíj Khán and * * on in advance to overtake and attack the enemy; but this force, deterred by the difficulty and narrowness of the road, came to a halt, and Muzaffar got off to Ráj-pipla and Nádot.[5]

Mirzá Khán and his army entered Baroda on the 16th, and there rested. While he was there, intelligence arrived that Saiyid Daulat, one of the officers of Muzaffar, had entered Kambay, and overpowered the royal forces in the place. Naurang Khán[6] was sent to repress this diversion, and having driven out the insurgent, he returned. Saiyid Daulat then came back and seized the town again. Khojam Burdí, an officer of Mirzá

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[1] Abú-l Fazl says the Imperial force amounted to only 10,000 horse, while their opponents numbered 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 465.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 333) makes the number to be "2000."

[3] Abú-l Fazl blames the Imperialists for not pursuing the enemy, and for allowing him time to levy contributions on Kambay and assemble his adherents.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 467.

[4] This shows that "Mahindarí" is another name for the Mahí or Mhye; for there is no other river near Patlád, and the maps give a "Wassud" on its northern bank.

[5] Ráj-pipla is south of the Nerbadda, almost on a line with Broach. Nádot is no doubt Nándod, between the Nerbadda and Ráj-pipla.

[6] Tolak Khán in one MS.

Khán's, marched against him from Patlád, and defeated him. Mirzá Khán marched with his army to Nádot, and Muzaffar went off into the mountains. Atálík Bahádur now deserted from the Imperial army, and joined Muzaffar. So the insurgents were again set in motion.

Mirzá Khán imprisoned Sán Bahádur Uzbek, of whom he was suspicious on account of his relations with Atálík Bahádur, and he resolved to attack the rebels. Sharíf Khán and Naurang Khán were appointed to the right, Kalíj Khán and Tolak Khán to the left, Páyinda Khán and some other *amírs* to the advance. I was sent forward to reconnoitre, and find out the best way of attacking the enemy.[1]

When I reached the foot of the hills, I attacked the enemy's infantry, and drove them back for a good *kos* to where their main force was drawn up in array. A sharp action ensued. The discharge of arrows and bullets was quite bewildering, and many men and horses on both sides were wounded. I dismounted some of my best men, and rode on with them to the mountain, and I sent some to call up Kalíj Khán. I also sent Khwája Muhammad Rafía', a man renowned for his courage. Kalíj Khán came up on the left, and becoming engaged, he bore back the enemy a little. But reinforcements were brought up by the enemy, and Kalíj Khán and Tolak Kkán were repulsed, and fell back a bow-shot distance. The men whom I had dismounted, while the enemy was pushing after Kalíj Khán, finding the way clear, ascended the hill. When the enemy returned, they attacked us, and many men were killed. Kalíj Khán had found some shelter and held his ground. I sent to Mirzá Khán for the elephant guns (*hath-nál*). They were brought up upon the elephants, and we discharged several guns against the spot where Muzaffar was standing. Naurang Khán now came up the mountain which covered the enemy's left, and got the command of his position. When the balls from the elephant guns fell in the midst of Muzaffar's division, he fled, and great numbers of his men were taken prisoners or killed. The Imperial arms obtained a complete victory.[1] Mirzá Khán returned, and came to Ahmadábád, where he busied himself in arranging the affairs of the army and the peasantry. He left Kalíj Khán and * * the other Málwa *amírs* to proceed against Broach. For seven months he remained in Ahmadábád, and at the end of that time the fort of Broach was captured. Charkas Rúmí, who had deserted Kutbu-d dín Muhammad Khán to join Muzaffar, and was appointed by him commandant of the fortress of Broach, was taken in the fort, and executed. Nasír, who was also an officer, escaped, though half-dead.

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[1] Mír Ma'súm Bakharí (Vol. I. p. 212) was associated with him.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 429.

At the time when Mirzá Khán was sent to Gujarát, His Majesty commanded a city and fort to be built at Payág, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, to which the name of Illahabás was given. His Majesty went there by boat from Ágra, and spent four months there pleasantly. * * When intelligence of the killing of Kutbu-d dín and the spread of the revolt in Gujarát arrived, His Majesty started for Ágra and Fathpúr, so that he might set out from the latter place to Gujarát. On reaching Etáwa, intelligence of the victory arrived, and so he stayed at Fathpúr. He sent *farmáns* to the *amírs* in Gujarát. To Mirzá Khán he gave the title of Khán-khánán, a horse, a robe, a jewelled dagger, and the banner of 5000[2] (*túman túgh*). On me, the author, he bestowed a horse, a robe, and increased emoluments. All the officers received marks of his favour.

After his second defeat, Muzaffar Gujarátí retreated by way of Champánír, Bírpúr,[3] and Jháláwar,[4] to the country of Súrath,[5] and rested at the town of Gondal, twelve *kos*[1] from the fort of Júnagarh. His scattered forces gathered round him from all sides, so that he mustered nearly three thousand horse and foot. He gave a *lac* of Mahmúdís and a jewelled dagger to Amín Khán Ghorí, ruler of Súrath, and so won his support. He gave a similar sum to Jám Marsal,[2] Rájá of Jháláwar, who was at the head of a body of troops and clansmen. He once more formed designs against Ahmadábád. Amín Khán, being cautious, said to Muzaffar, "Go to the Jám, and take him along with you. I will attend to the provisions for the army, and will follow you." When Muzaffar went to the Jám, he drew back and said, "You march and advance against Ahmadábád: I will follow." On the arrival of Muzaffar at Morbí,[3] sixty *kos* from Ahmadábád, and the intelligence of his advance being brought to Khán-khánán, the Khán set off with all diligence to encounter him. When Muzaffar reached Param-gám, forty *kos* from Morbí, and neither the Jám nor Amín Khán arrived, he returned disheartened and distracted towards the mountains of Barda.[4] Then he proceeded to Jagat, which is the extreme town of Súrath, and well known under the name of Dwárka.[5]

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[1] Abú-l Fazl places the scene of this action near Nándod, south of the Nerbadda. and estimates the loss of the enemy at 2000 killed and 500 prisoners.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 430.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 336) makes this clear by using the words *panj hazárí*.

[3] "Bírpúr" or "Vírpur," fifty miles north-east of Ahmadábád?

[4] Jháláwar is one of the ten *pránts* or districts of Káthiwár. It is on the northern side.

[5] See note p. 350 *suprà*.

The Jám sent his *vakíls* to Khán-khánán, to represent that he was friendly to the Imperial Government; that he had taken money from Muzaffar, but had not joined him, and that he was then ready to conduct the army to the place where Muzaffar was staying. Amín Khán, also, through the introduction of Mír Turáb, sent his son to wait upon Khán-khánán, and assure him of his good wishes. The Jám's men guided Khán-khánán on a rapid march into the mountains of Barda, which were plundered and ravaged. A vast quantity of booty was obtained, and many men were killed or made prisoners.

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[1] North-east.

[2] Badáúní's reading (vol. ii. p. 359) is "Sattarsál," which looks more correct.

[3] The "Morvi" or "Morbi" of the maps, in the north of Káthíwár, on the route which crosses the Ran.

[4] Barda or Jaitwar is a *pránt* or district of Káthíwár. It is bounded on the west by the sea, and the river Bhádar is for some distance its southern boundary.—Thornton, *s.v.* "Burda."

[5] On the coast.

Muzaffar, with five hundred Mughal horsemen, and five hundred Káthíwár horsemen, went off towards Gujarát, and proceeded to a place called Othaníya, which is situated between the Sábarmatí river and the mountain defiles, and was held by a rebellious Kol named Bhái. When Khán-khánán went away (into the mountains), he left Mediní Rái, Khojam Bardí, * * * and others in charge of the army at Hadála, near to Dandúka,[1] on the high road to Kambay. He also left Bayán Bahádur and * * * with a division at Paránti,[2] four *kos* from Othaníya.

When Muzaffar proceeded to Othaníya, Saiyid Kásim Bárha came from Pattan to Bíjápúr,[3] which is thirty *kos* from Othaníya; and the force which was at Hadála came and joined the one at Paránti. Muzaffar, supported by the Kols and Grássias, and all the disaffected *zamíndárs* of the vicinity, gave battle to the force which was at Paránti; but he was signally defeated, and his elephants and canopy fell into the hands of the victors. Many of his men were killed, and he himself escaped barefoot and half-dead.

While Khán-khánán was thus engaged in the mountains of Barda, it became known that the Jám was not acting honestly. His *vakíls* were dismissed, and sent back to him. The Jám prepared to oppose us, and collected an army of twenty thousand horse[4] and innumerable infantry. When Khán-khánán came to within seven *kos* of him, he sent an envoy to make his apologies, and he also sent his son with three large elephants and eighteen Arab horses[5] to Khán-khánán, expressing his earnest desire to enter into a treaty, and to act in a friendly way. Khán-khánán then returned to Ahmadábád, and five months afterwards he was summoned to the Imperial Court, whither he proceeded in all haste.

Muzaffar was then in Káthíwár, and was greatly aggrieved with Amín Khán for having taken his money, and not having given him any help. Supported by the people of Káthíwár and the *zamíndárs*, he collected an army, and marched against Amín Khán, who took shelter in the fort of Amartali. Intelligence of this was brought to Kalíj Khán and me, who were at Ahmadábád. Kalíj Khán remained in the city, and I went out with Saiyid Kásim Khán Bárha, Mediní Rái and * * *, and marched forward with all speed to Súrath.

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[1] About twenty miles N.E. of Dandúka.

[2] Thirty miles north of Ahmadábád.

[3] About twenty miles N.W. of Paránti.

[4] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 360) makes the number only "8000 horse."

[5] "Horses of Kach, which are like Arabs."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 360.

When I reached Hadála, Muzaffar, feeling unable to contend with me, raised the siege of Amín Khán, and went off towards Kach. I then sent Mír Kalíj and * * to Amín Khán, proposing that we should in concert pursue Muzaffar into Káthíwár. I pushed forward and went to Morbí. Muzaffar fled and crossed the Ran, which is an inlet of the sea, and took the road to Jessalmír. In some places the breadth of the water of the Ran is ten *kos* and twenty *kos*. He went into the country which they call Kach, on the other side of this water. When I reached Morbí, the Jám and Amín Khán sent their sons to me, and having entered into engagements with me, I returned towards Bíram-gám.[1]

Intelligence now arrived of the departure of Khán-khánán from Court, and of his having gone to the neighbourhood of Sirohí, with the intention of taking Sirohí and Jálor. I, in agreement with Saiyid Kásim Khán, proceeded with my men to join him. The Rájá of Sirohí came to see Khán-khánán, and paid a sum of money as tribute. Ghazín Khán, of Jálor, also came forward. But when Khán-khánán was on his way to Court, Ghazín had shown some rudeness and signs of disaffection; he was therefore imprisoned, and possession was taken of the fort of Jálor. Khán-khánán went and took up his residence at Ahmadábád.

To return to home affairs. Twenty days after Khán-khánán arrived at Court, intelligence was brought of the death of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, the Emperor's brother. Orders were given to Rájá Bhagwán Dás and Kunwar Mán Singh, the governor of the Panjáb, to go and take possession of Kábul. His Majesty himself proceeded to the Panjáb.

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[1] Or "Víram-gám," twenty-five miles east of Ahmadábád.

At this time Mír Murtaza and Khudáwand Khán, ruler of the country of Birár in the Dakhin, marched to attack Ahmadnagar.[1] They were defeated in battle by Salábat Khán, the *vakíl* of Nizámu-l Mulk, and then came complaining to the Imperial Court. A *farmán* was sent to 'Azam Khán, ruler of Málwa, directing him to march against the Dakhin, and subdue Birár. *Farmáns* were also sent to Mír Murtaza, Khudáwand Khán, Tírandáz Khán, and other men of the Dakhin. Many of the great nobles, such as 'Abdu-l Matlab Khán, * * Rái Durga,[2] Rájá Askaran,[3] * * and many others, too numerous to mention, were sent with artillery, three hundred elephants, and the army of Málwa on this expedition. Mír Fathu-lla, who had received the title of 'Azdu-d daula, was sent to make arrangements in the Dakhin. Khwájagí Fathu-lla was appointed *bakhshi*, and Mukhtár Beg *díwán* of this army.

This force concentrated at Hindia,[4] on the borders of the Dakhin. 'Azam Khán had a feud with Shahábu-d din Ahmad Khán, then ruler of Ujjain, because he suspected Shahábu-d din of having instigated the murder of his father. 'Azdu-d daula endeavoured to assuage his animosity; but 'Azam Khán was a passionate man, and insulted both Shahábu-d dín and 'Azdu-d daula. For six months the force remained inactive at Hindia, and at length matters reached such a pitch that Shahábu-d dín, being offended with 'Azam Khán, went off to his *jágír* of Ráísín. 'Azam Khán marched to attack him, and a dire calamity was upon the point of falling upon the royal army; but 'Azdu-d daula managed to effect a reconciliation.

When Rájá 'Alí Khán, the ruler of Ásír and Burhánpúr, saw these dissensions in the Imperial army, he gathered his forces and marched against 'Azdu-d daula. On his approach, 'Azdu-d daula went to him, and sought to win him over; but he did not succeed, so he retreated to Gujarát to strengthen Khán-khánán.

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[1] "The capital of Nizámu-l Mulk."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 343.

[2] See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 417.

[3] *Ib.* p. 458.

[4] On the south bank of the Nerbadda, Lat. 77.

The above-named ('Azam Khán) went towards Birár, and plundered Elichpúr; but not being able to maintain his ground, proceeded towards Nandurbár.[1] The Dakhinís followed march by march, and 'Azam Khán, notwithstanding his great strength, fell back before them, till he reached Nandurbár. He wrote letters to Khán-khánán at Ahmadábád, calling for assistance, and Khán-khánán sent me and a number of *amírs*, such as * *, on in advance, and declared his own intention of following, When I arrived at Mahmúdábád, 'Azam Khán left his army at Nandurbár, and proceeded with a few attendants to Ahmadábád. Khán-khánán came out quickly from Ahmadábád to receive him, and they met at the place where I was resting, and then returned to Ahmadábád. 'Azam Khán's sister was wife of Khán-khánán, so he went to see her, and the two Kháns resolved to proceed afterwards against the Dakhinís.

I and my associates marched against the rebels to Baroda, and Khán-khánán and 'Azam Khán followed me; but the latter went on quickly, in order to get the army at Nandurbár ready. Khán-khánán wrote to me, directing me to wait at Baroda till he arrived. When the Khán arrived, he proceeded with the army to Broach, and on reaching that place he received letters from 'Azam Khán, in which he said, that as the rainy season had begun, operations must be postponed to the following year, and then they would proceed together against the Dakhin. 'Azam Khán returned to Málwa, Rájá 'Alí Khán went with the Dakhinís to their homes, and Khán-khánán returned to Ahmadábád, where he occupied himself in matters of administration for five months.

Intelligence arrived that the Emperor was marching towards

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[1] Elichpúr is in Birár, and Nandurbár in Kándesh, about 200 miles due west of the former.

Kábul, and had arrived at Atak-Banáras,[1] intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshán. Khán-khánán wrote a letter soliciting the honour of being allowed to serve under him, and the Emperor sent a *farmán,* summoning him to his presence. Kalíj Khán, Naurang Khán, and myself were confirmed in our commands in Gujarát. Khán-khánán and ’Azdu-d daula, who had come up from ’Azam Khán, went off to join the Emperor.[2]

Just as Khán-khánán started, the news was brought in that the men of Khangár,[3] as allies of Muzaffar Gujarátí, had attacked and killed Rái Singh, the *zamíndár* of Jháláwar. This Rái Singh was son of Rái Mán, Rájá of Jháláwar; and when he succeeded his father, he attacked the neighbouring *zamíndárs,* such as the Jám, Khangár, and others, and subdued them. His name is celebrated in song and story, in the towns of Gujarát, for the courage he displayed, and he had a great renown.

A feud arose between Ráyat and Sáyat, the nephews of the chief of Khangár, and severe fighting occurred, in which Sáyat was killed, and many men on both sides perished. Rái Singh also was wounded, and was left upon the field. Next day some *jogís* found him, tended him, cured him, and carried him with them to Bengal. He passed two years with them in the guise of a *jogí.* When Khán-khánán marched against Muzaffar Gujarátí, he came to the Khán, and told him his story. The Khán sent him to Jháláwar to be recognized by his people. He related the facts to them, and adduced his proofs, on which they acknowledged him, and reinstated him. He attacked the people of Káthíwár, and plundered several of the tribes, and he also began to assail the country of the Jám and of Khangár. He mastered and took possession of the town of Halwad,[1] one of the dependencies of Jháláwar. The people of that neighbourhood, who had long been at enmity with him, assembled in force to attack him. The intelligence of their rising was brought to him while he was in the *chaugán* ground. He immediately started to meet them, and came up to them in a moonlight night. They sent a person to him to say that if he were really Ráí Singh he would not attack them by night. He magnanimously assented to their wish, and rested where he was, and went to sleep. His opponents here found their opportunity, and encouraging their followers they drew near to him, and when morning broke their whole party fell upon him. He and eighty men that were with him fought on foot, and he was killed.

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[1] "Which is also called Atak-katak."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 362. It has been shown in page 386 *suprà*, that Atak and Katak are alike distinguished by the addition of "Banáras."

[2] Badáúní here closes his account of the campaign in Gujarát with these words: "During the absence of Khán-khánán, Nizámu-d dín Ahmad rendered excellent and acceptable services in Gujarát, which he himself has fully described in his *Táríkh-i Nizámí.*"—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 362.

[3] Khangár, Ráo of Kach, chief of the Jháreja tribe.—Thornton, vol. ii. p. 48.

When Muzaffar Gujarátí heard of the departure of Khán-khánán with his troops and family, he came to Amarún,[2] where the tomb of Malik Dáwaru-l Mulk is, and laid the foundations of an army. Kalíj Khán remained to guard Ahmadábád, and I with Saiyid Kásim and * * went to disperse the insurgents who had killed Ráí Singh. When I reached Halwad, I sent a detachment to ravage the villages in the *pargana* of Mália,[3] which belongs to Khangár; and I sent another detachment, under Mediní Ráí, to Amarún, against Muzaffar. Upon their approaching that place, Muzaffar went off to Káthíwár and hid himself. The Jám sent his son to me to make excuses for his cruel treatment of Ráí Singh, and Khangár also sent his agents to renew his promises of loyalty. I then returned to Ahmadábád. After my arrival there Kalíj Khán started for Surat, and encamped outside the city.

It then occurred to Muzaffar that after the departure of the army and the return of each man to his *jágír*, he would make a dash upon Dúlaka and Kambay, as he might thus be able to raise a force before the return of the Imperial army. So he advanced rapidly upon Dúlaka at the head of two thousand horsemen, Káthís and Jhárejas. On receiving letters from Mediní Rái, who was at Dúlaka, I instantly took horse and started thither. As I was resting till evening at Sarkaj,[1] Kalíj Khán came in and joined me with all the chief nobles and men of the city. Next morning we arrived at Dúlaka, but then Muzaffar was four *kos* away. For when his scouts informed him that the army of Ahmadábád was approaching, he fell back to Morbí.

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[1] In the north of Káthíwár, near the Ran.

[2] Or "Ambarún."

[3] Near the edge of the Ran.

The Imperial army occupied Dúlaka, and at night Kalíj Khán returned to Ahmadábád. I and my companions followed Muzaffar. One night and the next day we travelled forty-five *kos*. On reaching Bíram-gám, we heard that Muzaffar had gone to the village of Akhár, which was four *kos* off, and had there shut up Saiyid Mustafa, son of Saiyid Jalál, who happened to be there with his family. Night had come on, and we were unable to proceed farther. So I sent twenty horsemen, with a pair of kettle-drums, directing them to go about a *kos* from the village, and beat them, that Muzaffar might suppose our army to be near and give up the siege. By God's help my stratagem succeeded, the beleaguered people were released, and Muzaffar went off to the Ran and Kach. In the morning I mounted and hastened off in pursuit. I went as far as the Ran; then leaving an outpost in the village of Jhajúsa,[2] near the water, I returned to Ahmadábád.

Four months afterwards, the *zamíndárs* of Kach collected a force of nearly a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, under the command of Jasá and Bajáin, nephews of Khangár. They proceeded to the village of Rádhanpúr,[3] one of the dependencies of Pattan, and laid siege to the fort. When intelligence of this arrived at Ahmadábád, I and * * went off to relieve the place. On hearing of our approach, the enemy took flight, passed over the Ran, and went into their own country.

It was necessary to put an end to these proceedings, so I crossed over the Ran into Kach at a place where the water was not more than three *kos* wide, and set to work plundering and destroying. We burnt and destroyed the towns of Karí and Katáriá, two places well known in Kach. We realized an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly three hundred villages in the course of three days, we re-crossed the Ran opposite Mália and Morbí. Here the Ran was twelve *kos* wide, and we were engaged from dawn till eve in the passage. The water was up to a man's navel. After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Mália and Morbí, which belonged to Khangár.

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[1] Opposite Ahmadábád.

[2] Doubtful.

[3] A town sixty miles west of Pattan.

We remained at Morbí three days. Here I wrote to Khangár, telling him how I had been informed that the hostile proceedings were the work of Jasá and Bajáin, and had not been sanctioned by him. I had therefore inflicted a little punishment. Had it been otherwise, I would have attacked Bhúj, his residence. If he did not henceforth act loyally, he would see what would happen. Khangár sent his *vakíls* to me with his apologies. After this a barrier was raised (against inroads).

In the year 995 the younger son of Amín Khán rebelled against him, and went to Muzaffar, and brought him against his father. When I heard this, I went with * * against Muzaffar, to repress this outbreak. On arriving at Rájkot,[1] 80 *kos* from Ahmadábád, and thirty from Júnagarh, Muzaffar made off towards the Ran. Sídí Ríhan, *vakíl* of Amín Khán, and a promoter of the strife, with Nokín Gohil, and other *zamíndárs*, and Bír Khán Singh, Malik Rájan, and others of the chief men of those parts, nearly five hundred horsemen, separated from the insurgents, and came in to make peace. I treated them hospitably, and held out to them expectations of royal favour. The Jám and Amín Khán also sent their sons to me, and renewed their professions of loyalty.

After returning to Ahmadábád, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grássias. In the course of two months I fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaníya and Ahmadnagar. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolís and Grássias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check. Falling back with my forces, I went to Wákánírú and Sarnál,[1] to put down the mutinous proceedings of the Grássias. Having put Chait Ráwat to death, I removed Karmí Kolí, Kishna Kolí, and Lakha Rájpút, who were the principal Grássias of those parts, and left forts and garrisons in their places.

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[1] Near the centre of Káthíwár.

In the year 996 the Emperor gave Gujarát to 'Azam Khán, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lahore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.

The intelligence of the successes in Gujarát reached the Emperor as he was travelling. He returned thanks to God for his success, and continued his journey in great joy. At this time Zain Khán Koka, Rájá Rám Chandar Rájá of Bittiah, a man of high repute among the Rájás of Hindústán, who had never before acknowledged allegiance to the Sultáns of Hindústán, now expressed his desire of doing so, and came to wait upon the Emperor at Fathpúr. He was graciously received. He presented as his tribute one hundred and twenty elephants, and a fine ruby, valued at fifty thousand rupees.

Thirtieth year of the Reign.

The thirtieth year of the reign and the *Nauroz-i Sultání*, or New Year's Day of the Iláhí era, now arrived. [*Rejoicings.*] Letters arrived from Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, relating that 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek had obtained possession of Badakhshán, and that Mirzá Sháh Rukh and Mirzá Sulaimán were coming to Hindústán. [*Mirzá Sháh Rukh crosses the Indus and meets with a gracious reception from the Emperor in* 993 H. *Marriage of Prince Salím with the daughter of Rájá Bhagwán Dás. Great ceremony and rejoicing.*]

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[1] Wákánírú or Wánkánir is on the Watrak river, fifty miles N.E. of Ahmadábád.

Thirty-first year of the Reign.

The *Nauroz-i Sultání* of the thirty-first year of the reign and the first year of the second *karn* of the reign fell upon Thursday, 19th Rabí'u-l awwal, 993 H. (11th March, 1585). [*The usual rejoicings.*]

At the beginning of this year Mír Murtaza and Khudáwand Khán, *amírs* of the Dakhin, came to the Imperial Court. Their affairs have been already noticed in describing the occurrences in Gujarát. When they were defeated by Salábat Khán, and came to Burhánpúr, Rájá 'Alí Khán, the governor of that place, took their elephants from them, and he sent 150 of them in charge of his son to the Emperor. The Dakhiní *amírs* were received, and presented their tribute on New Year's Day.

Mír Fathu-lla Shirází, who had the title of 'Azdu-d daula, was now created chief *Sadr* of Hindústán, and received at the same time a horse, a robe, and five thousand rupees.

Letters arrived from Kábul, stating that * * Mirzá Sulaimán, with the assistance of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, had returned to Badakhshán, and obtained a victory over the army of 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek. * * * Letters now arrived from Atak-Banáras, from Kunwar Mán Singh and Khwája Shamsu-dín Muhammad, with the information that Mirzá Muhammad Hakím was very ill. That Farídún had started with a caravan from Pesháwar to Kábul, but had been defeated by Afgháns in the Khaibar Pass, and compelled to retreat to Pesháwar. That a fire had broken out in the fort of Pesháwar, and that a thousand camel-loads of merchandize had been consumed. That through this disaster Farídún had got free, and had gone by another road to Kábul, and that seventy men had perished on the journey from thirst.

'Abdu-lla Khán of Badakhshán, when he was informed of Mirzá Sulaimán's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mirzá Sulaimán, unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kábul, and all Badakhshán came into the power of the Uzbeks.

Intelligence now reached the Emperor of the death of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím. The Mirzá was the Emperor's own brother, but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mirzá had often been presumptuous and aggressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had sent *amírs* and armies to maintain him in Kábul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th Sha'bán, 993. When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confirm the country of Kábul to the sons of the Mirzá. But the nobles urged that the Mirzá's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshán was on the look out for Kábul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Panjáb, and he began his march on the 10th Ramazán. * * *

The Emperor travelled on by successive stages without making any halt to Dehlí. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints, and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *'I'd.* On the 19th Shawwál he reached the banks of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kunwar Mán Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshávar, and that Sháh Beg, the officer of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, had fled to Kábul.

Sádik Khán was sent from Lahore to take charge of the Government of Bhakar. On the 17th Zí-l ka'da the Emperor encamped by the side of the Chináb; * * * and on the 28th he reached and crossed the Behut (Beyah). Here he received a despatch from Kunwar Mán Singh, reporting that the people of Kábul had willingly submitted to the Imperial rule. Muhammad 'Alí Khazánchí, who had been sent to Kábul, returned and reported that when Muhammad Hakím Mirzá died, his sons[1] were so young and incapable, that the direction of affairs at Kábul was in the hands of the nobles, who were favourable to the claims of the Emperor. Moreover, Farídún Khán, the uncle of the late Mirzá, when Kunwar Mán Singh entered Kábul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young princes to wait upon the Kunwar. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection. Kunwar Mán Singh left his own sons in Kábul in the charge of Shamsu-d dín Kháfí, and set off with the young princes and the nobles of Kábul to meet the Emperor. On the 25th Zí-l hijja the Kunwar brought the princes and the Kábul nobles into the presence of the Emperor at the town of Ráwal-pindí, which is situated between Rohtás and Atak. They were received with princely generosity. Each of the chief attendants received five thousand or six thousand rupees as a gift. Suitable allowances and *jágírs* were also granted.

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[1] Their names were "Kaikúbád and Afrásiyáb."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 348. The former was fourteen, and the latter nine years of age.—*Akbar-náma.*

When the Emperor reached Atak, he sent Bhagwán Dás, Sháh Kulí Mahram, and other well-known *amírs*, with about 5000 horse, to effect the conquest of Kashmír. On the same day Isma'íl Kulí Khán and Ráí Singh were sent against the Bilúchís. Next day Zain Khán Koka was sent with a force against the Afgháns of Swád (Swát) and Bajaur, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Atak on the 15th Muharram, 994.

In former times[1] a Hindústání soldier had come among the Afgháns, and set up an heretical sect.[2] He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of *Pír Roshanái.*[3] He was dead, but his son Jalála, a youth of about fourteen, came, in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kábul. He was kindly received; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afgháns. There he raised disturbances; and gathering a good number of men around him, he shut up the roads between Hindústán and Kábul. In order to repress this base sect of *Roshanáis*, whose baseness will be hereafter described, His Majesty placed Kunwar Mán Singh in command, and gave him Kábul in *jágír*.

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[1] "Twenty-five years before this time."—Badáúni, vol. ii. p. 349.

[2] "*Mazhab-i zandaka wa ilhád.*"

[3] He wrote a book called *Khairu-l baydn*, in which he expounded his heretical tenets.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 349.

When intelligence arrived of Zain Khán Koka having entered the country of Swát, and of his having encountered this sect of Afgháns, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd Safar, 994 H., Saiyid Khán Gakhar, Rájá Bírbal, and * * * were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakím Abú-l Fath was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined, Zain Khán began to plunder and ravage the Afgháns, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Karágar, a person observed to Rájá Bírbal that the Afgháns meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*, and that if they got through the pass, they would be safe from the attack designed. Rájá Bírbal,[1] without making any communication to Zain Khán, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afgháns. Arrows and stones were showered down upon the troops in the narrow pass, and in the darkness and in the narrow defile men lost their path, and perished in recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly eight thousand men were killed, and Rájá Bírbal, who fled for his life, was slain.[2] Rájá Dharm Singh, Khwája 'Arab, *bakhshí* of the army, and * * * were all killed. On the 5th Rabí'u-l awwal Zain Khán Koka and Hakím Abú-l Fath were defeated, and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor. He dismissed these commanders, and sent Rájá Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Rájá entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afgháns to great straits. Rájá Mán Singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaibar Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Rájá obtained a great victory.

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[1] "In his reckless headstrong conceit," says Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 350), who seldom misses an opportunity of venting his spleen upon a Hindu.

[2] Many reports of his having escaped were afterwards current, but they all proved to be false.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 357.

News now arrived that Mír Kuraish was coming to Court as an ambassador from 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, King of Máwaráu-n nahr, bringing presents. Nazar Be,[1] who was one of the great nobles of 'Abdu-lla Khán, being offended with the Khán, was also coming with his three sons, Kabz Be, Shádí Be, and Bákí Be, all of whom had attained the rank of nobles. The Emperor sent Shaikh Faríd Bakhshí and Ahmad Beg Kábulí, with a party of *ahadís*, to meet the caravan and bring it through the Khaibar Pass. This armed party, with the help of Kunwar Mán Singh, brought the caravan through the pass, having beaten the black sectaries who attempted to block the road, and killed many of them.

Thirty-second year of the Reign.

On the 11th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 995 (11th March, 1587 A.D.), when the sun passed from Pisces to Aries, the *Nauroz-i Sultání* was celebrated at the fort of Atak, and Kunwar Mán Singh came to the feast.

When Mirzá Sháh Rukh, Rájá Bhagwán Dás, and Sháh Kulí Khán Mahram reached the pass of Bhúliyás,[2] on the confines of Kashmír, Yúsuf Khán, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass. The Imperial forces remained for some days inactive, snow and rain came on, and the supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain Khán arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The *amírs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls, and by the mint to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors.[1] Yúsuf was delighted with these terms, and came to visit the *amírs*, and they brought him along with them to see the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the *amírs* were forbidden his presence; but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances.

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[1] "An Uzbek, and ruler of Balkh."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 351.

[2] "Phúlbás."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 352.

About this time the ambassador of 'Abdu-lla Khán with Nazar Be and his sons arrived, and had an interview. Isma'íl Kulí Khán and Ráí Singh also arrived, bringing with them the chief men and leaders of the Bilúchís. A sum of four *lacs* of *tankas*, equal to five hundred *túmáns* of 'Irák, was presented as a gift to Nazar Be and his sons. After the feast of the *Nauroz* was over, Kunwar Mán Singh was ordered to go to the support of Rájá Todar Mal, who had been sent against the Yúsufzáí Afgháns and others. When the Emperor had settled the course to be pursued with the Afgháns, and the affairs of Atak and Kábul, he resolved to return to Lahore, and started on the 24th Rabí'u-s sání. Hunting and amusing himself as he went, he arrived at Lahore on the 18th Jumáda-s sání.[2]

When Kunwar Mán Singh was appointed to the government of Kábul, Isma'íl Kulí Khán was sent from the river Behut (Beyah) in command of a strong force against the Yúsufzáí and other Afgháns. An Imperial order was issued to Kunwar Mán Singh, that when Isma'íl Kulí arrived, the Kunwar was to go on to Kábul. Saiyid Bukhárí also was appointed to support Isma'íl Kulí, and was directed to occupy Pesháwar.

Mír 'Arab Bahádur, who had fled for refuge into the hills of Kamáún, and had troubled the inhabitants of the country at the foot of the hills, was killed by the servants of Mír Abú-l Fath in the *pargana* of Sherkot.

On the 13th Rajab the ceremony of weighing the Emperor was performed, and a splendid festival was held; and on the 19th

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[1] "They gave the country entirely over to Yúsuf."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 352.

[2] The author's arrangement has been slightly changed here. In his diary style of writing, several lines are interposed between the Emperor's departure for and arrival at Lahore.

Prince Salím was married to the daughter of Rái Singh, one of the great nobles. The Rájá sent fine presents with his daughter, and felt highly honoured by the alliance.

Muhammad Kásim Khán *Mír-bahr* and * * was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Kashmír. After seven marches they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kartal, Ya'kúb, the son of Yúsuf Khán,[1] considering himself ruler of Kashmír, came with a considerable force to oppose them. He closed the pass, and there took his post. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the stone of dissension was cast among the Kashmíris. The chiefs of Kashmír were distressed with the rule of Ya'kúb, and several deserted from him and joined Kásim Khán. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srínagar, which is the capital of the country. Ya'kúb, deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kashmír. The Imperial army then entered Kashmír without opposition, and Ya'kúb, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Srínagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the *parganas*.

The Emperor, on being informed of the conquest, sent letters of thanks to Kásim Khán and the other *amírs*, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Ya'kúb raised a force, and fought with Kásim Khán, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles, beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last, in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited upon Kásim Khán, and enrolled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.[2] The country of Kashmír was thus cleared.

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[1] Yúsuf Khán had been thrown into prison, and Ya'kúb "treated his father as dead."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 353.

[2] He was eventually sent into Bihár to Rájá Mán Singh, to join his father; and both Yúsuf and Ya'kúb there died in confinement, worn out with trouble and chagrin. —Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 353. Abú-l Fazl, however, says that "Yúsuf was released from prison, and received a *jágír*, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 549.

On the 19th Ramazán the ambassador of 'Abdu-lla Khán received leave to return. Hakím Humám * was sent as envoy to 'Abdu-lla Khán, and Mír Sadr Jahán * as a complimentary visitor to Iskandar Khán, the father of 'Abdu-lla Khán. Nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, equal to three thousand seven hundred *túmáns* of 'Irák, goods of Hindústán, and curiosities were entrusted to Muhammad 'Alí Khazánchí for presentation to 'Abdu-lla Khán.

Saiyid Hámid Bukhárí, formerly one of the nobles of the Sultáns of Gujarát, had been received into the Imperial service, and was sent to Peshávar for the repression of the Roshanái sectaries. They had assembled about 20,000 foot and 5000 horse to attack him. He, and a few men who were with him at the time, fought and perished. The Emperor sent Zain Khán Koka and * * with a large force to subdue these heretics, who occupied the Khaibar Pass, and closed the road between Kábul and Hindústán. Kunwar Mán Singh marched from Kábul,[1] and attacked and defeated them in the Khaibar, and put a great many of them to the sword. He then occupied Jamrúd, and left a detachment in the Khaibar.

Mirzá Sulaimán, having returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca, once more tried his fortune in Badakhshán; but he was unable to contend against 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek, and fled to Kábul. From thence he went to Hindústán, and was received by the Emperor in the month of Rabí'u-l awwal, 995 H.

Thirty-third year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 23rd Rabí'u-l ákhir, 996 H. (11th March, 1588). [*Festival of New Year's Day.*]

Kunwar Mán Singh completely subdued Jalála the sectary, so that he could no longer make any resistance, and was compelled to take flight towards Bangash. 'Abdu-l Matlab Khán, and * * were sent after him with a detachment to Bangash. Jalála deceived the royal commanders, and gathering a numerous force around him, he attacked them, and a fierce battle ensued. But the rabble were defeated and put to flight, and many of them were killed.

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[1] "Next day the heretics assembled in great force, and howling all night and day like jackals, they kept up a fight in all directions. At this crisis Mán Singh's brother, Mádhú Singh, who was stationed at Ohind with Isma'il Kulí Khán, arrived with a strong force to the assistance of his brother. The Afgháns then fled, and nearly 2000 were killed."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 355.

In this year a son was born to Prince Salím by the daughter of Rájá Bhagwán Dás. [*Rejoicings.*]

Campaign against Sihwán.

In this year Sádik Khán, the governor of Bhakar, under orders, proceeded to attack the country of Tatta. He besieged the fort of Sihwán, and Jání Beg, ruler of Tatta, grandson of Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán, following the humble practice of his ancestors, sent envoys with suitable gifts to the Imperial Court. The Emperor took compassion on him, and sent a *farmán* to Sádik Khán, saying, "I bestow the country upon Jání Beg. Withdraw from its occupation." On the 25th Zí-l ka'da the envoys of Jání Beg received leave to depart; and to show them greater honour, Hakím 'Aínu-l Mulk was sent with them, and they received many princely gifts.

At the beginning of Rabí'u-s sání the government of Kábul was given to Zain Khán Koka, and Rájá Mán Singh was recalled to Court. At the end of the same month Khán-khánán Mirzá Khán made a rapid journey from Gujarát with 'Azdu-d daula, and was most graciously received. On the 28th Rajab Sádik Khán came from Bhakar. Mán Singh arrived in Sha'bán, and at the end of the year he was appointed governor of Bihár, Hájípúr, and Patna. About the same time the government of Kashmír was given to Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Rizwí, and Kásim Khán *Mír-bahr* was recalled. Sádik Khán was sent to Swát and Bajaur against the Yúsufzáís, and the *jágírs* of Mán Singh at Siálkot and elsewhere were granted to him. Isma'íl Kulí Khán was recalled from Swát and Bajaur, and sent to Gujarát, to replace Kalíj Khán, who was summoned to Court. The government of Bihár and Bengal was conferred on Kunwar Mán Singh.

Thirty-fourth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, 4th Jumáda-l awwal, 997 (11th March, 1589). [*The usual festival of eighteen days.*][1]

Kalíj Khán arrived from Gujarát, and was appointed to assist Rájá Todar Mal[2] in Revenue and Civil administration. Hakím 'Aínu-l Mulk returned from his embassy to Tatta with the envoys of Jání Beg Tarkhán, who brought the offerings of the Beg along with a letter.

On the 22nd Jumáda-s sání, 997, the Emperor started to pay a visit to Kashmír and Kábul. On reaching Bhimbhar,[3] at the beginning of the mountains of Kashmír, he there left the ladies of the *harem* with the Prince Murád, and went on express. On the 1st Sha'bán he reached Srínagar, where he remained some days, visiting the city and neighbourhood. When the rainy season came on, letters were sent for the ladies of the *harem* and Prince Murád to go to Rohtás, and there await his return. Amír Fathu-lla Shírazí ['Azdu-d daula] died in Kashmír, to the great sorrow of the Emperor. Shaikh Faizí wrote an elegy upon him. * *

On the 27th Ramazán the Emperor started for Kábul by way of Pakhali and the fort of Atak. Abú-l Fath, one of His Majesty's friends and companions, died at Dhamtaur, and was buried at Hasan Abdál. Prince Murád and the ladies, by command of the Emperor, came up to Atak from Rohtás. Here Sháhbáz Khán Kambú was sent against the remaining Afgháns. His Majesty then crossed the Indus, and proceeded on to Kábul, where he arrived on the 22nd Zí-l ka'da. Hakím Humám and Mír Sadr Jahán, who had been sent on an embassy to Máwaráu-n nahr, now returned, bringing with them an ambassador from 'Abdu-lla Khán, who was the bearer of a letter and presents. His Majesty spent two months at Kábul, often visiting the gardens and places of interest. All the people of Kábul, noble and simple, profited by his presence.

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[1] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 365) places some of the following events in the thirty-third year.

[2] "Who had grown old and stupid, and had lately received a wound from a sabre at the hands of an enemy who lay in ambush for him."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 365.

[3] "Which the people of Kashmír call Káji-dár."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 563.

Here intelligence reached him that Rájá Todar Mal *wakilu-s saltanat*, and *mushrif-i díwán*, and Rájá Bhagwán Dás *amíru-l umará*, had died at Lahore.[1] On the 8th Muharram, 998, the Emperor started on his return[2] to Hindústán, leaving the government of Kábul in the hands of Muhammad Kásim *Mír-bahr*, with Tokhta Beg Kábulí, and * * * * several *amírs*, as coadjutors. He gave the government of Gujarát to Mirzá 'Azíz Muhammad Kokaltásh *'Azam Khán*, who held the government of Málwa.[3] He recalled me, Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khán-khánán he gave Jaunpúr instead of the *jágír* which he had held in Gujarát.[4]

Thirty-fifth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Jumáda-l awwal, 998. [*The usual celebration at Lahore.*]

The author of this work, with his escort of camel-riders, arrived at Court, having performed the journey[1] in twelve days. He was very kindly received. Rájá Bhagwán Dás being dead, his son Mán Singh, one of the great nobles and governor of Bihár and Bengal, succeeded to the title of Rájá, and the Emperor sent him a letter by one of his attendants with a robe and horse.

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[1] Badáúní cannot repress his bitter religious hatred, even in recording the deaths of these faithful servants of the throne. His words are (vol. ii. p. 371), "They went to their everlasting abode in hell." He has some verses also, conceived in the same spirit. Abú-l Fazl is more generous. Of Todar Mal he says, that "for honesty, rectitude, manliness, knowledge of business, and administrative ability, he was without a rival in Hindústán."—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 595.

[2] He met with two serious falls on his journey homewards. One at a hyæna hunt; the other from a female elephant which was attacked by a furious male.—*Akbar-náma*, vol. iii. p. 597.

[3] Málwa was given to Shaháb Khán, but 'Azam Khán, in spite against his successor, wasted the province and laid it desolate (*khák-siyáh*) before leaving it.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 372.

[4] It was at this time that Khán-khánán was elevated to the *wakálat* or premiership. (This fact should appear in page 597 of vol. iii. of the Lucknow edition of the *Akbar-náma*, but there is an omission there of several lines.)

'Azam Khán's Campaign in Gujarát.

When 'Azam Khán arrived in Gujarát, he essayed to conquer the territory of the Jám,[2] one of the *zamíndárs* of that quarter, who maintained a numerous body of men. The Jám, in concert with Daulat Khán, son of Amín Khán, ruler of Júnagarh, and *locum tenens* of his father, and several other *zamíndárs*, assembled nearly twenty thousand horse. 'Azam Khán divided his army into seven divisions, and some severe fighting followed. Saiyid Kásim Bárha, in command of the advanced force, fought bravely. Khwája Muhammad Rafía', commander of the left, was killed with some other *amírs*, old servants of the State. Mír Sharafu-d dín, nephew of Mír Abú Turáb, was killed with the van. Four thousand Rájpúts fell in the battle. The eldest son and representative of the Jám, with his *wazír*, were among the slain. Victory declared itself in favour of 'Azam Khán. The date of the battle was 6th Shawwál, 998 H.[3]

The city of Lahore had been for some years (*chand sál*) the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jání Beg, of Tatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enrol himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khán-khánán was now appointed governor of Multán and Bhakar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sind and the Bilúchís. In the month of Rabí'u-s sání he was sent on his enterprise along with * * * and a number of nobles, whose names are too numerous to record. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery. Khwája Muhammad Mukím, an old servant of the State, was appointed *bakhshi*. The King of Poets (Faizí) found the date of this enterprise in the words "*Kasad-i Tatta*."

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[1] "Six hundred *kos*."—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 372.

[2] "Sattarsál" by name.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 373.

[3] Briggs justly observes, that as no results followed this "victory," it was most likely a defeat.—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii. p. 264.

Thirty-sixth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 24th Jumáda-l awwal, 999 H. (11th March, 1591). [*Usual rejoicings.*]

In Shawwál of this year four servants of the State were selected to go on missions to the four rulers of the Dakhin. The King of Poets, Shaikh Faizí, was sent to Rájá 'Alí Khán, the ruler of Ásír and Burhánpúr. Khwája Amínu-d dín was sent to Burhánu-l Mulk, who, supported by the arms of the Imperial Government, held Ahmadnagar, the seat of his ancestors. Mír Muhammad Amín was sent to 'Ádil Khán, the ruler of Bíjápúr; and Mír Mirzá to Kutbu-l Mulk, the ruler of Golconda. Shaikh Faizí received directions to proceed to Burhánu-l Mulk after having terminated his own mission.

On the 28th Zí-l hijja Prince Sháh Murád, better known by his cognomen, "Pahárí Jíú," was appointed to the Government of Málwa, receiving the standard, kettle-drums, the *taman*, the *tugh* banner, and all the insignia pertaining to a prince royal. Isma'íl Kulí Khán was appointed to be his *vakil* (general manager), and * * were also sent to serve under him. When the Prince reached Gwálior, he found that Madhukar, *zamíndár* of Undachah, who held a prominent position among the Rájás of these parts, on account of his numerous adherents, had seized upon the *parganas* of Gwálior. So the Prince resolved to chastise him. Madhukar assembled his numerous forces to resist, but he was defeated in battle,[1] and obliged to fly into the jungles and hills.[2] All his territory was ravaged, and then his son, Ram Chandar, who was his eldest son and representative, came humbly to beg for mercy, and to be admitted a subject of the Imperial throne. He waited on the Prince, and presented a large tribute, and the Prince sent him to the Emperor, who, when he arrived, granted him pardon for his offences. The Prince took up his residence at Ujjain.

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[1] In the vicinity of Narwar.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 378.

[2] Where he died a natural death.

'Azam Khán, after his victory over the Jám, remained for a time at Ahmadábád, and then resolved upon the conquest of Súrath and the fort of Júnagarh. Daulat Khán, son of Amín Khán, who had succeeded his father as chief, had been wounded in a battle with the Jám, and was dead. Having determined upon this campaign, 'Azam Khán proceeded to the country. The son of Daulat Khán, with his father's ministers, took refuge in the fortress (of Júnagarh) and temporized. But when they found matters going ill with them, the ministers begged for mercy, and brought the youth to 'Azam Khán, presenting the keys of the fortress, and professing their allegiance. This conquest was effected on the 5th Zí-l ka'da.

[1] Khán-khánán, who marched to conquer Tatta, laid siege to the fortress of Sihwán. Jání Beg, with all the *zamíndárs* of that country, came with *ghrábs* and boats armed with artillery, to give battle. Khán-khánán raised the siege, and marched forwards. When he arrived at Nasrpúr, there was a distance of seven *kos* between the rival forces. Jání Beg advanced to battle with more than a hundred *ghrábs* and two hundred boats (*kishti*) full of archers, gunners, and large guns. Khán-khánán, although he had only twenty-five *ghrábs*, went to meet him, and the fight began. The battle went on for a night and a day, but victory at length declared in favour of the Imperial arms. Jání Beg had two hundred men killed in his *ghrábs*, seven *ghrábs* were taken, and the rest made off. This battle was fought on the 26th Muharram, 1000 H. After his defeat, Jání Beg withdrew to a spot[2] on the banks of the river, which was flanked by water

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[1] See Vol. I. p. 248.

[2] Firishta transcribes this account, but here he uses the more specific word *bíní*, a naze or promontory. Briggs renders the passage by a paraphrase, "on a spot of ground surrounded by a swamp, which was flooded at high water."

and morasses (*chihla*).[1] Here he entrenched his force. Khán-khánán raised batteries before it, and besieged it for two months. During this time the Emperor sent 150,000 rupees, then 100,000 rupees, then 100,000 *mans* of grain, with several[2] large guns and many gunners, to reinforce Khán-khánán. He also sent Rájá Rái Singh, a noble of four thousand, by the route of Jesalmír.

Thirty-seventh year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, 6th Jumáda-l ákhir, 1000 H. [*Usual rejoicings at Lahore.*]

Jalála the sectary, who had fled to 'Abdu-lla Khán [in Badakhshán], now returned, and again engaged in revolt and robbery. On New Year's Day Ja'far Beg Ásaf Khán, the *bakhshi*, was named to lead an army against him in communication with Muhammad Kásim Khán, governor of Kábul. I, the author, was appointed to the post of *bakhshi*. At the end of Sha'ban, Zain Khán Koka, who had been sent to settle the country of Swát and Bajaur, and to root out those Afgháns who had escaped the sword, was ordered to march and exterminate Jalála.

On the 24th Shawwál, agreeing with 12th Amurdád of the 37th year of the reign, the Emperor set off hunting to the banks of the Chináb, on the way to Kashmír. He passed the Rávi, and stayed for five days, enjoying himself in the garden of Rám Dás. From thence he made a march of three *kos*. Then he appointed Kalíj Khán and Mota Rájá to take charge of affairs at Lahore. As it was now the rainy season, and the waters were out, he left Prince Salím to march on slowly with the camp, while he hastened on with his hunting attendants to the Chináb. Here he received intelligence that Yádgár, nephew of Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Rizwí, governor of Kashmír, had conspired with some disaffected Kashmíris, and having raised the standard of revolt, had assumed the title of Sultán. Kází 'Alí, the *diwán* of Kashmír, and Husain Beg Shaikh Umarí, the collector (*tahsíldár-i akhráj*), attacked him with their men, but Kází 'Alí was killed, and Husain Beg was glad to escape half dead[1] to Rájaurí. His Majesty sent Faríd Bakhsh with a party of *amírs*, such as * * *, and a thousand Badakhshání Aimák horsemen, into Kashmír. He himself crossed the Chináb, and waited there for a while hunting, until Prince Salím came up with the camp.

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[1] See Vol. I. p. 249.

[2] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 379) specifies the number as 'one hundred.'

Khán-khánán had besieged Jání Beg for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindians had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce, and bread exceedingly dear. Khán-khánán had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jún, near Tatta. But he sent a portion of his force, under Saiyid Baháu-d dín Bukhárí * *, Mír Muhammad Ma'súm Bhakarí, and other of his officers, to invest Sihwán. Jání Beg, assuming Sihwán force to be weak in numbers, marched against it. When Khán-khánán heard of this movement, he sent off with all possible speed Daulat Khán Lodí, Khwája Muhammad Hakím *Bakhshi*, Dhárú son of Rájá Todar Mal, Dal Bait the son of Rái Singh, and * * to reinforce the Sihwán division. This detachment marched eighty *kos* in two days, and effected a junction.

Next day Jání Beg came up and arrayed his army. Daulat Khán also made his dispositions. His force amounted to only two thousand, while Jání Beg had more than five thousand. But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went into battle. Rájá Todar Mal's son Dhárú fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jání Beg flew towards the banks of the river. He stopped at the village of Unarpúr,[2] on the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself. Khán-khánán upon his side, and the Sihwán force upon the other, bore down upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day. At length Jání Beg's men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jání Beg was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and to promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season, Khán-khánán remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sihwán, for that time. The fort of Sihwán was surrendered, and Jání Beg gave his daughter in marriage to Mirzá Íraj, son of Khán-khánán. He also surrendered twenty *ghrábs.*

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[1] Through the passes of Kashmír.

[2] Var. "Ambarpúr."

The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kashmír. He then continued his journey to Kashmír, and when he arrived near Bhimbhar, which is at the beginning of the mountain passes, he received intelligence that his army, having made five or six marches in the mountains, had been attacked by a force of Kashmíris and men belonging to Yádgár, who had blockaded the pass of Kartal.[1] But these men were unable to hold their ground against the brave soldiers of the army, and took to flight. Yádgár came up as far as Hamírpúr with a large force to oppose the progress of the royal army; but in the course of the night a party of Afgháns and Turkománs belonging to Mirzá Yúsuf Khán fell upon him and put him to death. Three days afterwards his head was brought to the Emperor, and was exposed as a warning. The Emperor's good fortune thus secured an easy victory for him. It was a curious coincidence, that the day on which the Emperor crossed the river of Lahore to proceed to Kashmír, was the day on which Yádgár broke out in rebellion and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name.

On the 23rd Zí-l hijja, the Emperor left Prince Dániyál behind in charge of the ladies of the *harem*, because he was not well, and he was directed to proceed with them to the fort of Rohtás. The Emperor himself went on rapidly to Kashmír, taking me with him in attendance. On the 8th Muharram, 1001, he reached

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[1] This is a very doubtful name, see *suprà*, p. 454. It is written كمربل, كرتل, كمرتل, and كنربل.

Kashmír, and stayed there eight days, riding about and hunting water-fowl. He conferred the government of Kashmír on Mirzá Yúsuf Khán Rizwí, and left a number of officers with him, such as * *. On the 6th Safar he started on his return journey, and, embarking in a boat, he proceeded towards Bára-múla, on the confines of Kashmír, on the way to Pakhali. On the road he saw a reservoir called Zain-lanká. This reservoir is inclosed on the west, north, and south, by mountains, and it is thirty *kos* in circumference. The river Behut (Jilam) passes through this lake. Its water is very pure and deep. Sultán Zainu-l 'ábidín carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib* into the lake, and upon it erected a high building. Nothing like this lake and building is to be found in India. After visiting this edifice, he went to Bára-múla, where he disembarked, and proceeded by land to Pakhalí. When he reached that place, there was a heavy fall of snow and rain. From thence he went on rapidly to Rohtás. I, the author of this history, and * * were ordered to follow slowly with the ladies of the *harem*. It is a curious fact, that when the Emperor started on his return from Kashmír, he observed, "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it. If a snow-storm should come upon us in the neighbourhood of Pakhalí, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st Rabí'u-l awwal he reached the fort of Rohtás, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lahore, the capital, and on the 6th Rabí'u-s sání he arrived there.

Intelligence here reached him that Rájá Mán Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Katlú Afghán, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and, having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country which lies beyond Bengal to the Imperial dominions.

Thirty-eighth year of the Reign.

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 17th Jumáda-s sání, 1001 (11th March, 1593). [*Rejoicings.*]

In the midst of the rejoicings, on the 24th Jumáda-s sání, Khán-khánán arrived with Jání Beg, the ruler of Tatta, and was graciously received. Sháh Beg Khán, and * * other *amírs* who had taken part in this campaign, also presented themselves at Court, and were suitably rewarded, with *jágírs*, increase of allowances, and promotion.

At the time when the fort of Júnagarh and the country of Súrath were subdued and annexed to the Imperial dominions, Sultán Muzaffar Gujaráti, who was in that part of the country, fled and betook himself to Khangár, the *zamindár* of the country of Kach. 'Azam Khán attacked Khangár and ravaged some of his territories. This induced him to proffer his own allegiance, and to make Muzaffar a prisoner. Under this arrangement the son of 'Azam Khán made a sudden unexpected attack upon the place where Muzaffar was staying, and took him prisoner. As they were going along, Muzaffar made an excuse for retiring into privacy, and then cut his throat with a razor so that he died. His head was then cut off and sent to 'Azam Khán, who sent it on to the Emperor.

One hundred and twenty elephants, taken by Rájá Mán Singh in Orissa, now arrived at Court, and were presented to the Emperor. 'Azam Khán Mirzá 'Azíz Koka had now been absent from Court ten years, so a *farmán* was written calling him to Court, to receive the marks of royal approbation. Meanwhile some mischief-makers had reported to the Khán some unkind words which the Emperor was said to have used regarding him.[1] So on the 1st Rajab he embarked in a ship with his sons and family, and sailed for Hijjáz. When the Emperor was informed of this, he gave the country of Gujarát to Prince Sháh Murád, and a *farmán* was issued directing him to proceed from Málwa to Gujarát. Muhammad Sádik Khán, one of the great nobles, was appointed his *vakíl*, and the *sarkárs* of Surat, Broach and Baroda, were assigned to him in *jágír*.

On the 21st Amurdád of the 38th year of the reign, agreeing with 14th Zí-l ka'da, 1001 H., Zain Khán Koka and A'saf Khán, who had been sent to chastise the Afgháns of Swát and Bajaur, and to repress Jalála the sectary, killed a great many of them, and sent the wives and family of Jalála and of Wahdat 'Alí, his brother, with all their friends, nearly four hundred[1] in number, to Court.

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[1] He had long entertained the desire of going to Mecca.

On the 29th Zí-l ka'da the government of Málwa was given to Mirzá Sháh Rukh; and Sháhbáz Khán Kambú, who had been three years in prison, was released, and appointed to be the *vakíl* and general manager of the affairs of Málwa, under Sháh Rukh.

On the 12th Muharram, 1002, Mirzá Rustam,[2] son of Sultán Husain Mirzá, son of Bahrám, son of Sháh Isma'íl Safawí (Sháh of Persia), who held the government of Zamín-dáwar, came to bring a complaint to the Emperor, accompanied by his sons and family. [*Grand reception.*] The Emperor presented him with a *kror* of *tankas*, made him a *panj-hazárí*,[3] and gave him Multán in *jágír*.

At this time the Prince of Poets, Shaikh Faizí, returned from his mission to Rájá 'Alí Khán and Burhánu-l Mulk Dakhiní. Mir Muhammad Amín, Mír Munír, and Amínu-d dín also returned from their missions to the different rulers of the Dakhin. Burhánu-l Mulk had received favours and assistance from His Majesty, but now he did not send suitable tribute, nor did he act in a grateful and becoming way. His tribute did not exceed fifteen elephants, some fabrics of the Dakhin, and a few jewels. So the Emperor determined to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, and on the 21st Muharram he appointed Prince Dániyál to command the invading army. Khán-khánán, Rái Singh,[4] Rái Bil, Hakím 'Aínu-l Mulk, and other *amírs* of Málwa, and *jágírdárs* of the *subás* of Ajmír and Dehlí, were appointed to attend him. Seventy thousand horse were ordered on this campaign.

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[1] Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 388) gives the incredible number of "14,000."

[2] He was unable to maintain himself in Zamín-dáwar against the enmity of his brother and the increasing power of the Uzbeks.

[3] A commander of 5000.

[4] Whom one might call Rái Sag, says Badáúní (vol. ii. p. 389), *sag* meaning *dog*.

The Emperor himself went out with them, hunting as he went, as far as the river of Sultánpúr, thirty-five *kos* from Lahore. Khán-khánán, in attendance upon Prince Dániyál,[1] had come as far as Sirhind, and was summoned to hold a Council with the Emperor. He joined the royal party at Shaikhúpúr, and the campaign in the Dakhin was re-considered. Khán-khánán was now ordered to proceed on the service alone, without troubling Prince Dániyál. An order was published that the army of the Dakhin was to serve under Khán-khánán, and Prince Dániyál was recalled. With high marks of favour Khán-khánán commenced the march. He took leave of the Emperor at Ágra, and His Majesty returned, hunting as he went, to the capital Lahore.

I have thus written a history of the occurrences of the reign of the Emperor Akbár, as perfect as my poor pen can accomplish, up to the thirty-eighth year of his reign. If life is spared, and grace is given to me, I will, please God, also record the events of days to come, so that my volume may be completed.

Husain Khán Tukriya.[2]

He was called *Tukriya*, from the fact of his having issued an order, when he was Governor of Lahore, to the effect that Hindús should bear on their shoulders a discriminating mark, which being called in Hindí, *Tukri*, obtained for him the nickname of *Tukriya*. He was nephew and son-in-law of Imám Mahdí Kásim Khán, and was a *mansabdár* of 2000. He died A.H. 983.[3]

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[1] The Prince at this time married a daughter of Khán-khánán.—Badáúní, vol. ii. p. 389.

[2] These two Extracts are from the biographical portion of the work, which comes in at the end of the reign of Akbar. They appeared in the old Vol. of 1849.

[3] Some of the proceedings of this enthusiast will be found in the following Extracts from Badáúní *infrà*, p. 496. The *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* tells us that this order was issued in consequence of his having one day saluted a Hindú, who passed by with a long beard, the distinctive mark of a Musulmán. We do not learn whether this edict was approved or annulled. In the decline of the republic, when a similar measure was proposed at Rome with respect to the slaves, a wise man exclaimed, "quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent!" Seneca, *De Clementia*, i. p. 24.

Mír Fathu-lla Shírází.

In the year 990 H., corresponding with the 26th of the Iláhí, the Amír arrived at Court from the Dakhin, and was received with royal favour. He was directed, in conjunction with the ministers, to revise the system of administration, and to inquire into the management of the civil and revenue administration.[1] On this duty he was engaged for many years, and, in token of the King's satisfaction, was honoured with the title of 'Azdu-d daulah. He was a very learned man, and was better versed in every kind of knowledge, theoretical and practical, than any man in Khurásán, 'Irák, or Hindústán. In short, in the whole world he was without a rival. He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement. * * * In Kashmír, he departed for the land of eternity in the year 997 H.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán of Multán.[2]

A few days after, Sultán Mahmúd assembled an army, and marched on Shor,[3] when Jám Báyazíd, leading out 'Álam Khán, with the general consent of his followers, advanced to the distance of twenty miles from Shor to meet him. When he reached the Rávi, he halted, and sent a letter to Daulat Khán Lodí, acquainting him with the particulars of the movement. Upon receipt of this intelligence, Daulat Khán Lodí, at the head of the Panjáb forces, came to the assistance of Jám Báyazíd before the conflict was at an end, and despatched a confidential person to Sultán Mahmúd, to enter into a negociation for peace. At last, through his mediation, a peace was arranged, under the terms of which the Rávi was to be the boundary. Daulat Khán then sent Sultán Mahmúd back to Multán, and Jám Báyazíd to Shor; after which, he himself proceeded to Lahore.

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[1] به تفتيح معاملات عالي و اشتغال ديواني

[2] These Extracts are from the separate history of Multán. They were printed in the old Vol. of 1849.

[3] Shor, or Shorkote, is twenty-six miles north of Tulamba, and on the road from that place to Jhang. Among the extensive ruins of this place, the most remarkable is a mound of earth, surrounded by a brick wall, and high enough to be seen from a circuit of six or eight miles. Native tradition represents it to be the capital of a Rájá of the name of Shor, who was conquered by a king from the west.—Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 131.

Notwithstanding that the terms of peace had been adjusted by so wise a man as Daulat Khán, yet it did not endure long. In the interim, Mír Jákír Zand,[1] with his two sons, named Mír Ilahdád and Mír Shahdád, came to Multán from Maví. It was Mír Shahdád that introduced the principles of the Shí'a creed into Multán.

As the Langáh family had great respect for Malik Suhráb Dúdárí, Mír Jákír Zand could not remain in Multán. He therefore sought the protection of Jám Báyazíd, who treated him with respect, and was pleased to grant a portion of his private domain for the support of the Mír's family.

Jám Báyazíd was a man of beneficent character and of generous spirit, and was particularly anxious to promote the interests of the learned and virtuous. He is said to have sent their pensions to Multán from Shor, even during the period of actual hostilities. His generosity towards men of talent was so notorious, that many persons of distinction quitted their homes and took up their abode at Shor. He earnestly invited many others to resort to that place, and among them Mauláná 'Azízu-lla, pupil of Mauláná Fathu-lla, whom he urgently pressed to come. On his approach to Shor, Jám Báyazíd received him with much honour, conducted him to his private apartments, and ordered his servants to pour water over the Mauláná's hands, and then, by way of a blessing, to sprinkle the same water on the four corners of his house.

There is a curious anecdote concerning the Mauláná and Shaikh Jalálu-d dín Kuraishí, *vakíl* of Jám Báyazíd, which, though not much to the purpose of this history, is yet here recorded for an example, and as an awakening from the sleep of neglect.

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[1] This agrees with the name as given by Briggs, but in the original of Firishta it is Mír 'Imád Gurdezí. In many other respects there is a great difference betwen the original and translation, and it is evident that the translator must have used a different manuscript in this portion of his work.

It is this:—When the Jám received the Mauláná with such unusual distinction, and took him into his private apartments, the Shaikh sent to the Mauláná, and told him that Jám Báyazíd had given him his compliments, and desired that the Mauláná should select for himself one of the slave-girls who had been ordered to attend him. The Mauláná sent one of his own servants to Jám Báyazíd, and said in reply, "God forbid that a man should ever look upon the women of his friend; moreover, such sentiments are unworthy of my advanced age." Jám Báyazíd replied that he had no knowledge of the imputed message. The Mauláná being much embarrassed at this, cursed the person that sent the message to him, saying, "May his neck be broken!" and returned to his home without even seeing Jám Báyazíd, who was not informed of his departure until he had actually left his dominions. It so happened that the curse of the Mauláná took effect; for after Shaikh Jalálu-d dín came to Shor, having deserted the service of Sultán Sikandar, he chanced one night to miss his footing, when he fell from an upper storey with his head downwards, and literally broke his neck.

After the conquest of the Panjáb in 930 H. by the late Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar Bádsháh Ghází, that monarch, at the time of his return to Dehlí, sent a commission to Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún, governor of Tatta, ordering him to take charge of Multán and its neighbouring districts. He accordingly crossed the river near the fort of Bhakkar, and marched towards Multán with a large army. The wind of the divine wrath began to blow, and a great flood arose. When information of this reached Sultán Mahmúd, he trembled. Then he collected all his forces, and advanced to the distance of two days' journey from the city of Multán. He sent Shaikh Baháu-d dín Kuraishí, successor to the celebrated Shaikh Bahádu-d dín Zakariyá (may God sanctify his sepulchre!), as an ambassador to Mirzá Sháh Husain, and appointed Mauláná Bahlol, who was noted for the grace of his eloquence, as well as the elegance of his ideas, to accompany the Shaikh. The Mirzá received them with much honour, and said that he had come with the view of chastising Sultán Mahmúd, and of visiting Shaikh Baháu-d dín Zakaríyá's tomb. The Mauláná stated that it would suffice if the chastisement of Sultán Mahmúd were effected at a distance, in the same manner as the Prophet had mentally admonished Awais Karn, and that Shaikh Baháu-d dín was already come to his presence, inasmuch as he himself was the representative of Zakaríyá, and that there was therefore no need of his troubling himself to proceed any further. They were, however, unsuccessful in accomplishing the objects of their interview, and returned to the Sultán, who died suddenly in the same night, poisoned, it is said, by Langar Khán, one of his slaves. He died A.H. 933, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

Respecting Sultán Husain, son of Sultán Mahmúd of Multán.

After the death of Sultán Mahmúd, Kawám Khán Langáh and Langar Khán, who were the commanders of Sultán Mahmúd's army, deserted their king, and joined Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún, and having met with a kind reception from him, they subsequently took possession of the different towns of Multán in the name of the Mirzá, while the remaining Langáh chiefs, confounded at this intelligence, hastened to Multán, and proclaimed the son of Sultán Mahmúd as king, under the title of Sultán Sháh Husain, and read the *khutba* in his name—though he was but a child. But he was king only in name, for Shaikh Shujá'u-l Mulk Bukhárí, son-in-law of Sultán Mahmúd, assuming the office of *wazir*, secured to himself all the regal power.

By the advice of this inexperienced man, they took refuge in the fort, which had scarcely one month's provisions in it; while Mirzá Sháh Husain, deeming the death of Sultán Mahmúd a most convenient opportunity for the conquest of the country, immediately laid siege to the fort.

After a few days, the garrison finding the provisions of the fort were consumed, and that they were about to perish, came to Shaikh Shujá'u-l Mulk, who was the cause of his country's disasters, and solicited his permission to divide their forces and give the enemy battle, representing at the same time that they had still some vigour left, that their horses were fresh, and that it was not improbable that the gale of victory might incline to their side; and that to remain inactive and beleaguered as they were was expedient only when there was some hope of receiving succour from without,—which was not at all a probable contingency in their case.

The Shaikh did not make any reply, but retiring to a private apartment, he invited the attendance of some of the chiefs, and said, that as the sovereignty of Sháh Husain Langáh had not as yet been well established, he was afraid, lest most of their men, on making a sally from the fort, should take the opportunity to desert, and join Mirzá Sháh Husain, in hope of receiving a favourable reception, and that the small remnant who had regard for their reputation, and who would make a stand, would be slain. Mauláná Sa'du-lla of Lahore, a learned man of that time, who was in the fort of Multán on this occasion, relates that a few months after the siege had commenced, when all the avenues of the fort were closed by the enemy, and no one was able to enter for the purpose of rendering assistance, or go out for the purpose of escaping his doom (for the attempt was attended with certain destruction), the garrison were at last reduced to such extremities, as to be compelled to consume dogs and cats, which were partaken of with as much avidity as if they had been the choicest goats and lambs. The protection of the fort was committed by Shaikh Shujá'u-l Mulk to the charge of a vagabond, named Jádú, who had three thousand militia of the country under him. That wretch entered all the houses wherever he had the least expectation of finding grain, and plundered them so unscrupulously, that the people earnestly prayed for Shaikh Shujá'u-l Mulk's destruction.

At last, the besieged were reduced to so desperate a condition, that they preferred being killed to a slow death by famine, and they accordingly threw themselves down from the walls of the fort into the ditch. Mirzá Sháh Husain, being aware of their distress, refrained from killing them. After a siege of one year and several months, his men, one night towards the dawn, entered the fort, and made great slaughter. All the inhabitants between the age of seven and seventy were taken prisoners. They treated most oppressively all the citizens on whom there was the least suspicion of possessing wealth, and treated them with various kinds of indignity. This took place at the close of A.H. 934.

Maulàná Sa'du-lla gives an account of what happened to himself in the following words.

"When the fort was captured by the Arghúns, a party of them entered my house, seized on my father, Maulàná Ibráhím Jáma', (who, in studying and teaching various sciences for sixty-five years, had, in the evening of his life, lost the use of his sight,) and made him prisoner. Seeing the neatness and comfort of our house, they suspected that gold was somewhere concealed, and consequently treated us with great indignity. Another person came and bound me, and sent me as a present to the *wazír* of the Mirzá. The *wazír* was sitting on a wooden platform in the open area when I reached his house, and he ordered me to be bound with a chain, of which one end was tied to one of the feet of the platform. I did not, however, grieve for myself, but I could not help shedding tears, when I recollected my father's sad condition.

"After a while, he called for his escritoire, mended his pen, and then rose up and went into the house, with the intention of washing his hands and feet, and praying, before he sat down to write. There was no one left in the place but myself, so I approached the platform, and wrote, on the very paper on which the *wazír* had intended to write, the following verse from an ode (*Bardah*)—'Do not your eyes see how I am weeping, and do you never say, "Weep no more," and does your heart never suggest to you that you should have pity upon me?' After which, I immediately resumed my place, and began to weep. After his return, when he was just beginning to write, he saw the lines, and began to look round to see who might have written them; but finding that there was nobody except myself, he wished me to declare if I had written it, and on my confessing to have done so, he inquired more about my affairs, and on hearing my father's name, he immediately got up, released me from my fetters, and having clothed me with a garment of his own, mounted his horse and proceeded immediately to the *díwán-khána* of the Mirzá, and introduced me to him. The Mirzá sent some one to search after my father, and to bring him to the presence.

"The people around the Mirzá were talking upon religious subjects, when my father was respectfully brought to that assembly, and the Mirzá, after bestowing *khila'ts*, the one on my father, the other on myself, encouraged my father to relate to him the circumstances of his life, and he accordingly related them, notwithstanding the agitation of his mind. He recounted them with so much pathos and eloquence, that the auditors were charmed with him, and the Mirzá requested the pleasure of his company, on his return to his own country.

"The Mirzá ordered all of my father's plundered property to be restored, and that a compensation in money should be given for that which could not be recovered; but my father begged to be excused from accompanying him, saying that he was too old to undertake such a journey, when the time of his preparing for his last pilgrimage was so near; and according to his words he did die only two months after this occurrence."

When the fort was captured, the Mirzá committed Sultán Husain to the custody of an officer, and treated Shaikh Shujá'u-l Mulk Bukhárí with various indignities, and a large sum of money was daily exacted from him. The country of Multán had by this time been much devastated, so that there was no hope of its attaining its former prosperity; but the Mirzá, nevertheless, not thinking its restoration so very difficult, left the country in charge of Khwája Shamsu-d dín, with Langar Khán to assist him, and he himself returned to Tatta. Under the judicious management of Langar Khán, the country was again populated, and he subsequently turned out the Khwája, with the assistance of the people, and made himself master of the country.

After the death of Bábar, Humáyún succeeded to the throne of Hindústán, and bestowed the Panjáb in *jágír* upon Mirzá Kámrán, who sent a message to Langar Khán requesting his attendance, and on the Khán's waiting upon him at Lahore, he was pleased to confer on him the country of Pábal in exchange for Multán. In the end, the King assigned as his residence a place at Lahore, now known by the name of Dáira Langar Khán, which is one of the most celebrated quarters of Lahore. From this time forward Multán again came under the dominion of the Kings of Dehlí. After the death of Mirzá Kámrán, it passed to Sher Khán (Sher Sháh), from Sher Khán to Salím Khán (Islám Sháh), and from him to the officers of His Majesty Akbar, all which changes have been mentioned in their respective places.

XLI.

MUNTAKHABU-T TAWÁRÍKH;

OR,

TÁRÍKH-I BADÁÚNÍ

OF

MULLÁ 'ABDU-L KÁDIR BADÁÚNÍ.

This history, by Mullá 'Abdu-l Kádir Mulúk Sháh of Badáún, is called by the author *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh;* but many others have compiled works under that title, and the name most frequently given to it in Hindústán is *Tárikh-i Badáúni.*

Is is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznivides to the fortieth year of Akbar; and, in the reign of the latter, it is especially useful, as correcting, by its prevalent tone of censure and disparagement, the fulsome eulogium of the *Akbar-náma.* Despite this systematic depreciation, it has been observed[1] that 'Abdu-l Kádir's narrative conveys a more favourable impression of the character of Akbar than the rhetorical flourishes of the Court journalist. It concludes with lives of the saints, philosophers, physicians, and poets of Akbar's reign.

['Abdu-l Kádir, poetically styled Kádirí, was born at Badáún in 947 or 949 H. His father, whom he lost in 969, was called Shaikh Mulúk Sháh, and was a pupil of the saint Bechú of Sambhal. 'Abdu-l Kádir, or Badáúní as he is familiarly called, studied various sciences under the most renowned and pious men of his age, most of whom he enumerates in the third volume of this work. He excelled in music, history, and astronomy; and on account of his beautiful voice he was appointed Court *Imám* for Wednesdays. Early in life he was introduced to Akbar by Jalál Khán Kúrchí, and for forty years he lived in company with Shaikh Mubárak, and Faizí and Abú-l Fazl, the Shaikh's sons. But there was no real friendship between them, as Badáúní looked upon them as heretics, and his notices of them are couched in bitter sarcastic terms.][1] Badáúní died at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Tabakát-i Sháh-Jahání* gives A.H. 1024 (1615 A.D.) as the year of his death.

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[1] Elphinstone, *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 209. *Biographical Dictionary, L. U. K.*, vol. i. p. 583. *Ma-ásiru-l Kirám*, p. 52; *Tabakát-i Sháh-Jahání*, pp. 224, 284; Beale, p. 291; *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, *Inshá-i Nigár-náma*, *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, end of Dehlí sovereigns.

Badáúní was a very learned man, and was frequently employed by the Emperor to make translations into Persian from the Arabic and Sanskrit, as in the case of the *Mu'jamu-l Buldán*, *Jámi'u-r Rashídí*, and the *Rámáyana*; yet, notwithstanding this employment, for which he acknowledges he received, in one present only, 150 gold *mohurs* and 10,000 rupees, besides a grant of rent-free land, his distinguished patron receives no favour at his hands. He wrote a work on the *Hadís* called *Bahru-l asmár*, and he composed a moral and religious work, entitled *Najátu-r Rashíd*, which he wrote at the suggestion of his friend Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the historian, and which he must have completed very late in life, because the *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh* is mentioned in it. He also informs us that he translated two out of the eighteen sections of the *Mahábhárata*, and abridged a history of Kashmír, which, under the annals of A.H. 998, is said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Sháh Muhammad Sháhábádí,[2]—but apparently not the *Rájá-tarangini*, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná 'Imádu-d dín. According to Professor H. H. Wilson,[3] there were frequent remodellings or translations of the same work, but amongst those which he notices he does not mention one by Mullá Sháh Muhammad Sháhábádí.[4]

Many of the translations from the Sanskrit which were made about this period, and those of 'Abdu-l Kádir, probably, among the rest, appear to have been executed under the superintendence of Faizí, the brother of the minister Abú-l Fazl, and he is usually supposed to have been the first Musulmán who applied himself to the language and literature of the Brahmins; but this seems to be a mistake.[1]

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[1] The Editor's additions are almost wholly derived from Mr. Blochmann's notices in the *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. pp. 104, 168.

[2] *Rauzat-i Táhirin.*

[3] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 2.

[4] See *Áín-i Akbari* (Blochmann's), vol. i. p. 103.

The aversion with which 'Abdu-l Kádir Badáúní regarded the Emperor and his able ministers arose, as he himself frankly confesses, from his own bigoted attachment to the most bigoted of religions, in which it was apprehended that Akbar, with their aid and countenance, was about to introduce some dangerous innovations.[2] He acknowledges, however, that he temporized, and never hesitated to make his own religious views subordinate to the primary consideration of self-interest [and it is evident that envy of his fellow-courtiers, and discontent with the amount of favour bestowed upon his own unappreciated merits, were ever present in his mind, and embittered his feelings].

Though the author of the *Táríkh-i Badáúní* professes to derive his information chiefly from the *Táríkh-i Mubárak-Sháhí* and the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*,—indeed, in a passage in the *Najátu-r Rashíd*,[3] he calls his work a mere abridgment of the *Tabakát*,—yet, contrary to the usual Indian practice, there is much more original matter in it than such a declaration would lead us to suppose, and the whole narrative, even when avowedly taken from his predecessors, is tinged with his peculiar prejudices, of which many traits will be found in the extracts which are subjoined.

The history ends with the beginning of the year 1004 A.H. 1595-6 A.D. ["The book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mir-átu-l 'álam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahángír, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badáúní's children, that they had been unaware of the existence of the book. The *Túzak-i Jahángírí* unfortunately says nothing about this circumstance; but Badáúní's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahángír's reign, in which year the *Ma-ásir-i Rahími* was written, whose author complains of the want of a history beside the *Tabakát* and the *Akbar-náma*."][1]

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[1] See note D. in Appendix.

[2] [See H. H. Wilson's works, vol. ii. p. 379; Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. pp. 104, 167; Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1869.]

[3] MS. (Fol. 26, v.)

The author gives the following account of his own work: "The writer, 'Abdu-l-Kádir Mulúk Sháh Badáúní, in obedience to the orders of His Majesty King Akbar, finished the abstract of the history of Kashmír in the year A.H. 999, which, at the request of the same monarch, was translated from Hindí into Persian by one of the learned men of his time; but as I cherished a great love for history from my very childhood, and as it was seldom that my hours were not employed either in the reading or writing some history, I often thought of compiling a brief account of the kings of Dehlí, beginning from the commencement of the Muhammadan rule in India to the present time. * * * But circumstances gave me little opportunity of executing my design, and day after day I encountered numerous obstacles. Moreover, the scantiness of the means of subsistence obliged me to leave my country and friends, and thus the performance of the work was for a time suspended, until my excellent and beloved friend[2] Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshí went to Paradise. Excellent as is the history composed by this individual, yet I reflected that some additions could possibly be made to it; and I accordingly commenced to abstract briefly the accounts of some of the great kings of India, from the historical works called *Mubárak-Sháhí* and *Nizámu-t Tawáríkh Nizámí*, sometimes adding my own observations. Great brevity has been observed in the style, and the use of figurative and flowery language throughout avoided. I have named this work *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh*. It is hoped that this history, the object of which has been to place upon record the deeds of the great Muhammadan kings, and to furnish the means of transmitting my own reputation to posterity, will rather prove a source of my lasting happiness, than tend to aggravate my misfortunes.

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[1] Blochmann, *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 104.

[2] His warm friendship for Nizámu-d dín has already been shown at p. 181 *suprà*, and it appears to have been reciprocated by Nizámu-d dín; for in a passage in the *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh*, see *infrà*, we find that the Bakhshí had no scruple about giving in false returns, concealing the real cause of the absence of 'Abdu-l Kádir.

"As it is my intention to write only what is true, I hope that God will forgive me, if I should ever allow myself to descend to the relation of minute and trivial particulars."

At the conclusion, he says that it was at one time his intention to have added a history of Kashmír, Gujarát, Bengal, and Sind, and an account of the wonders of India; but as they had no necessary connexion with the history of the Dehlí Emperors, he changed his determination, and concluded his labours, in the year of the Hijra 1004, and as Nizámu-d dín died in 1003, it would appear that he was only one year employed upon this history. But the preface is not very explicit upon this point, and the meaning must be conjectured.

This is one of the few works which would well repay the labour of translation; but it would require a person to bring to the task a greater degree of knowledge of the Persian language than most Indian histories demand, as well as a thorough acquaintance with contemporary historians; for the author not only uses some uncommon words, but indulges in religious controversies, invectives, eulogiums, dreams, biographies, and details of personal and family history, which interrupt the unity of the narrative, and often render it a difficult matter to restore the broken links of connexion. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that these digressions are the most interesting portion of his work; for rarely do the other obsequious annalists dare to utter their own sentiments, especially such as would be ungrateful to a royal ear, or to confess their own errors and foibles, as 'Abdu-l Kádir does with so much complacency and indifference. His own extensive knowledge of contemporary history also induces him very often to presume that his reader cannot be ignorant of that with which he himself is so intimately acquainted. He consequently slurs over many facts, or indicates them so obscurely, as frequently to compel a translator to supply the omissions from his own resources and conjectures.

The abstract of Indian history, from the Ghaznivide Emperors to Akbar—Akbar's history—and the Biographies of holy and wise men, physicians, and poets—each occupy about one-third of the volume, as will be seen from the subjoined abstract.[1] Almost all the headings have been added on the margin by a copyist, the author giving very few, except the names of kings and others whose lives he records; yet these must be of some antiquity, as many copies concur in giving them in the same language and form.

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Khán-zamán and Bahádur Khán.—Khán-zamán and Bahádur Khán slain by the hands of the Emperor Akbar.—Capture of the fort of Chitor.—Mír 'Aláu-d daula Kazwíní, author of "Biographies of the Poets."—Death of Shaikh Abdu-l 'Azíz of Dehlí.—Reduction of the fort of Rantambhor.—Fathpúr.—Saiyid Músá falls in love with Mohaní, a jeweller's daughter.—Death of Shaikh Gadáí.—Birth of the Emperor Jahángír.—Capital punishment of Mirzá Mukím Isfahání.—Death of Shaikh Salím Chishtí.—Conquest of Gujarát.—Birth of Prince Dániyál.—Death of Sultán Muzaffar Gujarátí.—Erection of the fort of Surat, in defiance of the infidels of Faringistán.—Ibráhím Husain Mirzá killed.—Capture of the fort of Nagarkot.—Birham Dás, alias Bírbal.—Forced march of the Emperor towards Gujarát.—Muhammad Husain Mirzá killed.—Abú-l Fazl's first introduction to the Emperor Akbar.—Building of the fort of Payág, and the name of Illahábás given to it.—Capture of the forts of Hájípúr and Patna.—*Singhásan Battisí.*—The Emperor goes on 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between Abú-l Fazl and the compiler of this work.—Mián Tánsen.—Arrival of an ambassador from 'Abdu-lla Khán Uzbek.—The presentment made by the learned.—Muzaffar Khán killed in Bengal.—Death of Hakím Núru-d dín.—Arrival of Shaikh Muthí Afghán.—Khwája Maulána Shírází, the heretic, who knew the art of making amulets.—The author of this book, which is full of malignity, abuses Kází 'Alí, of Baghdád.—Account of an organ.—Murder of Sháh Mansúr.—Controversy between Muhammadans and Christians.—A tavern built at the gate of the palace, and orders issued respecting the purchase of wine, and unlawful acts not prohibited.—Regarding certain jocular sayings.—Orders issued prohibiting the teaching of the commentaries and traditions.—Death of Makhdúmu-l Mulk and Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí.—Death of Ghiyásu-d dín 'Alí, A'saf Khán, and Shaikh Jalál Thánesarí.—Arrival of Mír Fathu-lla Shírází from the Dakhin.—Orders issued for the compilation of the *Táríkh-i Alfí*.—Translation of the *Mahábhárat*.—Mián Tánsen.—A brief account of Rám and his wife Sítá.—Marriage of a daughter of Rájá Bhagwán with Prince Salím.—Commencement of the second *karan*.—Death of Mirzá Muhammad Hakím, son of the Emperor Humáyún.—Bírbal killed.—Fight with the Roshanái Afgháns.—Death of Abú-l Ghais Bukhárí.—Assassination of the blessed Mullá Ahmad Thattaví by the merciless sword of an accursed pigling.—Translation of the *Rámáyana.*—Death of Sháh Fathu-lla Shírází.—Death of Hakím Abú-l Fath.—Death of Todar Mal and Bhagwán Dás.—Death of Shaikh Wajíhu-d dín.—Date of the death of Shahábu-d dín Khán.—Death of Shaikh Ibráhím Chishtí.—Death of Urfí Shírází.—Death of Kází 'Alí, of Baghdád, grandson of Kází Húsain.—Fight of Zain Khán with the Roshanái Afgháns.—Death of Shaikh Mubárak Nágorí.—Religious precepts.—Administrative orders.—Death of Nizámu-d dín Ahmad.—Death of Shaikh Ya'kúb Kashmírí.—Death of Hakím 'Ainu-l Mulk and Hakím Hasan Gílání.—The *Sháhnáma* turned into prose.—Death of Shaikh Faizí, son of Mubárak Nágorí.—Death of Hakím Humám.

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[1] See Sprenger's *Bibliog.*, p. 55.

Shaikhs and holy men, thirty-eight persons, pp. 403–434.
Learned men, sixty-nine persons, pp. 434–477.
Physicians, fifteen persons, pp. 477–480.
Poets, one hundred and fifty-three persons, pp. 480–557.
Conclusion, pp. 557–562.
Size—Folio, containing 562 pages, of 23 lines to a page.

The *Táríkh-i Badáúní* is one of the commonest histories to be met with in India. One of the best copies is in the Asiatic Society's Library. Other good copies are to be found in Banda, Lucknow, Kole, and Patna. [The whole of the work has been published in three volumes in the Bibliotheca Indica, and many passages have been translated by Mr. Blochmann as notes to his edition of the *A'ín-i Akbarí.*]

EXTRACTS.

Muhammad Tughlik.

[Text, vol. i. p. 227.] In A.H. 729 Tarmah Shírín[1] the Mughal, brother of Katlagh Khwája Mughal, King of Khurásán, who had on a previous occasion invaded Hindústán, advanced with a large army to the province of Dehlí. He captured several forts, and committed ravages and massacres from Lahore, Sámána, and Indrí to the confines of Badáún, nor did he retreat till the victorious arms of Islám were arrayed against him. The Sultán pursued him as far as Kalánor, and leaving Mujíru-d dín Aborjá to dismantle that fortress, he returned towards Dehlí.

At this juncture, it occurred to the Sultán to raise the taxes of the inhabitants of the Doáb ten or twenty per cent., as they had shown themselves refractory. He instituted also a cattle-tax, and a house-tax, and several other imposts of an oppressive nature, which entirely ruined and desolated the country, and brought its wretched inhabitants to destruction.

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[1] "Tarmsharín Khán." See Vol. III. p. 450.

Ibráhím, son of Sikandar Lodí.

[Text, vol. i. p. 327.] Rái Bikramájít, who succeeded his father Rái Mán Singh in the possession of Gwálior, found himself unable to withstand the royal troops, and was obliged to surrender the lofty edifice of Bádalgarh,[1] one of the forts dependent on Gwálior, and built by Mán Singh. On this occasion, a brazen figure which was worshipped by the Hindús fell into the hands of the Musulmáns, which they sent to Ágra. Sultán Ibráhím forwarded it to Dehlí, and placed it before one of the gates of the city. Ten years before the compilation of this history, in the year 992, it was brought to Fathpúr, where the compiler of this work saw it. Gongs, and bells, and all kinds of implements were subsequently manufactured from the metal of which it was composed. In those days Sultán Ibráhím, entertaining suspicions against his old nobles, fettered and imprisoned most of them, and transported others to various distant places.

Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh Súr.

[Text, vol. i. p. 384.] Salím Sháh,[2] in the beginning of his reign, issued orders that as the *saráís* of Sher Sháh were two miles distant from one another, one of similar form should be built between them for the convenience of the public; that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindú, as well as Muhammadan, travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the *madad-m'ásh* and *aima* tenures in Hindústán which Sher Sháh had granted, and all the *saráís* which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits. He took away from the nobles all the dancing girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let none of them retain more than a sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage.

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[1] ["The cloud cap't tower."] This was also the name of the old fort at Ágra, which was evidently within the area of the present one, because Jahángír, at the opening of his memoirs, says, "My father *demolished* the old fort on the banks of the Jumna, and built a new one." It must, however, have been pretty nearly destroyed before Akbar's time, by the explosion mentioned *infrà*, p. 491.

[2] The correct name is Islám Sháh, but some historians style him Salím, and most copies of the *Táríkh-i Badáúní* pervert it still more by giving the name as Islím. See *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 478.

It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed, and placed under the immediate management of the State, the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Sháh. Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not;—a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to *Kázís* or *Muftís*.

In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of five, ten or twenty thousand horse, were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Salím Sháh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the *munsif*, or *amín*, and so on; after which, with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about eighty sheets of paper. Every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to their purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family. These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salím Sháh, and the compiler of this history witnessed the scene above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 955 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend his grace to him!) to the camp of Faríd Táran, commander of 5000 horse, which was then pitched in the district of Bajwárá, a dependency of Báyána.

In the year 954 or 955 A.H. (God knows which year is correct) Khwája Wais Sarwání, who was appointed to command the expedition against 'Azam Humáyún, fought with the Níázís on the confines of Dhankot, and was defeated.[1] 'Azam Humáyún, flushed with this success, pursued the Khwája as far as Sirhind. Salím Sháh despatched a large force against the rebels, and a battle ensued at the same place, in which the Níázís were defeated. Some of their women who were made captives were sent prisoners to Gwálior, and Salím Sháh violated their chastity. He distributed among the vagabonds of his camp the tents, standards, and other spoil of the Níázís which had fallen into his hands, bestowing upon them the titles which were common among the Níázís; such as Saiyid Khán, 'Azam Humáyún, Sháhbáz, etc. He granted them kettle-drums, which were beaten at their respective gates at the stated times. These low persons used to beat their drums aloud, and claim the dignity of the dogs of the celestial sphere. These people, in conformity with the practice of making rounds, which is occasionally observed among the prostitutes of India, went every Friday night to do homage to Salím Sháh, instead of saying their prayers. On their arrival at the palace, the heralds exclaimed, "Oh king, be gracious enough to cast Your Majesty's eyes upon such and such Níází Kháns, who have come to offer up prayers for your health and welfare." This proceeding exceedingly disgusted the Afgháns, who were of the same tribe as the King. The Níází titles, and the standards and drums, which were granted to them by Salím Sháh, are said by some historians to have been bestowed on them after the first battle. God knows whether this is correct or not. 'Azam

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[1] See *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 493.

Humáyún, who was defeated in the last battle, was never able again to take the field.

The ranks of the Níázís began to be thinned day by day, and they soon dispersed. In the first instance they took refuge with the Ghakars, in the neighbourhood of Rohtás, and then settled themselves in the hills in the vicinity of Kashmír. Salím Sháh, with the view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force, and took up a strong position in the hills to the north of the Panjáb, where, for the purpose of establishing posts, he built five fortresses, called Mánkot, Rashídkot, etc. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afgháns, he forced them, for a period of two years, to bring stones and lime for the building of those fortresses, without paying them a single *fulús*, or *jítal*. Those who were exempted from this labour were employed against the Ghakars, who resisted strenuously, and with whom they had skirmishes every day. At night the Ghakars prowled about like thieves, and carried away whomsoever they could lay hands on, without distinction of sex and rank, put them in the most rigorous confinement, and then sold them into slavery.

These circumstances sorely afflicted the Afgháns, who felt that they were exposed to every kind of insult, but it was not in the power of any individual to lay their grievances before Salím Sháh; until one day, when Sháh Muhammad Farmulí, a noble noted for his hilarity and jocular speeches, who was a special companion of the King, took heart and exclaimed, "O my liege! two nights I dreamt that three bags descended from heaven; one containing ashes; another, gold; and the third, papers; the ashes fell upon the heads of the troops; the gold upon the houses of Hindús; and the papers fell to the lot of the royal treasury." Salím Sháh did not take the allusion ill, and it had the effect of inducing him to promise that he would, on his return to Gwálior, order his accountants to disburse two years' pay to the troops, but his death, which occurred soon afterwards, prevented the fulfilment of this promise.

LIBRARY OF THE

Sultán Muhammad 'A'dil, otherwise called 'Adali, son of Nizám Khán Súr.[1]

[Text, vol. i. p. 413.] His real name was Mubáriz Khán; but when he ascended the throne, with the accord of the ministers and nobles, he assumed the title of Muhammad 'A'dil. The people, however, used to call him 'Adalí, and went so far as to alter the letters of this name and convert it into Andhalí, which means "blind."

Ibráhím Khán, after an unsuccessful action at Khánwa, fled to Bayána, which is a strong fort in a commanding position. Hímún immediately invested it, and skirmishes were of daily occurrence between the contending parties. The fort was well supplied with guns and ammunition, and Ghází Khán, Ibráhím's father, who was in Hindún, used to throw supplies into it by way of the hills to the west of Bayána. Hímún invested the fort for three months, and devastated the whóle of the country in the neighbourhood, and my father's library in Basáwar was almost entirely destroyed.

At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in A'gra, Bayána and Dehlí, so that one *sír* of the grain called *juwári* rose to two and a half *tankas*, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindús perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny acacia, upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words *khashm-i izad*, "Wrath of God." The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with the scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities of the Musulmáns.

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[1] See *suprà*, p. 43.

Amongst the remarkable incidents of the year 962, during the war between Sikandar and Ibráhím, was the explosion in the fort of A'gra, of which the following is a brief account. When the army of 'Adali Khán had left A'gra, Ghází Khán Súr sent his own officers with a garrison to protect the property, to keep the fort in a state of preparation, and to lay in provisions, for which purpose they had to examine the several storerooms and workshops. By chance, early one morning, as they were going their rounds with a lamp, a spark fell into a room filled with gunpowder. In the twinkling of an eye it ignited, and rising up to heaven, the earth quaked, so that the inhabitants of the city thought that the Day of Judgment had come, and prayed devoutly when they were roused thus suddenly from their slumbers. Planks, enormous stones and columns were sent flying several *kos* to the other side of the Jumna, many people were destroyed, and the limbs of men and of animals were blown away, full ten or twelve miles. As the name of the citadel of A'gra was originally called Bádalgarh, the date, 962, was found in the words *A'tash-i Bádalgadh*—"The fire of Bádal."

While Hímún was encamped before Bayána, the people died with the word "bread" upon their lips, and while he valued the lives of a hundred thousand men at no more than a barley-corn, he fed his five hundred elephants upon rice, sugar, and butter. The whole world was astounded and disgusted. Hímún, once every day, eat with his own followers in public, and calling the Afgháns to his own table, he would invite them to eat, telling them to take up large handfuls, and he would shamefully abuse any one whom he saw eating slowly, and say, "How can you with such a slender appetite expect to fight with any rascally Mughal?" As the Afgháns had now nearly lost their power, they could not muster spirit enough to reply to the unclean infidel; and laying aside the bluntness and hastiness for which they are so celebrated, they consented, whether from fear of consequences or hope of reward, to swallow his foul language like so many sweetmeats, adopting the following verses as their maxim:

> "Place not your hands submissively on my feet;
> Give me only bread, and lay your slipper on my head."

Reign of Akbar.

Campaign of Khán-zamán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 24. Year 964.] [Khán-zamán in these few years, with a small force, fought bravely against the numerous forces of the Afgháns, and obtained the victory over them. The history of his campaigns is a bright page in the annals of the time. At the battle of Lucknow Hasan Khán Bachgotí came up against him with 20,000 men, and Khán-zamán had not altogether more than 3000 or 4000. When the enemy passed the river Karwí and attacked Bahádur Khán, he himself was engaged taking a meal. When he was told that the enemy was at hand, he called for the chess-board and played at his ease. Afterwards being told that a foreign army was driving back his forces, he called for his arms. His tents were being plundered, and his whole army was in confusion. He ordered Bahádur Khán to retire; then he, with a few men, beat his drums and fell upon the enemy. He overpowered them, and drove them for seven or eight *kos*. Many of them were slain, and heaps were formed of the corpses.

So also at Jaunpúr he fought with the Gaurian who called himself Sultán Bahádur, and had issued coin and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name in Bengal. This man advanced against Jaunpúr with about 30,000 horse, and the men of Khán-zamán were completely routed. When Khán-zamán arose from his repast, he found the enemy engaged upon their meal or occupied in plundering. The Khán fell upon them with a small party of men, completely routed the Afgháns, killing many and making many prisoners. He obtained such booty that his army wanted for nothing. The victories which he and his brother achieved could have been accomplished but by few. These two brothers had many noble qualities; but the mark of rebellion was upon them, so that in the end all their exploits came to the dust.]

Gwálior and Rantambhor.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 31.[1]] [In the year 966 the fort of Gwálior was taken. A slave of 'Adalí's named Buhail Khán (Suhail), being besieged in the fort, made terms and surrendered the keys. The date was found in the words, *Fath báb kil'ah Gwáliár*. In this same year another slave of 'Adalí's, named Sangrám Khán, sold the fort of Rantambhor into the hands of Surjan Ráí Hádá. The facts of the matter are, that shortly before this, when His Majesty took up his abode at Ágra, he sent a party of *amírs*, such as Hindú Beg Mughal, to reduce this fort. These *amírs* drove Sangrám Khán before them, and ravaged the country round the fortress; but they were unable to accomplish their object.]

Affairs of the Author.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 32.] In A.H. 966, I left my home at Basáwar, and went to Ágra, for the purpose of completing my education. I became acquainted with Mihr 'Alí Beg, and lived in his house. The Beg pressed most earnestly upon Shaikh Mubárak Nágorí, my tutor (the peace of God be upon him!), and Mulúk Sháh, my father (God sanctify his tomb!), his desire that I should accompany him on his projected expedition, and threatened that he would not depart, unless this request was conceded. These two dear guardians, moved by their friendly feelings, being persuaded that it was to my advantage to go, consented to the arrangement, and to please them, though an inexperienced traveller, and though compelled for the time to relinquish my usual studies, I started, in the height of the rains, on this perilous journey. Passing through Kanauj, Lucknow, Jaunpúr, and Benares, and seeing all that was to be seen, and holding interviews with several holy and learned personages, I crossed the river Ganges, and arrived at Chunár in the month of Zí-l ka'da, A.H. 966.

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[1] See *suprà*, pp. 167, 176, 259, 260.

Jamál Khán sent some of his dependents to meet Mihr 'Alí Beg, and they conducted him to Jamál Khán's house. The palaces of Sher Sháh and Salím Sháh, and all the ammunition and resources of the fort were shown to him, and he was apparently received with the utmost hospitality and kindness.

When the *farmán* was read, which was intended to conciliate Jamál Khán, by conferring upon him five *parganas* of Jaunpúr in *in'ám* tenure, in lieu of the fort of Chunár, Jamál Khán showed that he had further expectations, and placed the most unheard-of difficulties in the way, seeking to delay Mihr 'Alí until an answer should be received to the representation which he had made to Court. He insidiously wrote also, at the same time, communications both to Khán-zamán and to Fath Khán Afghán, who was in the fort of Rohtás with a considerable force, holding out to them separately promises of the fort.

When Mihr 'Alí was aware of the perfidy practised by Jamál Khán, and being not without suspicions of the fidelity of Fath Khán, he feared they would league together for his injury, and so he left the fort under pretence of taking an airing, and crossing the river in considerable alarm, proceeded direct to Ágra,[1] leaving me in the fort. As I thought it best to temporize with Jamál Khán by way of making my own escape, I proposed to him that I should try and bring back Mihr 'Alí, and effect a reconciliation. To this he acceded, and in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It so happened that the boat fell into a raging whirlpool under the hill near the wall of the fort, and a fierce wind arose which made the vessel shiver. If the mercy of God, the ruler of earth and water, had not acted as my sail, the bark of my hope would have been dashed to atoms by the whirlpool of calamity against the hill of death.

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[1] This sentence is not in the printed text.

In the jungle which lies at the foot of the Chunár hills, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, one of the greatest saints of India, had resided for twelve years in the practice of asceticism, consuming the leaves and fruits of the forest as his food; and so celebrated was he for the fulfilment of his blessings, that even powerful kings used to come and visit him, and pay their respects. I fell in with one of his dependents, and arrived at the hermitage. He himself was not there, for in this very year he had proceeded from Gujarát to Ágra, where he arrived in great pomp and circumstance, accompanied by several disciples, and gave considerable satisfaction to the Emperor by the principles and faith which he professed. * *

Shaikh Gadáí, with that spirit of jealousy, spite, and malice which is a peculiar failing of the saints of Hindústán, was vexed at this intrusion of a rival, and looked upon Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus as one shopkeeper does on another, who commences the same trade, in the storey directly over his head. Wise men know well the truth of the adage, "Two of a trade never agree." Khán-i khánán, who was much attached to Shaikh Gadáí, did not receive Shaikh Muhammad with that degree of respect and favour which was his due. On the contrary, he assembled divines and learned men, in order to ridicule the treatise of the Shaikh, in which he had said that he had in his waking moments had an interview and conversation with God, who assigned him a superiority over the Prophet Muhammad. He had written other nonsense equally pernicious and blasphemous. He sent also for the Shaikh, and made him the butt of his contumely—so that the Shaikh, much chagrined, retired to Gwálior, where he engaged himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, and contented himself with the proceeds of a *jágír*, which yielded a *kror* (of *tankas*).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 53.] [On 27th Rajab of this year (969 A.H.) my father Mulúk Sháh (may God be merciful to him!) died in Ágra of dysentery. I carried his bier to Basáwar, and there buried him. I found the date of his death in the words *Jahán-fazl.*]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 63.] At the time when the compiler of this work resided at Ágra, for the purpose of finishing his education, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus one day passed by in great state, and accompanied by acclamations which rent the air. He was clothed in the garb of a *fakír*. I was at first anxious to pay my respects to him; but when I learnt that he was in the habit of rising to receive the salutations of Hindús, that desire vanished, and I was deprived of the satisfaction I had anticipated. Another day, I saw him in the *bázár* at Ágra, with multitudes of people thronging before and behind him, and he was so constantly occupied in returning the salutations of the people on all sides of him, that he could not sit up erect during the whole time of his airing. Although he was eighty years old, his countenance was wonderfully fresh, and his whole appearance betokened anything but old age and debility. The mercy of God be upon him![1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 64.] On the 20th of the blessed month Ramazán of this year (970 A.H.) I heard at Sansawán, in Sambal, of the death of my maternal grandfather in Basáwar. He had taught me several sciences, and I was much attached to him. He had many claims upon the respect of men of letters. The date of his death is represented by the letters composing the words, *Fázil-i Jahán*, "The excellent of his time."

Husain Khán Tukriya.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 125.] In A.H. 977 the *pargana* of Lucknow was transferred from the possession of Husain Khán Kashmírí to that of Mahdí Kásim Khán, who had just returned from Mecca, and had paid his respects to the Emperor at Rantambhor. Husain Khán[2] was highly indignant at this, and exclaimed,

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[1] Among the biographies which are given at the close of the work, one is devoted to the Shaikh, in which the author says, that there was so little pride and self-sufficiency in the Shaikh's composition, that he was never known to utter the monosyllable *man*, I. The instance he adduces to prove the assertion is, by the studied attempt to avoid the use of that word, more offensive than the most rampant egotism.

[2] This man, of whom some notice has already been taken in the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, *suprà*, p. 468, appears to have been an enthusiast, or a mad man, who could not get over the persuasion that inexhaustible wealth was to be procured, from possessing

"Our friendship is broken, we shall meet no more till the day of judgment." He then abandoned in disgust (his wife) the daughter of Mahdí Kásim, notwithstanding he loved her, and took the daughter of his uncle Ghazanfar Beg. After a while, leaving his wife in distress, and the daughter of Mahdí Khán with her brothers in Khairábád, he set forth from Lucknow with the design of breaking down the idols and of demolishing the idol temples. For he had heard that their bricks were made of gold and silver, and other false reports of their unbounded treasures had come to his ears. He proceeded through Oudh, towards the Siwálik hills.[1] The hill-men, as is their custom, abandoned the lower hills after a slight resistance, and fled for security to higher elevations, of which the ascent was very dangerous. Husain Khán arrived at last at the place where Sultán Mahmúd, nephew of Pír Muhammad Khán, was slain. He read the *fátiha* for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there, and repaired their dilapidated tombs. He then ravaged the whole country as far as the *kasbah* of Wajráíl, in the country of Rájá Ranká, a powerful *zamíndár*, and from that town to Ajmír, which is his capital. In that place are to be found mines of gold and silver, silks, musk, and all the productions of Tibet, from which country he was only distant two days' journey; —when, on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, the neighing of the horses, and the sound of the

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himself of the mines in the hills. Five or six years afterwards, he plundered the Doáb, and then made an attack on Basantpúr in the hills, where there was a royal garrison, and died from the effects of a gun-shot wound received there. 'Abdu-Kádir, who declares himself a devoted friend and admirer of Husain Khán, says that, though to all appearance he was a fool, he was in reality a very intelligent man. See *infrà*, p. 503.

[1] An impression of the great wealth of Kumáún was generally prevalent about this time. Firishta at the conclusion of his work, in speaking of the native Rájás of Hindústán, says, "The Rájá of Kumáún possesses extensive dominions. A considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing, and copper mines are to be found in the country. The treasures, too, are vast. It is a rule among the Rájás not to encroach upon the hoards of their ancestors; for it is a saying among them, that whoever applies his father's treasures to his own use, will become mean and beggarly in spirit, so that, at the present day, fifty-six distinct treasures exist, which have been left by the Rájás of Kumáún, each with the owner's seal upon it."

kettle-drums, as well as the voices of his followers, caused the clouds to collect, and so much rain fell, that neither corn nor grass was to be procured.[1] Famine stared the army in the face, and although Husain Khán, with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, and excited their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city and the country, in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to second his resolution, and he was compelled to retreat.

On their retreat the Káfirs, who were in possession of the passes, showered down stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones upon them. They also blocked up the way, and most of the bravest of his warriors drank the cup of martyrdom. Many of the wounded, who escaped at the time, died five or six months afterwards from the effects of the poison.

Husain Khán returned to Court, and requested that Kánt and Gola[2] might be conferred upon him in *jágír*, in lieu of the one he held before. This was graciously acceded to. Several times he made incursions to the foot of the hills with various success, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows, who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition, now felt the malarious influence of the climate, and died off, but not in battle. After some years Husain Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, mustered his forces for a final struggle to get possession of the hills, and perished in the attempt, as, please God, will be mentioned in its proper place.

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[1] This story reminds us of the succour which was so opportunely offered to the army of Marcus Aurelius, when it was engaged in a hopeless conflict with the Marcomanni, in the barren mountains beyond the Danube.

> Oh nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris
> Æolus armatas hiemes; cui militat æther,
> Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.
> Claudian, *De tert. Cons. Honor.* v. 98.

Tertullian, Eusebius, Jerome, and other Christian authors ascribe the miraculous shower to the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the army. Suidas and Dio Cassius to a magician. The fact is indisputable; the cause is more probably explained by our Oriental writer. In modern days, it has frequently been observed that severe actions have been followed by rain, and philosophical reasons have been assigned for this curious effect.

[2] This district, which pretty nearly corresponds with Sháhjahánpúr, in Rohilkhand, is sometimes styled Kánt Gola. For the position and varying extent of this tract, see *Supplemental Glossary*, Art. GOLA.

About this time I went, after taking leave of Husain Khán, from Lucknow to Badáún, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Shaikh Muhammad, whom I loved from my very soul, nay, better than my own soul, for he was endowed with every excellent and angelic quality. Three months did not elapse before he died, he, as well as 'Abdu-l Latíf, the light of my eyes, the earliest fruits of the garden of my life (my first-born), who, when time cast an evil eye upon him, was carried off, in the twinkling of an eye,[1] from the cradle to the tomb, and I was suddenly reduced from the happiest to the saddest of men. God created me, and to God shall I return!

Death of Shaikh Salím Chishtí.—The Author wounded.—Conflagration at Badáún.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 136.] In the year 979 A.H. the palace at Ágra and the palace at the new town of Fathpúr were completed. * * * At the close of the month of Ramazán of this year, Shaikh Salím Chishtí, of Fathpúr, died. He was one of the chief saints of Hindústán, and his sayings are worthy of commemoration. I will hereafter give a notice of him, please God, in the supplement to this history.

During this year an unfortunate accident befell the author, of which the following are the particulars. At the period when Ka.. nd Gola was held in *jágír* by Muhammad Husain Khán, and when it pleased fate to associate me with him for some time, as I was appointed Judge of that district,[2] I went on a pilgrimage to Makanpúr, a dependency of Kanauj, where is the tomb of the holy Shaikh, Badí'u-l Hakk wau-d dín Sháh Madár (may God sanctify his tomb!). This son of man, through the disposition which he inherited from his sinful and ignorant nature (which he imbibed with his mother's crude milk, and which is the cause of shame and reproach), and through innate darkness and ignorance (which are the source of presumption and baseness, and which came down to him by inheritance from father Adam), the eyes of his wisdom were covered with a film of lust, and he was inclosed in the net of lasciviousness, so that he committed all of a sudden, as was of old forewilled by Providence, a gross impropriety within that shrine. Since the chastisement as well as the mercy of God was upon me, I received upon earth the punishment of my sin, by his ordaining that several connexions of the girl whom I fell in love with should inflict nine sword wounds upon my head, hands, and shoulders. They were all slight, but one penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached to the brain, exposing me as a brainless fellow, and another partially severed the veins of the little finger of my left hand. I fainted away, and appeared to be travelling to another world. May God bless my resurrection!

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[1] This triple repetition of the word *eye* is intended for a witticism—frigid enough, and in a most inappropriate place.

[2] و فقیر . . . اسم صدارت آن صوبه و عهدهٔ خدمت فقرا داشت

I met with an excellent surgeon in Bángarmau, who closed my wounds within a week, and in the midst of my pain and illness, I made a vow, that if I recovered I would go to Mecca—a vow which I have not yet been able to perform, but which I hope, God willing, to do before I die, and before any obstacle intervenes to prevent the execution of that excellent resolve. The rest is with God!

Afterwards, I arrived at Kánt and Gola, and had no sooner bathed after my recovery, than I was again laid on my bed by sickness, the wound having become ulcerous from the effect of excessive cold. Husain Khán (may God bless him with eternal Paradise! for he showed himself more than a father or a brother to me) administered some medicine, in the shape of a plaster and electuary, both made from the wood of the tamarisk, and enabled me to proceed on my journey to Badáún. There another surgeon took off the dressings, and re-opened the wound on my head. I was nearly expiring from the intensity of the pain. * * *

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badáún, and an immense number of Musulmáns and Hindús perished in the flames. Carts full of the remains of those who were burnt were driven down to the river, and no one could tell who was a believer, and who an infidel. Many who escaped being burnt rushed to the ramparts, and were so scorched by the flames, that men and women precipitated themselves from the wall in despair. Some had their skins burnt and disfigured. Water seemed only to add fuel to the flames. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. Some it warned, others it destroyed. A short time before this, a half-witted fellow came from the Doáb, whom I took into my own house and society. He said to me one day in private, that I ought to flee out of that city, as some infliction of Providence was about to befall it. But I paid no attention to him, as he was a frequenter of taverns.

Erection of the fort of Surat, in defiance of the Portuguese infidels.[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 145.] One day in the year 980, the King went to look at the fort of Surat, and gave orders to repair the portions that had been battered and destroyed. During his inspection he saw the large mortars, which had been despatched with a powerful fleet and army by Sulaimán Sultán, the Turkish Emperor, to assist in capturing the harbours of Gujarát, and had been left on the sea-shore, covered with rust, because Sulaimán Ágá, the admiral, had abandoned the enterprise through meeting with some obstacle.[2] There they remained, until Khudáwand Khán

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[1] [See *suprà*, p. 350.]

[2] Muhammadan authors slur over the precipitate retreat, but Shaikh Zainu-d dín confesses to a panic.—See Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul-mujahideen*, p. 143. Maffei—who styles the admiral Sulaimán, "Solimanus Peloponnesius, vir enormi non minus adipe, quam avaritiâ et crudelitate notissimus,"—tells us, that the Turks were so terrified by the four lanterns, which the Portuguese hung out from some of the ships of the Goa fleet, that they set sail for Arabia in the utmost alarm, leaving behind them five hundred wounded and a great portion of their ordnance.

Nonnius, (Nuno de Cunha) dum ab subsidium inclusis ferendum reliquam ornat classem, celeriter præmissæ liburnicæ sexdecim ad Madrafabam accesserant noctu, quaternis in singulas puppes luminibus ad speciem augendam haud frustra sublatis:

wazír had them carried into the fort of Surat, at the time it was building. The few which remained had been taken to Júnagarh[1] by the Governor. The King inspected them, and gave orders that some of them, which were not wanted there, should be sent to Ágra.[2]

The reason assigned for Khudáwand Khán's[3] building the fort of Surat is, that the Firingís used to oppress the Musulmáns in every kind of manner, devastating the country, and tormenting God's servants. At the time of laying the foundations of the fort, they tried to throw every obstacle in the way, by firing cannon from their ships,[4] but all without effect.

That expert engineer laid the foundations of one side within the sea, dug a deep ditch round the two sides which faced the land, and built the walls with stones and burnt bricks. The wall was thirty-five yards long.[5] The breadth of the four walls was fifteen yards, and their height twenty yards, and the breadth of

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eo quippe terrore Turcæ perculsi, tribus jam millibus suarum amissis, * * * noctis intempestæ silentio conscendunt naves, duobus circiter mensibus in obsidione consumptis; ac vela dant in Arabiam tantâ cum trepidatione, ut saucios quingentos et magnam tormentorum partem fœdè reliquerint.—(Maffei, *Hist. Indic.* Lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 503.)

Diego de Conto says that the stratagem was rendered more effectual by the coincidence of an eclipse of the moon.—(*Asia*, Dec. v. lib. v. cap. 4. See also Faria-e-Souza, tom. i. part iv. cap. 9.)

"Solyman, the Bassa," says Knolles, "a most famous Pyrat, assaulted (in September, 1538) Dium, a castle of the Portugals, situate upon the mouth of that great river (Indus), but, in conclusion, after he had many days besieged the castle, both by sea and land, and tried the uttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portugals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, and leaving his great ordnance behind him for haste, returned back again to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Felix"—*Turkish History*, vol. i. p. 451.

[1] Firishta, in his reign of Mahmúd Sháh III. of Gujarát, says that they were brought *from* Júnagarh for the defence of Surat; and this is the most probable, as the ordnance was abandoned at Diú.

[2] The *Mir-át-i Ahmadí* says there was only one Sulaimání gun which the King wished to transfer to Ágra, but could not find the means of transport for so heavy a piece.—See Bird, *History of Gujarát*, p. 322.

[3] This is the same chief that we read of in Sídí 'Alí's journal.—See Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, vol. ii. p. 180.

[4] آتش بازي بسيار بكشتيها سردادند.

[5] [This sentence was not given in the original translation, but a note in the printed text says that it is found in all the three copies consulted. There must be some omission or error, or the fort must have been a very small affair.]

the ditch was twenty yards. All the stones, the joints and interstices were fastened together with iron clamps, and made firm with molten lead. The battlements and embrasures are lofty, and so beautiful that every one was astonished at beholding them. On the bastions, which projected into the sea, was erected a gallery (*ghurfa*), which the Firingís, especially the Portuguese, profess to say is an invention of their own. When the Musulmáns began to erect this *chaukandi*,[1] the Firingís exerted every kind of opposition to obstruct it; and when they found they could not prevail by force, they offered large sums of money to prevent its being built: but Khudáwand Khán, through the regard which he bore to his own religion, sternly refused, and plied the work till it was finished, in contemptuous defiance of the Christians.

Husain Khán Tukriya.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 151.] In 980 A.H. Husain Khán Mahdí Kásim Khání, *jágírdár* of Kánt and Gola, had gone off to quell the insurgents of Badáún and Pattiálí, before he heard of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá's arrival in the neighbourhood of Dehlí.[2] In the mean time, Makhdúmu-l Mulk Mauláná 'Abdu-lla Sultánpúrí and Rájá Bihár Mal, who were entrusted with the chief direction of affairs during the King's absence in Gujarát, wrote to Husain Khán from Fathpúr, to inform him that Ibráhím Husain Mirzá had experienced two defeats, and was then in the vicinity of Dehlí, and that as no person of importance was now present to defend the capital, he ought to hasten to Fathpúr without delay. He accordingly prepared to obey their summons, and was well on his road, having arrived at the village of Oudh, in Jalesar, when he learnt that the Rájá of Awesar still continued the depredations which he had practised since the accession of the King, in the neighbourhood of Ágra, and had become a predatory robber (*kazzák*). He had been engaged in several hard conflicts with some loyal nobles, and had slain many excellent men, and at that time he was concealed in the jungle of the village of Naurähí, in the *pargana* of Jalesar.

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[1] It is quite incomprehensible why this building, whatever it was, should have excited so much rancour on both sides. One might suppose it was rather a battery, than a small palace. Literally, it may be said to mean "a four-cornered room." Briggs calls it a four-storied palace. He translates the passage thus:—

"Within the town is a beautiful building, four stories high, which the Hindus call Chowkunda, and the Europeans compare it to a Portuguese palace. Finding they could not prevent by force the construction of the fort, the Portuguese offered large sums of money to induce Khoodabunda Khan not to fortify Surat, but their gold was rejected."—(Briggs, vol. ii., Firishta, vol. iv. p. 147.)

This differs much from the original, which runs thus:—

"The Firingís said, 'If you will not abstain from building the fort, do not, at any rate, build the *chaukandi* after the model of Portugal; and to secure that, we will pay as much money as we offered to prevent your building the fort.' Ghazanfar Ákáí Turk, surnamed Khudáwand Khán, replied, 'Through the liberality of the Sultán I am in need of nothing; and to show my detestation of you, I shall build this kind of *chaukandi*, and secure for myself the peculiar blessings which attend good works.' He then sent for the ordnance and other stores, which were called *Sulaimání* on account of the Turks having abandoned them, and which were then in Júnagarh, and placed them in different parts of the fort of Surat, and strengthened it."—(*History of Gujarát*, Mahmúd Sháh III.)

I cannot find mention of the transaction in any European author.

[2] [See *suprá*, p. 355.]

We had scarcely time to ponder on this intelligence, when all of a sudden, while we were marching at mid-day on the 15th of Ramazán, the men being off their guard, and going on in separate parties, most of them, also, being exhausted with the fast, an attack was made upon us, with matchlocks and arrows. The Rájá of Awesar had formed stages of wicker-work on the tops of the trees, and from this secure position several of our men were killed and wounded. At the very commencement of the attack, a ball struck Husain Khán below the knee, grazed his thigh, and, passing through the saddle, was spent upon the head of his horse. He was very nearly fainting and falling from his saddle, but his self-possession enabled him to keep his seat by clinging to the pommel. I threw water on his face, and his immediate attendants, not aware of the accident, at first thought that his fasting had worn him out. I then seized hold of his bridle, for the purpose of carrying him for safety behind a tree out of the storm of arrows, when he opened his eyes, and, contrary to his usual habit, looked sternly at me, and made signs that there was no need to hold his reins, but that we should dismount and join in the fray. We accordingly alighted, leaving him there to take care of himself.

The contest then raged with fury, and many were killed on both sides. At last, towards evening, victory inclined to our party, which was the smallest, and the infidels were put to flight like so many sheep, but not before our *sipáhís* were so tired, that they could scarcely wield a sword or shoot an arrow. We had all been so jammed together in the forest, that we could with difficulty tell friend from foe. Some of our men had strength of mind and body enough, to deserve the reward, both of engaging in holy war, and of maintaining a strict fast. I, on the contrary, in my weakness, at last took a cup of water to moisten my throat, for the want of which some poor fellows died. Several excellent friends of mine attained martyrdom in repelling this attack.

After this victory, Husain Khán returned by rapid marches to Kánt and Gola, and strengthened those places. Shortly after, Ibráhím arrived in the *pargana* of Lakhnor, fifteen *kos* from Sambal.[1] As Husain Khan was still suffering from the effects of his wound, he was obliged to be carried on a litter, but nevertheless he advanced to Báns Bareillí, in order to force Ibráhím to action, and from Bareillí he made Sambal in one day by a forced march. Ibráhím, alarmed at this exhibition of confidence and courage, thought it better to decline an action, and retreated by way of Amroha, in the environs of Lakhnor, leaving a distance of seven *kos* between him and his opponent. Had Husain Khán been compelled to fight in his then wounded state, God knows what would have happened! It was one of the Mirzá's mistakes that he did not attack Husain Khán while he was in this weak state.

[Mu'ínu-d dín Khán Farankhúdí, governor of Sambal, with a large party, and several other *amírs* and *jágírdárs* of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge in the fort, when they heard at midnight the roll of the drums of Husain Khán, they thought the Mirzá was upon them, and were quite overpowered by fear. But when the cry arose that Husain Khán had come to their assistance, they came out joyfully to meet him. Next day we went to the abode of Shaikh Fathu-lla Tarbati, one of the vicars of Shaikhu-l Islám Fathpúrí, and there held a council. It was then considered advisable that all the *amirs* of the neighbourhood of Dehlí who had turned out against the Mirzá should go with Tolak Khán Korchí and * * to the *pargana* of Ahár on the Ganges, and there wait for us; then, after the junction of the forces, further operations might be decided on.

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[1] Sambal was the paternal estate of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá. Gulrukh Begam, his wife, was a daughter of Kámrán Mirzá, and, consequently, Akbar's first cousin.

Husain Khán exclaimed, "Good God! The Mirzá came here with a small party of horse, and although your numbers more than doubled his, you took refuge in the fort of Sambal; and now twenty or thirty *amirs* and old soldiers with a large force are so dismayed that you want to shelter yourselves in the fort of Ahár, which is a mere rat's hole. This will encourage the Mirzá to make further attacks upon the Imperial territories. Now there are two courses open, one of which we must follow. You must cross the Ganges, and, under the cover of that old fort, must intercept the Mirzá, and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten over the Ganges, and head the Mirzá, while you pursue him. This seems to be our duty." But they could not agree upon any course until Husain Khán, driven by necessity, went off in haste with the horsemen he had to the *amirs* at Ahár, and inveighed loudly against their going into the fort. He brought them out, and again held a council with them. "The enemy," he said, "is in the heart of the country, and is like a hare in the midst of a camp. If we follow him up sharply, we may settle his business, and take him alive. The glory of this victory will be yours." The soldiers said, "Under the orders of Makhdúmu-l Mulk and Rájá Bihár Mal, we have driven the Mirzá out of the Dehlí territory, and have come into Sambal. Mu'ínu-d din Ahmad Khán is the master and *jágirdár* of this province, and he is now responsible. Our orders were to protect Dehlí, not to make war upon the Mirzá, for there are risks in such a course."

Intelligence now arrived that the Mirzá had attacked Amroha, and having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Chaubála, was marching rapidly towards Lahore. Husain Khán, convinced of the apathy of the *amírs*, separated himself from them immediately, and made a forced march to Garh-muktesar, in order to arrest the Mirzá. Of the royal *amírs*, Turk Subhán Kulí and Farrukh Díwána were the only ones that accompanied him. A letter now reached him from the *amírs* of Ahár, urging him to come speedily and join them. The Mirzá, like the rook on a cleared chess-board, now came into the heart of the country, plundering and ravaging the towns in his way. When he was at Páyal, his men committed such atrocities upon Musulmán people as cannot well be described. In that town twelve virgins were ravished with such violence that several of them died. Other places fared in the same way. Husain Khán followed the steps of the Mirzá, and the *amírs* came after him, until they reached Sirhind. Here they became refractory, and would go no further. But Husain Khán was not content to remain. With the small force under his command, not exceeding 200 men in all, and with the two persons (above named), he marched rapidly from Sirhind to Lúdiyána. There he learnt that on the Mirzá's approaching Lahore, the garrison had closed the gates against him. Upon this the Mirzá went to Sher-garh and Jahní.

Husain Kulí Khán, who was besieging Nagarkot and the fort of Kángra, heard of these movements of the Mirzá's; so he patched up a treaty with the Hindús. He received five *mans* of gold as tribute from the people of Nagarkot, and had the *khutba* read in His Majesty's name. He then marched away along with Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, Masnad-i 'Alí, Fattu (Katlú) the slave of 'Adalí, Ism'aíl Khán, Rájá Bírbal and other *amírs*, and proceeded in pursuit to Sankra. When Husain Khán heard of this movement, in that madness which a thousand times had got the better of his judgment, he swore an oath that he would not eat food until Husain Kulí joined him. Crossing the Biyáh at the ford of Talwandí, he made a forced march to Sher-garh, one of the dependencies of Jahní. There he paid a visit to Shaikh Dáúd Kádirí Jahní-wál. When food was served, he excused himself from eating on account of his oath. The Shaikh observed that it was easy to atone for an oath, but silly to distress one's friends. The Khán instantly called for a slave, and having set him free, thus atoned for his oath. Then he partook of the food, and benefited by the gracious words which he heard. He remained there that night. The monastery of the Shaikh provided entertainment for all the party, and his fields furnished grass and corn for the horses.

Three days afterwards I came from Lahore to Sher-garh, and stayed there four days, seeing and hearing things which had never entered into my imagination. I was anxious to withdraw from the world, and to devote myself to the sweeping of the monastery. But the Shaikh would not allow me, and told me I must go to Hindústán. So I took my leave in a very forlorn and distressed state. * * *

One stage from Talwandí, Husain Khán addressed a letter to Husain Kulí Khán, saying that he had come four hundred *kos* by forced marches, and begging for one day's delay, so that he might join him, and share in the victory to be won. Husain Kulí Khán said, "Very well," and sent the messenger back. On the same day he hastened on to the town of Túlamba, four *kos* from Multán, and attacked the Mirzá, who was out hunting, and quite unaware of his approach. Some of the Mirzá's men were preparing to march, and others had dispersed, and were not in condition to fight. Mas'úd Husain Mirzá, younger brother of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain, took the initiative, and attacked the forces of Husain Kulí Khán; but his horse stumbled and fell upon the broken ground, and he was taken prisoner. When Mirzá Ibráhím Husain returned from hunting, all chance was gone; and although he fought well, and made several charges, he was unable to gain any success; so he turned his reins and fled.

The day after the victory Husain Khán arrived at Túlamba, with eighty or ninety men, and drums beating. Husain Kulí Khán showed him the battle-field, and told him of each man's exploits. Husain Khán then said, "As the enemy has escaped alive, you must pursue him and take him prisoner, for the business is not yet completed." Husain Kulí Khán replied that he had come from Nagarkot by forced marches, that his forces had suffered many hardships in that mountainous country, and were not in condition. A complete victory had been secured, and now there was an opportunity for other friends.

Husain Khán now hoped that his turn was come, and that the hardships and the forced march of five hundred *kos* had opened a way for him, so he took his leave, and pressed forward. Some men, who were worn out with fatigue, he sent to Lahore with the elephants and drums. With a small party of men he took up the pursuit of the Mirzá. There was but a short distance between him and the unfortunate Mirzá, when one night the Mirzá and about four hundred horsemen halted on the banks of the Biyáh and Sutlej, where the rivers unite. The *jhils*, who are a low class of Multán peasants, having collected together, made a night attack upon him, and assailed him with arrows. The Mirzá, with a party of men, some wounded and some disabled, did what they could to beat off their assailants; but the *jhils* came on successfully. At length an arrow, guided by fate, struck the Mirzá at the back of his head, and came out through his throat. Unable otherwise to help himself, he changed his clothes, and his men left him. They fled, sorely distressed, in every direction. But wherever they went, they were marks for the arrows of death, and met their fate. One or two old slaves of Mirzá Ibráhím, having dressed him in the garments of a *kalandar*, were desirous of getting him out of the way of danger. His helplessness was so great that they took him for refuge to the dwelling of a *darwesh* named Shaikh Zakariya. Outwardly the Shaikh applied ointment to his wounds, but privately he sent information to Sa'íd Khán at Multán. The Khán sent a slave named Daulat Khán to bring in the Mirzá a prisoner. Sa'íd Khán wrote a despatch, and sent it to the Emperor as he was coming to Ajmír on his return from Gujarát.

Husain Khán, when he heard of the capture of the Mirzá, hastened to Multán, and saw Sa'íd Khán. He made a difficulty about seeing the Mirzá, and said: "If when I see him, I salute him, it will be inconsistent with my duty to the Emperor, and if I do not salute him, it will be uncourteous, and the Mirzá will say to himself—'See this uncircumcised fellow, who, when he received quarter at the siege of Satwás, made obeisances without end, and now that evil days are fallen upon me treats me cavalierly.'" The Mirzá heard these ceremonious words of his, and said "Come and see me, and without obeisance, for I waive it." Notwithstanding he made his bow, and saw him. The Mirzá, with an anxious look, said, "I had no intention of rebellion and disturbance. When the matter took a serious turn, I took my own course, and threw myself into a foreign country. But they would not allow me to stay there. If it was my fate that this defeat should fall upon me, would to God that I had received it at your hands, that it might have been the cause of the advancement of you, who are my co-religionist, and not from Husain Kulí Khán, who is alien in religion and sect!" Husain Khán then returned to Kánt and Gola, and soon afterwards he heard that the Mirzá had died in prison.

Husain Khán proceeded from Kánt and Gola to Court. Husain Kulí Khán also came to Fathpúr from the Panjáb, bringing Mas'úd Husain Mirzá, with his eyes fastened up, and a number of the Mirzá's men as prisoners. They were nearly three hundred persons, and they were brought before the Emperor, with skins of asses, hogs, and dogs cast over them, some to be put to death with divers tortures, and some to be set at liberty. * * Sa'íd Khán also sent the head of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain from Multán, having had it cut off for the purpose after his death.]

Sulaimán Kiráni.[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 163.] [In this year (980) died Sulaimán Kiráni, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the title of *Hazrat-i 'ala.* He had conquered that mine of infidelity, the city of Katak and Banáras,[2] and had made Jagannáth a home of Islám. His authority extended from Kámrú (Kámrúp) to Orissa. His son Báyazíd succeeded him; but in the course of five or six months, the Afgháns put him to death, and his brother Dáúd bin Sulaimán attained the sovereignty.]

Abú-l Fazl.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 173.] About this time (Zí-l hijja, 981 A.H.), Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárak Nágorí, the star of whose knowledge and wisdom was brilliant, came to Court, and received many marks of distinction.

Building of Palaces.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 173.] In 981 fine spacious palaces were built on the road to Ajmír. His Majesty's devotion induced him every year to go on a pilgrimage to that city. So directions were given for building a palace at every stage between Ágra and Ajmír, and for erecting a pillar and sinking a well at every *kos.* Some hundreds of thousands of stags' horns, which had been killed in the course of His Majesty's life, were placed upon the pillars as a memorial for the world.[3] Would that, instead of these, gardens or *saráis* had been formed!

Lodí Afghán.[4]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 174.] [Dáúd was now at Hájípúr, and at the instance of Katlú Khán, governor of Jagannáth, he threw into prison his *amíru-l umará* Lodí, who had been ruler of Orissa, but who had since taken a hostile course, and had set himself up in opposition in the fort of Rohtás. He got Lodí into his power by holding out the bribe of an elephant. They tell the story that one day Dáúd went out hunting with a small escort, and that Lodí, with ten thousand horsemen of Sulaimán's, formed the design of putting down Dáúd. But Dáúd went back to the city, assembled his forces, and scattered Lodí's followers. By his crafty management, he got Lodí into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodí, knowing his death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dáúd. He said, "Although I know that you will be very sorry after my death, and that you will derive no benefit from it, still I will give you one counsel, which if you act upon you will prove victorious. My advice is, that you place no reliance upon that peace which I effected not long ago by means of two *lacs* of rupees. The Mughals will never let you alone for this trifling sum. Be beforehand with them, and make war with them immediately, for there is nothing like the first blow." Dáúd thought he had an evil design in what he said, and, proud of the hollow peace which he had made with Khán-khánán, but which was no better than a shadow, he put the devoted Lodí to death. Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity.]

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[1] [See *suprà*, p. 372.]

[2] [Katak was called "Katak Banáras." See *suprà*, p. 386.]

[3] The pillar, which is in the best state of preservation, is to be seen at Fathpúr Síkrí, where the garrulous *cicerone* gives a very different account of its origin. It is called "*híran minár*," or "pillar of the antelope."

[4] [See *suprà*, p. 372.]

Building of the fort of Payág.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 176.] On Safar 23rd, A.H. 982, His Majesty arrived at Payág (Prayága), which is commonly called Illáhábás, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with the object of obtaining the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree.[1] Here His Majesty laid the foundations of an Imperial city, which he called Illáhábás.

Translation of the Singhásan Battísí.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 183.] [In Jumáda-l ákhir, while the Court was at Sher-garh, otherwise called Kanauj, a book called *Singhásan Battísí*, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rájá Bikramájít, King of Málwa, and resembles the *Túti-náma*, was placed in my hands; and I received His Majesty's instructions to make a translation in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet of my work on that very day. A learned brahman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a sheet, containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it *Khirad-afzá*, a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.]

Revenue Arrangements.[2]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 189.] [In this year (982) an order was promulgated for improving the cultivation of the country, and for bettering the condition of the *raiyats*. All the *parganas* of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in deserts and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells, were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation, would produce one *kror* of *tankas*, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called *krori*, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, and whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers. So that in the course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers. The measurement was begun in the vicinity of Fathpúr. One *kror* was named Ádampúr, another Shethpúr, another Ayúbpúr, and so on, according to the names of the various prophets (and patriarchs). Regulations were circulated, but eventually these regulations were not observed as they ought to have been. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the *kroris*, the wives and children of the *raiyats* were sold and scattered abroad, and everything was thrown into confusion. But the *kroris* were brought to account by Rájá Todar Mal, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. Their condition was like that of the devout Hindús in the country of Kámrúp, who, having dedicated themselves to their idol, live for one year in the height of enjoyment, appropriating everything that comes to their hands; but at the end of the period, one by one they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its car, or offer up their heads to the idol.

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[1] [See Vol. I. p. 35.] Here is still further testimony to this tree being in the open air, at the point of the confluence, to a very late period. It is the celebrated *Akhai-bar*, or immortal fig-tree. See Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. i. p. 302.

[2] [See *suprà*, p. 383.]

[1] All the country, with the exception of that which was under the *khálisa* (exchequer), was held in *jágir* by the *amirs*. But from the prevalence of indulgence and debauchery, extravagance in household expenditure, and accumulation of riches, there was no means of maintaining the soldiery or of fostering the peasants. When the services of the *amirs* were required, they came into the field attended only by a few slaves, or some young Mughal soldiers. Able soldiers were nowhere to be found. Sháhbáz Khán, the *mir-bakhshi*, revived the regulations of the *dágh* (branding), and the *mahalli*, which were instituted by Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, and were afterwards maintained by Sher Sháh. It was also settled that every *amir* should be first appointed commander of a score

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[1] [Since translating these passages, I find that Mr. Blochmann has also translated this and several of the following paragraphs. See *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 242.]

(*bísti*).[1] * * * When he brought up the horses of those twenty horsemen for the *dágh* according to the regulation, he might be promoted to be a *sadí* (commander of a hundred) or higher.

They were also to keep elephants, horses, and camels suitable to their rank. When they brought this number of horsemen for inspection, they were to be treated according to their deserts and position, and might attain to a *mansab* of 1000, 2000 or of 5000, than which there is none higher. If they did not do so, they fell from their rank.

But under this regulation also the ill-used soldiers fared worse. For it was found that the *amírs*, having effected their objects, dressed up many of their dependents (*kháss-khailán*) and horsemen (*bárgír*) in the garb of soldiers, and bringing them to the muster, they made up the complement of their *mansab*, and received *jágírs* in proportion. Then they dismissed the *bárgírs* until they required them again, when they would once more enlist, according to their requirements, a number of temporary soldiers, and dismiss them again when no longer wanted.

The treasure, the collections, and the expenditure of the *mansabdárs* remained unaltered, but in every way dirt fell into the plate of the poor soldier, so that he was unable to gird up his loins. Tradesmen, such as weavers, cotton-dressers, carpenters, and Hindú and Musulmán grocers (*bakkál*) would hire a horse or charger, and bringing it up for the *dágh*, would obtain a *mansab*, and would become a *krorí*, *ahadí* (guardsman), or *dákhilí* (substitute) of some one. A few days afterwards no trace would be found of the hired horse or of the missing charger, and they were reduced to the position of footmen.

There were many men who at the time of the royal inspection at the public office were placed in the scales, bound hand and foot with their garments on, and their weight would reach to two and a half *mans* or three *mans* more or less. Afterwards it would be found out that the clothes were hired, and the horse borrowed. His Majesty used to say, "I with my eyes open, and aware of what

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[1] [Here follows an unintelligible passage.]

I am about, give something to these men, so that they may have some means of living." After a while they would present themselves again as *ahadís* of two horses, of one horse, or even of half a horse. For two horsemen would be partners of one horse, and receiving for it the forage allowance, amounting to six rupees, would divide it between them. This sort of trade was carried on to a great extent; but for all this the Emperor's good fortune was so great and flourishing that his enemies were everywhere annihilated, and soldiers were not so much wanted. The *amírs* also were set free from the unseemly blandishments of the uncircumcised.]

Abú-l Fazl's second introduction to Akbar.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 198.] In 982 Abú-l Fazl, now styled *'Allámí* or "very learned," came a second time to Court. He set the world in flames, and "lighted up the lamp of the *Sabáhís*,"—a proverbial way of saying he lighted his lamp by daylight. In accord with the saying, "He who contends gains his object," he set himself in opposition to all sects, and bound the girdle of reform about his loins. He presented a commentary on the *A'yatu-l kursí*, which treated on the nice points and subtleties of the Kurán. People say that his father wrote it, but he presented it, and got much praise. The words "*tafsír-i Akbarí*" give the date of its composition. The Emperor received him graciously, and (in order to humiliate the arrogance of the proud *mullás*) looked upon him more favourably than he did upon me. The reason of Abú-l Fázl's antagonism and rancour was that at the time of the persecution and massacre of heretics like Mír Habshí and others, Shaikh Abdú-n-Nabí, Makhdúmu-l Mulk, and the learned in general took counsel together, and with one accord they represented that Shaikh Mubárak Mahdawí also was a heretic, who was lost himself, and led others to perdition. Having got tacit permission to repress and remove him, they sent officers to apprehend him; but as the Shaikh had absconded with his sons, they broke the pulpit of his mosque. He then sought the protection of Shaikh Salím Chishtí in Fathpúr, who was then at the height of his prosperity and eminence. Shaikh Salím sent him something for his expenses, and recommended him to leave the country, and fly to Gujarát. As he obtained nothing in this quarter, he went to Mirzá 'Azíz Koka, who represented to the King, that Shaikh Mubárak was a learned and indigent man, that his children were clever, that he held no land in *in'ám*, and inquired what was the advantage of persecuting a worthy man. So the Emperor gave up the intention of hurting him, and in a short time everything went on to his heart's content. Shaikh Abú-l Fazl ingratiated himself with His Majesty by his unremitting devotion to the King's service, by his temporizing disposition, by his duplicity, by his study of the King's temper and sentiments, and by his boundless flattery. When he at last obtained the opportunity, he took his revenge upon that sect whose works and efforts have met with so little reward. He was the cause not only of the destruction of these old labourers, but of the disasters which fell upon all God's wise and holy servants, upon the infirm and upon orphans, by the resumption of their allowances in money and rent-free lands. * * When trouble and misery fell upon them, he used frequently to quote this quatrain:—

> "I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
> As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?
> No one is my enemy but myself,
> Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

If any one, while remonstrating, cited the precepts of religious men, he would say in reply, that the precept quoted was the composition of such and such a grocer, such and such a cobbler, such and such a currier, for he thought proper to reject all the wise sayings of Muhammadan Shaikhs and Doctors.

The 'Ibádat-khána.[1]—*Polemical Discussions.*

[Text, vol. ii. p. 200.] [In the year 983 the buildings of the *'ibádat-khána* were completed. The cause of their erection was this. In the course of the last few years the Emperor had gained in succession many great and remarkable victories, and his dominion had grown in extent from day to day. Not an enemy was left in the world. He had taken a liking for the society of ascetics and the disciples of the celebrated Mu'íniyyah (God rest his soul!). He spent much time in discussing the Word of God and the sayings of the Prophet; and he devoted his attention to questions of *Súfism*, science, philosophy, law and other matters. He passed whole nights in meditation upon God and upon the modes of addressing him as *yá hú* and *yá hádí.* Reverence for the great Giver filled his heart. In order to show his gratitude for some of his blessings, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and mortification upon the stone bench of an old cell which lay near the palace in a lonely spot. Thus engaged in meditation, he gathered the bliss of the early hours of dawn. * * *

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[1] [See *suprà*, p. 390.]

' Having completed the building (of the *'ibádat-khána*), he made a large hall in each of the four divisions of it. He also finished the construction of the tank called *anúptaláo.* He called the building *'ibádat-khána*, and by degrees it became at last a .[1] On Fridays after prayers he would go from the new *khánkáh* of the Shaikhu-l Islám, and hold a meeting in this building. Shaikhs, learned and pious men, and a few of his own companions and attendants, were the only people who were invited. Discussions were carried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. * * * Every Sabbath evening he invited *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, doctors and nobles. But ill feeling arose in the company about the seats and order of precedence, so His Majesty ordered that the nobles should sit on the east side, the *saiyids* on the west, the *'ulamá* on the south, and the *shaikhs* on the north. His Majesty would go from time to time to these various parties, and converse with them and ascertain their thoughts. Quantities of perfume were used, and large sums of money were distributed as rewards of merit and ability among the worthy people who obtained an entry through the favour of the Emperor's attendants. Many fine books which had belonged to 'Itimád Khán Gujaráti, and had been acquired in the conquest of Gujarát, were placed in the royal library, but were subsequently brought out and distributed by the Emperor among learned and pious men. Among the rest he gave me a book called *Anwáru-l mashkút.* * * One night the vein of the neck of the *'ulamá* of the age swelled up, and a great outcry and tumult arose. This annoyed His Majesty, and he said to me (Badáúní), "In future report any one of the assembly whom you find speaking improperly, and I will have him turned out." I said quietly to A'saf Khán, "According to this, a good many would be expelled." His Majesty asked what I had said. When I told him, he was much amused, and repeated my saying to those who were near him.

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[1] [The meaning is here doubtful. The text has three variant readings, *'ibádat*, *'iyádat*, and *'ibárat-khána*, no one of which seems applicable.]

He used to summon Makhdúmu-l Mulk Maulána 'Abdu-lla Sultánpúrí to that assembly, in order to annoy him; and he set up to argue against him Hájí Ibráhím and Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, then a new arrival, but now the prime leader of the New Religion and Faith, or rather the infallible guide and expositor *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.* His Majesty used to interrupt the Maulána at every statement, and at a hint from him his companions also would interfere with interjections and observations, and would tell queer stories about the Maulána, and exemplified in his person the verse of the Kurán, "And some of you shall have life prolonged to a miserable age."]

The Pilgrimage.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 203.] One night (during the year 983), Khán Jahán mentioned that Makhdúmu-l Mulk had given an opinion that in those days it was not a religious duty to go on a pilgrimage, and that it was even sinful to do so. When he was asked his reasons, he replied, that there were only two ways to Mecca, one by 'Irák, the other by Gujarát. By the former, a man must hear abusive language from the Kazilbáshes (Persian Shi'as); by the latter, he must, before he embarks at sea, suffer the indignity of entering into an engagement with the Firingís, which engagement was headed and stamped with portraits of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ (upon whom be peace!), and so is tinctured with idol worship.[1] Therefore both ways should be prohibited.

Another device of Makhdúmu-l Mulk's was the trick by which he avoided payment of the legal alms due upon his wealth.[2] At the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it all back again. It was said that he practised some other tricks, of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed. Stories were told, one after another, about his meanness and shabbiness, and baseness and worldliness, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy and deserving men, especially those of the Panjáb, and which one by one came to light, verifying the saying, "There is a day when secrets shall be disclosed." They told also other stories founded upon his villany, sordid disposition, and contemptible conduct, and they ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off by force to Mecca. When he was asked if he thought the pilgrimage a duty for himself, he replied in the negative. About this time, Makhdúmu-l Mulk began to fall into discredit, and Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí[3] succeeded him in the good graces of the King.

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[1] Maffei mentions a toll, and Osorius tells us that the Portuguese allowed no one to sail without one of their passports. Faria-e-Souza says that these passports were not unfrequently mere "letters of Bellerophon," to the effect that "The owner of this ship is a very wicked Moor; I desire that the first Portuguese captain to whom this is shown may make a prize of her!"—See Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul Mujahideen*, pp. 90, 104.

[2] [Or, more familiarly, how he avoided payment of income-tax.]

[3] An account of each of these ecclesiastical judges is given among the Biographies of learned men at the end of the work. That of 'Abdu-n Nabí will be found among these Extracts.

Respecting Makhdúmu-l Mulk, an intelligent author, who has written on the subject of Akbar's deflections from the path of the Muhammadan religion, observes:—

"A learned and pious writer, Makhdúmu-l Mulk, published about this time a tract injurious to Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí. He accused that teacher of having been wrongfully instrumental to the deaths of Khizr Khán Shirwání, who had been condemned for reviling the Prophet, and 'Alí Habsh, who had been charged with heresy. He

Rent-free Tenures.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 404.] This year the King gave orders that the rent-free land throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of *ayma*, *madad-m'ásh*, *wakf* or pensions, should not be considered valid, and that the revenue-officers should not recognize them until the *Sadr* had approved the grants. The consequence was, that the people whose rights were assailed flocked from the farthest east of India, and from Bakkar in the west, to represent their grievances. Whoever found a powerful friend among the nobles and people at Court, secured his wishes, and whoever could not obtain a similar introduction, had to give large bribes to Saiyid 'Abdu-r Rasúl, and all the subordinates of the Shaikh, even to the *faráshes*, door-keepers, grooms and sweepers, and by these means contrived at last to "save his blanket from the whirlpool." He who could not succeed in procuring either of these passports, was well thrashed and kicked by the attendants; besides which, many of the unfortunates perished from the effect of the hot air in that immense crowd. Although the King knew all these particulars, yet such was his regard for the *Sadr*, that he could not be persuaded to interfere with his proceedings. Whenever the *Sadr* sat in state and dignity in the *diwán-khána*, and held public audience, the nobles would, now and then, taking forward some learned and respectable man, represent his case for consideration. But he used to receive them with little respect, and after much entreaty and importunity, some able man, who could explain the *Hidáya*, or any equally abstruse book, would get a paltry hundred *bighas*, more or less, restored to him, and the rest, of which he might have been in possession

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added also, that the Shaikh was unworthy to mount the pulpit, both because he was subject to a bodily infirmity, and because he had been disavowed by his own father for his perverse and undutiful conduct when a youth. To these attacks Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí replied by calling Makhdúmu-l Mulk a heretic and a fool. Opinions were divided, some of the religious men sided with one, and some with another; the dispute ran high, and a complete schism ensued. The enemies of Islám took this opportunity to augment the King's disgust and dissatisfaction, and those impressions becoming progressively more intense, he lost in the course of five or six years every particle of his original belief."—*Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. p. 51.

for many years, would be resumed. But the ordinary run of ignorant and worthless fellows, even down to Hindús, would get as much land as they asked for, without question. From these proceedings, learning and its professors declined in estimation every day. Even in the middle of the assemblage, while seated "aloft in awful state," if the time for midday prayers came, he would wash his hands, and care not how much water he sprinkled on the faces and clothes of the surrounding nobles and courtiers. They meekly submitted to the indignity, because they knew it was to the advantage of their poor clients, and would bestow upon the *Sadr* every kind of eulogium, compliment, and flattery, to his heart's content, in the hope by this means to secure at last some compensation for the insult.[1] In the time of no former king had any *Sadr* such extensive powers and jurisdiction.

The Author's Appointments and Emoluments.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 206.] About this time the King appointed me a preacher, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the royal horses with the brand. I had no fixed salary, but I was told from the first to act like a *mansabdár* of twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abú-l Fazl arrived at Court about the same time, so that we were, as was said, loaves out of the same oven. Yet he, beginning his service by marking horses and attending to the *mahalli*, managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a *mansab* of two thousand, and to the dignity of *wazír*. But poor I, from my inexperience and simplicity, could not manage to advance myself. I reflected within myself that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a *madad-m'ásh*, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world. But even in this I was doomed to be disappointed.

In the month of Shawwál, 983, on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused; but I received a horse with suitable trappings, and a grant of a thousand *bighas*, which was a mere nothing, being only equal to an allowance for the maintenance of twenty men, but in accordance with the unfriendly disposition of the *Sadr* and my unlucky fate. It was styled also in the grant a *madad-m'ásh*.[1] I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be constantly in attendance at Court, to which the King replied, that he would give me presents also during the marches. Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí too observed, that no person of my quality had received from him so large a grant of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of fate. These fine promises were nothing better than a baseless mirage. I have performed services without reward, and undergone restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the goodness of God.

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[1] [This last sentence is a free rendering of a rather offensive expression.]

"*Alláhu Akbar*."

[Text, vol. ii. p. 210.] [In these days (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575-6) His Majesty asked how it would be if he ordered the words *Alláhu Akbar* to be engraven on his Imperial seal and stamped upon his coins. Several people said it would be very good. But Hájí Ibráhím objected. He said the phrase had an ambiguous meaning, and that it would be better to substitute the verse of the Kurán, *Lazikru Alláhi Akbaru* ("To think of God is the greatest thing"), because it was free from ambiguity. His Majesty was not pleased with this, and said it was self-evident that no creature, in the depths of his impotence, could advance any claim to Divinity. He had only looked upon the word as being apposite, and there could be no sense in straining it to such an extent.][3]

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[1] [That is, an eleemosynary grant, not a *mansab* or military tenure indicative of dignity.]

[2] [The signification usually attached to these words is "God is great"; but the meaning "Akbar is God" may be given to them.]

[3] [See Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 166.]

The Emperor's Heretical Associates.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 211.] [In this year (983) there arrived Hakím Abú-l Fath Gílání, Hakím Humáyún (who subsequently changed his name to Humáyún Kulí, and lastly to Hakím Humám), and Núru-d dín, who as a poet is known under the name of Karárí. These three were brothers, and came from Gílán (near the Caspian). The eldest brother, by his subserviency, obtained an extraordinary ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, and pushing forward, he soon became a most intimate friend of Akbar. Soon after there came to Court Mullá Muhammad of Yazd, who got the nickname of *Yazídí*. He attached himself to the Emperor, and concocted the most extravagant censures against the *sahába* (companions of the Prophet, the peace of God be upon them!). He told extraordinary stories (about them), and tried hard to make the Emperor a *shí'a*. But this man was soon left behind by Bírbal, that bastard, and by Shaikh Abú-l Fazl and Hakím Abú-l Fath. They turned the Emperor from the Religion, and made him a perfect sceptic of inspiration, the prophetic office, the miracles and wonders, and the law. They carried matters to such a length that I, the author, could no longer bear them company. The result of all this, as regards each one of them, will be told in its proper place. About the same time, His Majesty ordered Kází Jalálu-d dín and several other learned men to write a commentary upon the Kurán, but they fell to squabbling about it. That scoffer, Deb Chand, Rájá of Manjhola, used to say, that if the cow had not been greatly esteemed by the Almighty, she would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Kurán. As history was read from day to day, His Majesty's faith in the Companions of the Prophet began to be shaken, and the breach grew broader. The daily prayers, the fasts, and prophecies were all pronounced delusions as being opposed to sense. Reason, not revelation, was declared to be the basis of religion. Europeans also paid visits to him, and he adopted some of their rationalistic tenets.]

Death of Dáúd Afghán.[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 238.] [In the early part of the engagement, a cannon-ball struck the knee of Junaid, and broke his leg. When the armies closed, defeat fell upon the Afgháns. The horse of Dáúd stuck fast in the mud, and Hasan Beg made Dáúd prisoner, and carried him to Khán-jahán. The prisoner, being oppressed with thirst, asked for water. They filled his slipper with water, and took it to him. But as he would not drink it, Khán-jahán supplied him with a cupfull from his own canteen, and enabled him to slake his thirst. The Khán was desirous of saving his life, for he was a very handsome man; but the nobles urged that if his life were spared, suspicions might arise as to their loyalty. So he ordered him to be beheaded. His execution was a very clumsy work, for after receiving two chops he was not dead, but suffered great torture. At length his head was cut off. It was then crammed with grass and anointed with perfumes, and placed in charge of Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khán.]

Personal to the Author.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 252.] In A.H. 985 the King, after visiting the shrines of the holy saints in the neighbourhood of Dehlí, went towards Pálam on a shooting excursion. At the close of the blessed month Ramazán, news reached me at Rewárí, that at Basáwar[2] a son had been born to me, of which happiness I had been a long time in expectation. On this occasion I presented an offering of a gold *ashrafí* to the King, and requested he would be good enough to name the child. After reading a prayer, he inquired the name of my father and grandfather. I replied, "Mulúk Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Hámid." He said, "I call your son 'Abdu-l Hádí,"—Hádí being a name which at that time he had, night and day, upon his lips. Notwithstanding that Háfiz Muhammad Amín, the preacher, was constantly citing the seven *imáms*, urging me in high-flown language not to commit this absurdity, and to invite some learned men to my house to read the whole Kurán, in order to secure a long life to my son, he could not persuade me, and at the end of six months my son died. May God be pleased on his account to pardon me in the day of judgment!

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[1] [See page 400 *suprà.*]

[2] This place, which is so frequently mentioned in the course of this history, is within the territory of Bharatpúr, on the road from Ágra to Jaipúr. It is situated on the side of a rocky eminence, with a ruinous palace on its summit. Heber calls it Peshâwar. See *Narrative of a Journey*, vol. ii. p. 385.

From Rewárí I took five months' leave, and went to Basáwar, on account of sundry affairs of consequence, but I unavoidably extended my absence to the period of a year. This unwarranted neglect of duty and the machinations of my enemies made me fall in the King's estimation, and by degrees I was entirely forgotten. To this day even, although eighteen years have since elapsed, I still perform my duty, but am not honoured with an interview; and I can neither go in search of other employ, nor maintain a firm footing in my present position.

Rent-free Tenures.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 254.] Kází 'Alí Baghdádí, grandson of Mír Kází Husain Maíbazi, was deputed to the Panjáb to make inquiries respecting the lands held in rent-free tenure, under the name of *madad-m'ásh* and *ayma.* He was directed to resume the old tenures, to measure them, and to include them all in one district. The greatest anomalies had been perpetrated in this department, which were all to be attributed to the perversity of Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí and the dishonesty of his subordinates.

Religious Difficulties.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 255, A.H. 986.] [His Majesty used frequently to go to the *'ibádat-khána,* and converse with the *'ulamá* and the *shaikhs*, especially on Sabbath evenings, and would sometimes pass the whole night there. The discussions always turned upon religion, upon its principles, and upon its divarications. The learned doctors used to exercise the sword of their tongues upon each other, and showed great pugnacity and animosity, till the various sects at length took to calling each other infidels and perverts. * * * Innovators and schismatics artfully started their doubts and sophistries, making right appear to be wrong, and wrong to be right. And so His Majesty, who had an excellent understanding, and sought after the truth, but was surrounded by low irreligious persons, to whom he gave his confidence, was plunged into scepticism. Doubt accumulated upon doubt, and the object of his search was lost. The ramparts of the law and of the true faith were broken down; and, in the course of five or six years, not one trace of Islám was left in him. The state of affairs was changed.

There were many reasons for this. But as "small things are suggestive of great ones, and fear betrays the culprit," I will only mention a few. Learned men of various kinds and from every country, and professors of many different religions and creeds, assembled at his Court, and were admitted to converse with him. [1] Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate. Profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most diverse phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islámitic) principle. Thus a faith, based on some elementary principles, traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and, as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like Islám, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old? Why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself?

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[1] [The rest of this Extract is taken from Mr. Blochmann's translation. See *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 179.]

Moreover, Samanís[1] and Brahmans managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs, based on reason and testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly, and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder.

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islámitic revelations regarding resurrection, the Day of Judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our Prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed, in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.]

Christian Missionaries.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 260.] In A.H. 986 the missionaries of Europe, who are called Pádrís, and whose chief Pontiff, called Pápá (Pope), promulgates his interpretations for the use of the people, and who issues mandates that even kings dare not disobey, brought their Gospel to the King's notice, advanced proofs of the Trinity, and affirmed the truth and spread abroad the knowledge of the religion of Jesus. The King ordered Prince Murád to learn a few lessons from the Gospel, and to treat it with all due respect, and Shaikh Abú-l Fazl was directed to translate it. Instead of the inceptive "Bismillah," the following ejaculation was enjoined: "In nomine Jesu Christi,"[1] that is, "Oh! thou whose name is merciful and bountiful." Shaikh Faizí added to this, "Praise be to God! there is no one like thee—thou art he!" The attributes of the abhorred Anti-Christ were ascribed to our holy Prophet by these lying impostors.

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[1] [Hindu ascetics, Sans. *Sramana.*—ED.]

Worship of the Sun.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 260.] The accursed Bírbal[2] tried to persuade the King, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising, not towards the setting, sun; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung; that he should adopt the frontal mark and the Bráhminical cord. Several wise men at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was the chief light of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, that it was a friend to kings, and that kings established periods and eras in conformity with its motions.[1] This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nau-roz Jalálí*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of the regent-planet of the day. He began also, at midnight and at early dawn, to mutter the spells, which the Hindús taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, and the eating of their flesh, because the Hindús devoutly worship them, and esteem their dung as pure. Instead of cows, they sacrifice good men. The reason was also assigned, that physicians have represented their flesh to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

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[1] The original has in Persian اي نامي وي ژژو کرستو, which can scarcely be said to bear any meaning. Besides, the translation, vile as it is, shows that a foreign language must have been dealt with. It is not difficult to make "in nomine" out of the first two Persian words. [The above are the words of the printed text, but Mr. Blochmann slightly modifies and improves them, *Ai nám i tu Jesus o Kiristo,* "O thou whose names are Jesus and Christ."—*Áín-i Akbarí,* vol. i. p. 183.]

[2] This is the epithet by which he is usually characterized by this bitter enemy. Respecting his death in the Yúsufzai country, he says, "Bírbal fled for fear of his life, and being slain, was included amongst the dogs of hell, and met with punishment, slight when compared with his evil deserts. Akbar regretted his loss more than that of any other of his chiefs, exclaiming, 'Why did they not, at least, rescue his body, that it might have been burnt?' Afterwards, he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Bírbal was pure and undefiled, the rays of the grand luminary were sufficient for his funeral pyre."

Abú-l Fazl appointed Superintendent of Fire-temples.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 261.] Fire-worshippers also came from Nausárí in Gujarát, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the King's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaiánians; and at last he directed that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abú-l Fazl, and that after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished either by night or day,—for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from among the many lights of his creation.

From his earliest youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rájás of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from fire-worship; but on the New-year festival of the 25th year after his accession, he prostrated himself both before the sun and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted.

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[1] [The printed text says only پادشاهان مروج اویند—"Kings are sustained by it."—Mr. Blochmann's translation runs, "They said, the sun was 'the greatest light,' the source of benefit for the whole world, the nourisher of kings, and the origin of royal power."—*Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 183.]

On the festival of the eighth day after the sun's entering Virgo in this year, he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrist by Bráhmans, by way of a blessing. The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the *rákhí* on the wrist, which means an amulet formed out of twisted linen rags. In defiance and contempt of the true faith, every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions, he treated as manifest and decisive. Those of Islám, on the contrary, were esteemed follies, innovations, inventions of indigent beggars, of rebels, and of highway robbers, and those who professed that religion were set down as contemptible idiots. These sentiments had been long growing up in his mind, and ripened gradually into a firm conviction of their truth.

Infallibility of the Emperor.[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 270.] [In the same year (987), a declaration made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdúmu-l Mulk, Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí *Sadru-s Sudúr*, Kází Jalálu-d dín Multání, who was *Kázíu-l Kuzát*, of Sadr-i Jahán, the *muftí* general, of Shaikh Mubárak, the most learned man of the age, and of Ghází Khán Badakhshí, who had no rival in the science of metaphysics. The object of this declaration was to establish the complete superiority of the *Imám-i 'ádil* (just leader) over the *Mujtahid* (chief lawyer); and to make his judgment and choice a preponderating authority on divers questions, so that no one could possibly reject (his) commands, either in religious or political matters, but must by them be self-convinced.[1] * * * I copy the document verbatim.

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[1] [See Blochmann's translation, *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 185.]

[*Preamble — Citations from the Kurán and the Traditions.*] "We have agreed and do decree that the rank of a *Sultán-i 'ádil* (just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid.* Further we declare that the Sultán of Islám, the refuge of mankind, the leader of the faithful, the shadow of God in the world — Abú-l Fath Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar Pádsháh-i Ghází (whose kingdom God perpetuate!)—is a most just, wise, and God-fearing King. Therefore, If there be a variance of opinion among the *mujtahids* upon questions of religion, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and unerring judgment, should incline to one opinion, and give his decree for the benefit of mankind and for the due regulation of the world, we do hereby agree that such a decree is binding on us and on the whole nation. Further we declare that should His Majesty, in his unerring judgment, issue an order, which is not in opposition to the Kurán, and which is for the benefit of the nation, it shall be binding and imperative on every man. Opposition to it shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of religion and property in this life. This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islám, and is signed by us, the principal *'ulamá* and lawyers, in the month of Rajab, 987 Hijra."

The draft of this document was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubárak. The others had signed it against their will. But the Shaikh of his own accord added at the bottom that he had most willingly signed his name, for it was a matter which for several years he had been anxiously looking forward to.

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[1] [This is a somewhat difficult passage. My rendering differs materially from Mr. Blochmann's; but though I have ventured to disagree with him, I have so much respect for his authority, that I subjoin his version. "The object of the document was to settle the superiority of the *Imám-i 'ádil* (just leader) over the *Mujtahid*, which was proved by a reference to an ill-supported authority. The whole matter is a question, regarding which people differ in opinion; but the document was to do away the possibility of disagreeing about laws, whether political or religious, and was to bind the lawyers in spite of themselves."]

After His Majesty had obtained this legal opinion, the road of deciding religious questions was opened, the superiority of the judgment of the *Imám* was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. The legal distinction between lawful and unlawful was set aside, the judgment of the *Imám* became paramount over the dogmas of the law, and Islám was called *Taklíd* (counterfeit). * * * His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, "There is no God but God, and Akbar is God's representative." But as he found that the extravagance of this led to commotions, he restricted the use of it to a few people in the *harem*.]

Experimental Seclusion of Infants.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 288.] [In this year (989 H.), in order to verify the circumstances of the case (of the man who heard without ears[1]), an order was issued that several suckling infants should be kept in a secluded place far from habitations, where they should not hear a word spoken. Well-disciplined nurses were to be placed over them, who were to refrain from giving them any instruction in speaking, so as to test the accuracy of the tradition which says, "Every one that is born is born with an inclination to religion," by ascertaining what religion and sect these infants would incline to, and above all what creed they would repeat. To carry out this order, about twenty sucklings were taken from their mothers for a consideration in money, and were placed in an empty house, which got the name of Dumb-house. After three or four years the children all came out dumb, excepting some who died there—thus justifying the name which had been given to the house.]

Friendship of the Author of the Tabakát-i Akbari.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 296.] [One day when near Kábul, the Emperor directed the *Sadr-i Jahán* to make out and present to him a list of the pensioners (*ahl-i sa'ádat*) who were present with the army, and another of those who were absent. When my (the author's) name came up, the late Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the author of the *Táríkh-i Nizámi*, with whom I had become acquainted about a year before that time, but who was as friendly as if I had known him a hundred years, in the great kindness and consideration which he showed to all his friends, and to me in particular, caused me to be put down and returned as sick.]

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[1] [See *suprà*, p. 419.]

Innovations.[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 301.] [His Majesty was now (990 H.) firmly convinced that a period of 1000 years from the mission of the Prophet was the extent of the duration of the religion of Islám, and that period was now accomplished. No obstacle remained to promulgating the designs which he secretly held. He was now free from the respect and reverence due to the *shaikhs* and *'ulamá*, and from the deference owing to their authority. To his entire satisfaction, he was able to carry out his project of overturning the dogmas and principles of Islám, to set up his novel, absurd, and dangerous regulations, and to give currency to his own vicious belief.

The first order which he issued was, that the "Era of the Thousand" should be used upon the coins, and that a *Táríkh-i Alfi*, or history of the thousand years, from the *rihlat*, or death of the Prophet, should be written. Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such strange orders were given that men's minds got quite perplexed. * * * Wine was allowed, if required, for strengthening the body, and if prescribed by doctors; but that no strife and disturbance might arise, severe punishments were prescribed for drunkenness, carousals, and rows. For the sake of proper surveillance, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, because she belonged to the wine-selling class. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine on having his own name and that of his father and grandfather written down by the clerk of the shop. Of course, people got fictitious names put down, and obtained supplies of wine. It was, in fact, nothing else but a licensed shop for drunkards. Some people even said that pork was used in the manufacture of the wine (but God knows!). Notwithstanding all restrictions, much mischief and trouble arose, and though many people were punished every day, there was no sufficient check. So (the result verified) the saying, "Upset, but do not spill."

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[1] [See *Áín-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 191.]

The next matter was that the prostitutes of the realm, who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number, had a separate quarter assigned to them outside the town, which was called Shaitánpúra or Devilsville. A keeper, a deputy (*dárogha*), and a clerk also were appointed over it, to write down the names of those who resorted to prostitutes, or who took them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll-collectors were cognizant; but without permission no one was allowed to take dancing-girls to his house. If any well-known courtier wanted to have a virgin, the *dárogha* made a statement of the fact, and got permission from the Court. * * Drunkenness and folly led to bloodshed, and though some persons were brought to punishment, others walked about proudly and insolently parading their delinquencies. His Majesty called some of the principal prostitutes before him in private, and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. After getting the names, some of the most renowned and trusty grandees were punished and condemned, and many of them were kept for a long time in confinement.

Another matter was the interdiction of beef, and the declaration of its being defiling. The reason of this was, that from his youth His Majesty had associated with Hindú libertines, and had thus got implanted in his heart a reverence for the cow, which, in their opinion, is a cause of the preservation of the world. The daughters of the great Rájás of Hind, of whom he had several in his *harem*, obtained such an ascendancy over him as to make him abstain from eating beef, garlic, or onions, and from associating with men who wore beards and such like persons.]

Declaration of Adherence to the Divine Faith.[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 304.] [Ten or twelve years after the commencement of these changes, matters came to such a pitch that wretches like Mirzá Jání, chief of Tatta, and other apostates, wrote their declarations to the following effect: "I, so and so, son of so and so, have willingly and cheerfully renounced the false and pretended religion of Islám, which I have received from my ancestors, and have joined the Divine Faith (*Dín-i Iláhí*) of Sháh Akbar, and have assented to its fourfold rule of sincerity—(the readiness to) sacrifice wealth and life, honour and religion." These writings—there could be no more effectual letters of damnation—were handed in to the *Mujtahid* of the new creed (Abú-l Fazl).

[p. 325.] His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tauhíd-i Iláhi*, Divine Monotheism.]

Wealth of Makhdúmu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 311.] [Makhdúmu-l Mulk died at Ahmadábád, and in the year 990 Kází 'Alí was sent from Fathpúr to ascertain what property he had left. When he came to Lahore, he found such vast treasures as defied the key of conjecture to open their lock. Several chests of ingots[2] of gold were discovered in his sepulchre, where he had caused them to be buried as corpses. And the wealth which lay open to the eyes of the world was such that none but the Creator could ascertain it. All these bricks of gold, together with his books, which he looked upon as bricks, were placed in the public treasury. His sons several times underwent torture, and fell into abject poverty.]

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[1] [See *A'ín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 194.]

[2] [*khisht*, lit. "bricks."]

Translation of the Mahá-bhárat.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 320.] In the year 990 His Majesty assembled some learned Hindús, and gave them directions to write an explanation of the *Mahá-bhárat,* and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explain the meaning to Nakíb Khán, so that the Khán might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. On a third night, the King sent for me, and desired me to translate the *Mahá-bhárat,* in conjunction with Nakíb Khán. The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed. Such injunctions as one never heard of—what not to eat, and a prohibition against turnips! But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass!

After this, Mullá Shí and Nakíb Khán together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultán Hájí Thánesarí by himself. Shaikh Faizí was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Hájí aforesaid again wrote it,[1] correcting the errors which had appeared in his first translation, and settling the conjectures which he had hazarded. He had revised a hundred sheets, and, nothing being omitted, he was about to give the finishing touch, when the order was received for his dismissal, and he was sent to Bakar. He now resides in his own city (Thánesar). Most of the scholars who were employed upon this translation are now with the Kauravas and Pándavas. May those who survive be saved by the mercy of God, and may their repentance be accepted!

The translation was called *Razm-náma,* and when fairly engrossed and embellished with pictures, the nobles had orders to take copies, with the blessing and favour of God. Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, who had already written against our religion, wrote the Preface, extending to two sheets. God defend us from his infidelities and absurdities!

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[1] [The printed text of the Bibl. Ind. says *do pardh,* "two portions;" but there is no such limit in the text printed with the first edition of this work.]

Houses of Charity.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 324.] In A.H. 991 the King erected two buildings outside the city where he might feed *fakírs*, both Musulmán and Hindú; one he called *Khairpúra*, the other *Dharmpúra*. Some of Abú-l Fazl's people had the charge, and used to spend the King's money in procuring food. As the *jogís* also used to flock there in great numbers, a separate receiving-house was built for them, and called *Jogípúra*. Nightly meetings were held in private with some of these men, and they used to employ themselves in various follies and extravagancies, in contemplations, gestures, addresses, abstractions and reveries, and in alchemy, fascination and magic. The King himself studied alchemy, and used to exhibit the gold which he made. One night in the year, called *Shiv-rát*, was appointed for a grand assembly of *jogís* from all parts of the country, on which occasion he would eat and drink with the best of them; and used to be gratified by their assurances of a life three or four times longer than the natural life of man.

Rám Chand Bhath.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 335.] [The Emperor stayed four months at Alláhábád, and from thence he sent Zain Khán Koka and Bírbal, who was formerly in the service of Rájá Rám Chand Bhath, on an embassy to Chaurágarh. Rám Chand consented to do homage, and after attending to the duties of hospitality, he detained Zain Khán, and proceeded along with him to Fathpúr, to wait upon the Emperor. He presented a most valuable tribute of one hundred rubies and other precious stones. The value of one of the rubies exceeded 50,000 rupees. He left his son Bábú in attendance on His Majesty, but the young man soon obtained leave to return home. Soon afterwards he went to his last home in the hottest hell. This Rám Chand has left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts, he gave a *kror* of gold (*kror sar*) to the minstrel Mián Tán Sen in one day. The Mián did not wish to leave the Rájá, but a guardsman was sent to bring him back.]

Translation of the Rámáyana.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 336.] [In this year the King commanded me to make a translation of the *Rámáyana*, a composition superior to the *Mahá-bhárat.* It contains 25,000 *shloks,* and each *shlok* is a verse of sixty-five letters. The hero of its story is Rám Chand, King of the city of Audh, who is also called Rám, and whom the Hindús worship as a god in human form.]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 366.] [In the month of Jumáda-l awwal A.H. 999, I completed the translation of the *Rámáyan,* having occupied four years in the work. When I presented the book, it was greatly praised.]

Anniversary of the Coronation.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 342.] In A.H. 993 the King held the festival of the anniversary of his coronation, according to the practice established in olden time, during which the King received entertainment from every shopkeeper,[1] and appropriate presents from the nobles, so that even food, scents, and the profits of dancers and fiddlers were carried away into the treasury. From a *mansabdar* of 5000 to a humble footman, all had to present offerings; and even I, this powerless atom, who was held in no account at all, except that I used to be styled *hazári*, from *holding 1000 bíghas* rent-free, and was accustomed to liken *myself to the old woman in the story of* Joseph (God's blessing *on him!), had to present my forty* rupees, which received the *honour of being accepted.* I do not like my position, and should *be glad to be in any other!*

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[1] [The words are—

هر روز مهماني هر دوكان داري از امرا و پيشكش لائق مي گرفتند

So that the contributions from the shops were presented by the nobles. In a similar passage relating to the year 991 (p. 321), it is said that the shops were regularly allotted to the nobles بدستور سابق دوكانهارا بر امرا تقسيم نموده.]

During this festival, the King's eldest son received a *mansab* of 12000; the second, one of 9000; and the third, one of 7000.

Rájá Todar Mal.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 365. Thirty-third Year.] [Kalíj Khán now returned from Gujarát, bringing various offerings, and an order was issued associating him with Rájá Todar Mal in the administration of the Civil and Revenue business. The Rájá was now grown feeble and senile, and one night an enemy in ambush inflicted a superficial wound upon him with a sword.]

The Author's Lands.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 368.] In A.H. 996 the King called to mind something about the book which I was then translating, and directed Hakím Abú-l Fath to give me a horse, a shawl, and some other presents. He then observed to Sháh Fathu-lla 'Azdu-d daulah, that the whole of Basáwar had been granted to him in *jágír*, with all its *ayma* land, and that as I, a native of Badáún, had thus lost my *madad-m'ásh* land, His Majesty had conferred upon me some of equal value in Badáún, in lieu of it. Sháh Fathu-lla then presented in a bag an offering of 1000 rupees, which, by exactions and other most oppressive means, his agents had recovered from the wretched widows and orphans of Basáwar; and upon his representing that his officers had collected this surplus from the *ayma* lands (fraudulently alienated from the public rent-roll), the King told him to retain the money for himself. Three months after this the Sháh died, and when my *farmán* was engrossed, I took leave for a year, went first to

Basáwar, and then to Badáún, from which place I wished to make a journey to Gujarát, to see Mirzá Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, but delays occurred to prevent my carrying this intention into effect.

Rájá of Kumáún.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 365.] In A.H. 996, the Rájá of Kumáún arrived at Lahore from the Siwálik hills, for the purpose of paying his respects. Neither he nor his ancestors (the curse of God on them!) could ever have expected to speak face to face with an Emperor. He brought several rare presents, and amongst them a Tibet cow and a musk-deer, which latter died on the road from the effect of the heat. I saw it with my own eyes, and it had the appearance of a fox. Two small tusks projected from the mouth, and, instead of horns, it had a slight elevation, or bump. As the hind quarters of the animal were enveloped in a cloth, I could not examine the whole body. They said that there were men in those hills, who had feathers and wings, and who could fly, and they spoke of a mango-tree in that country which yields fruit all the year round. God knows whether this is true!

The Emperor's Illness.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 376.] [In this year the Emperor was somewhat indisposed. He had pains in his stomach, and other disturbances which no one could account for. Through this inability to understand his ailment, suspicions arising from malevolence were cast upon the eldest prince, and whispers of poison flew about.]

The Coinage.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 380.] [Among the edicts issued (in the thirty-seventh year of the reign), was one that all the *dirhams* and *dinárs* bearing the devices of former kings should be melted and sold for the price of the gold and silver, so that not a trace of them should remain in the world. The various *ashrafis* and rupees of the Emperor's coinage, whether old or recent, were at once to be put in circulation, and no difference whatever between them and the old coins was to be recognized. Kalíj Khán endeavoured to enforce this order. *Sarráfs* were every day called up; bonds were taken from them, and fines were inflicted on them. As a last resource, some were put to death. But for all this they did not refrain from counterfeiting the coin (*kallábí*). Orders and instructions upon this subject were written and sent to the most remote parts of the dominions, but without effect, until Khwája Shamsu-d dín Khwáfí, the *díwán*, succeeded in putting all these orders in force.]

Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 79.] Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí, *Sadru-s Sudúr*, was son of Shaikh Ahmad, son of Shaikh Abdu-l Kudús, of Gangoh. He went several times to Mecca and Medina, and studied the traditions. * * * He put on the appearance of great piety. When he was appointed to the *Sadárat*, he distributed among the people an immense quantity of *madad-m'ásh*, *wakf*, and pensions. No *Sadr* during any former reign had so much power, and no one gave away one-tenth of the *wakf* which he did.[1] The King was for some time so intimate and unceremonious with him, that he would rise to adjust the Shaikh's slippers when he took his leave. At last, through the enmity of Makhdúmu-l Mulk and some other ill-disposed and deceitful doctors, he fell in the King's estimation, and began to be treated very differently. The chief reason of the change was this:—

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[1] It is quite impossible to reconcile this eulogy with the taunting and acrimonious tone adopted at p. 521; nor does any conceivable variety in the reading of the two texts admit of any essential difference of sentiment; unless, indeed, we consider that the grasping *Sadr* was Makhdúmu-l Mulk, and not Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí; which appears opposed to the whole tenor of the text, and especially to 'Abdu-n Nabí's declaration at the close of the Extract. It is scarcely permitted us to imagine that so grave an author might possibly be indulging in a little playful irony.

The duties and responsibilities of the *Sadr* resembled those of a Chancellor, or an Ecclesiastical Registrar; the chief difference being, that when the *Sadr*, as we have seen to be frequently the case, plundered the property of helpless widows and orphans, he was flayed alive, or trodden to death by elephants. As such punishments would be esteemed barbarous in modern times, and as our tortuous system of law generally delights to exercise its sophistries and subtilties in behalf of notorious criminals, there can be little doubt that, if any *Sadr* were in these days to prostitute the sacred obligations of his office to such infernal purposes, he would escape with impunity;—at least upon earth.

Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema.

At the time that the King arrived at Fathpúr from Bánswára, Kází 'Abdu-r Rahím, of Muttra, complained to the Shaikh that a rich and obstinate Bráhman had taken all the materials, which he had collected for the building of a mosque, and applied them to his own purposes in building a temple for an idol, and that when he remonstrated with him, the Bráhman, in the presence of a multitude of people (may his mouth be crammed with mud!), applied foul and abusive language to the Prophet (the peace of God rest with him!), and grossly reviled all Musulmáns. When the Bráhman was summoned before the Shaikh, he refused to come, so Shaikh Abú-l Fazl was sent to bring him. Shaikh Abú-l Fazl on his return represented what he had heard from the people of Muttra; namely, that the Bráhman certainly had used foul language. Upon this, the learned in the law decided, some of them for death, some for public exposure and fine. They were consequently divided into two parties, and disputed at great length on the subject. Although the Shaikh went to ask for leave to punish him capitally, the King would give no distinct reply, but said vaguely, that the Shaikh was himself responsible for carrying into execution the sentence of the law, and inquired why he consulted him. During this long suspense the Bráhman continued in prison, and notwithstanding that the ladies of the royal household used their exertions to get him released, yet out of regard to the Shaikh, the King would not give his consent.

The Shaikh continued to importune the King for a reply, but all he could get was, that he had already expressed his opinion, and the Shaikh knew what it was. When the Shaikh returned to his home, he immediately issued orders for the Bráhman's death. When the King learnt this, he was very angry. The ladies within, and the Hindús without, the palace, exclaimed, "Is this the man whom you have promoted and favoured, and has he reached to such a pitch of insolence as not to regard your wishes, and to put a man to death for the mere purpose of displaying his power and authority?" They continued to pour such-like complaints into the ears of the King, so that he could no longer endure them. * * * One night, at Anúp-táláo, a conclave of divines assembled, from whom he inquired their opinions on the subject. * * The King at last singled me out, and said, "When ninety and nine opinions are in favour of a sentence of death, and a hundredth in favour of acquittal, do you think it right that the *muftis* should act upon the latter. What is your opinion?" I replied, that it was a legal maxim that punishment should not be inflicted where there was any doubt. The King was sorrowful, and said, "Was not Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí aware of this maxim, that he killed that unfortunate Bráhman?" I replied, that the Shaikh was certainly a wise man, and that he no doubt had acted in direct contravention of the law, but that he might possibly have adopted that course for the sake of expediency. * * *

The King's agitation was so great that his hair stood on end, like that of a roused lion, and some people behind me whispered that I should not carry the controversy any further. All of a sudden, he turned towards me and said, "You are not at all right." Upon which I made a low bow, and retired to a little distance. From that day I have abandoned my presumptuous and controversial manner, and take my place apart from the groups which surround the throne. It is only now and then that I venture to advance, and make my obeisance at a respectful distance.

It was on this account that Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí's prosperity declined. * * * He died in the year 991.

Shaikh Faizi.

[Text, vol. iii. p. 299.] Commonly called the "chief of Poets." He excelled in the arts of versification, enigmatic lines and rhyming. In history, in philology, in medicine, in letter-writing, and in composition, he was without a rival. His earlier compositions in verse bear his titular name of Faizí, which he subsequently dignified into Faiyází, in order that it might correspond with the grammatical amplification of 'Allámí, by which his younger brother, Abú-l Fazl, was known; but the change was ill-omened, for he survived to enjoy his last title only one or two months, and then met his death with great alarm and inquietude.

As an author, he was sometimes serious, sometimes jocose, conceited, proud, and malevolent. He was full of hypocrisy, malignity, dissimulation, ambition, arrogance, and egotism. In his obstinacy and animosity he reviled the earlier and later *Khalífas* and disciples, the ancestors and descendants of the Prophet, the wise and the excellent, the pious and the saintly, and, in short, all Musulmáns in general, and ridiculed the principles of their faith, privately and publicly, by night and by day. His conduct was so abominable, that even Jews, Christians, Hindús, Sabians, and Guebres are considered a thousand times less odious. He acted entirely against the tenets of the Muhammadan religion. What was forbidden in that, was lawful to him, and *vice versâ*.

He composed a commentary upon the Kurán, consisting entirely of letters without diacritical points, in order to obliterate his infamy, but the waters of a hundred oceans will never cleanse the stain he has contracted, until the day of judgment. He composed it in the very height of his drunkenness and impurity, and dogs were allowed to tread on every letter of it. In the same spirit of pride, stubbornness, and infidelity, he met his final doom, and in a manner which I trust no one may again see, or hear of; for when the King paid him a visit on his death-bed, he barked at his face like a dog, as the King himself acknowledged in public; his whole face was swollen, and his lips appeared black, insomuch that the King observed to Abú-l Fazl, "What is this blackness? Surely the Shaikh has been rubbing dentifrice on his teeth, according to the Indian fashion?" "No," replied Abú-l Fazl, "it is the stain of the blood which he has been spitting."[1] In truth, even this scene was but a small retribution for the blasphemies of which he had been guilty, and for the contumelies which he had uttered against the Prophet, the last of the apostles (the peace of God be upon him, and all his family!). Several abusive chronograms were written on the occasion, of which the following are only a few. * * *

He had composed poetry for forty years, correct enough in point of versification and language, but utterly destitute of beauty, either in sentiment or religion.[2] He has joined the dry bones together pretty well, but the skeleton has no brains. The condiments of verse are sufficiently abundant, but quite tasteless, * * * as is proved by no one remembering his lines, although the very vilest poets meet with some quoters and admirers. Nevertheless, he wrote, what with *diwáns* and *masnavis*, more than twenty thousand lines, and, notwithstanding that he expended the rich revenues of his *jágír* upon their transcription, and in sending copies to his friends, far and near, not one of them ever read his poems twice. The following verses of his own selection were given by him to Nizámu-d dín Ahmad and others, as a memento. * * * * Pray tell me what beauty there is in them!

At the time that Shaikh Faizí had gone to take charge of his office of the deputyship of the Dakhin, I wrote him two letters from the foot of the Kashmír hills, and informed him of the cause of the King's displeasure and his refusal to allow me to pay my respects. Upon this he wrote to the King a letter of recommendation, which was couched in the following words, and despatched it, on the 10th of Jumáda-l awwal, A.H. 1000, from

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[1] At the close of the historical narrative, the author tells us that Faizí had been spitting blood for six months before his death, and that his barking like a dog was the consequence of his making those animals his constant companions night and day, to insult the Musulmáns, to whom they are an abomination.

[2] This is by no means the general estimate of his poetry, which is greatly admired in India, even to this day. [The sense of the text is accurately preserved here, but the translation is somewhat amplified.—ED.]

Ahmadnagar to Lahore, and orders were given to Abú-l Fazl to place it in the *Akbar-náma*, so that it might be generally read.

"May it please Your Majesty! Two friends of Mullá 'Abdu-l Kádir have arrived from Badáún in great distress and sorrow, representing that the Mullá has been for some time ill, and that in consequence of his failing to perform the promise which he made respecting his return, the servants of the government have treated him with great severity, and that there is no knowing what the result of it may be. They inquired also if the prolonged illness of the Mullá was known to Your Majesty.

"Healer of the broken-hearted! Mullá Abdu-l Kádir is a very able man, and is well acquainted with all the sciences usually cultivated by the Mullás of Hindústán, and he was also a pupil of my father's. Your slave has been acquainted with him for nearly thirty-seven years. Besides being a person of deep learning, he is a poet, and composes elegantly in Arabic and Persian. He is not a mere imitator, but an original thinker. He also knows a little of Hindú astrology and accounts, and is not at a loss in any field of knowledge. He is acquainted with foreign, as well as with native music, and can play at both the small and big games of chess; moreover, he writes a pretty good hand. Notwithstanding that he possesses all these accomplishments, he is content and entirely divested of avarice, of equable temperament, and a person of excellent morals and manners, but poor, and with no fixed income. He is sincere and warm-hearted, and has every confidence in Your Majesty's kindness.

"At the time that the army was before Kombhalmír, he volunteered to join it. There he did the State good service, and received a donation for his wounds. Jalál Khán Korchí, when he first introduced him at Court, said, 'I have brought a preacher to present to Your Majesty, that Your Majesty may be gratified.' Mír Fathu-lla also represented something respecting the Mullá's circumstances, and my worthy brother, Abú-l Fazl, also knows him well. But according to the proverb, 'A grain of good luck is better than a sack full of skill.'

"As the Court is the abode of the virtuous, I have taken the liberty to bring this destitute person to notice, and to place him before the foot of the throne, as if I was myself present. Did I not advocate his claims at this time, I should consider myself guilty of an offence against the cause of truth and justice.

"May God, the omnipotent, place the slaves of the Court under the heavenly shadow of your royal Majesty! and may he mercifully make their feet firm in pursuing the path of rectitude and justice, and in acquiring the knowledge of truth! May he preserve Your Majesty as the protector and nourisher of the helpless, the bestower of mercy, the pardoner of errors, throughout the world and all worlds, and bless you with thousands upon thousands of sources of wealth, abundance, grandeur and felicity, upon earth and in heaven! I implore all this for the sake of the pure spirits who surround the throne of grace, and the saints upon earth who join in the matutinal chorus of prayer. Amen, Amen, Amen."

Should any one, upon perusing this, observe, that Shaikh Faizí's regard and affection for me, which is evidenced by this letter, is but ill requited by the harshness and severity with which I have spoken of him, especially after his death, when the precept of "speak not ill of the dead" should be strictly observed, I have only to reply, that the observation is perfectly just, but under the circumstances, I inquire, what could I do? seeing that the truth of religion and the maintenance of one's faith are paramount to all other obligations, and that the maxim I never deviate from is, that my love and hatred should be subservient to God's cause. Although I was Shaikh Faizí's companion for forty years, nevertheless, after he apostatized from his religion, changed his manners, and entered on vain controversies, I became gradually estranged from him, and, especially after what occurred at his death, I hold myself no longer his friend. When we are all summoned before the throne of God, we shall receive sentence according to our deserts!

Shaikh Faizí left a Library of 4600 volumes, some of them exquisitely copied with, what may be said to be, even unnecessary care and expense. Most of them were autographs of the respective authors, or at least copied by their contemporaries. They were all transferred to the King's Library, after being catalogued and numbered in three different sections. The first included Poetry, Medicine, Astrology, and Music; the second, Philosophy, Súfyism, Astronomy, and Geometry; and the third or lowest grade, included Commentaries, Traditions, Theology, and Law. There were also 101 different copies of his poem, *Nal-Daman.*

APPENDIX.

[The following Notes are reprinted from the old volume of 1849, with such additions and notes as were added to them by Sir H. Elliot in his private copy.]

Note A.

On the capture of Nasibín by means of Scorpions.

The Nasíbín,[1] mentioned in the text (*suprà*, p. 152), is the Nisibis of classical authors, the position of which, on the frontier of the Persian and Roman Empires, made its occupation of so much importance in the estimation of the contending parties, from the time that Lucullus plundered it, till its capture by the Arabs, when it continued as frequent a source of contention between them and the Greeks as between them and the Persians at a later period. It was surrounded by a treble inclosure of brick walls defended by a deep ditch, and was considered so impregnable that Asiatics, as will be presently seen, are fond of resorting to supernatural means to account for its capture. Sapor made three separate attacks upon the town A.D. 338, 346, 350, and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and a hundred days, was repulsed each time with loss and ignominy;[2] but it was at last ceded to him by Jovian[3] in 363, and it remained henceforth with the Persians (if we except two short intervals), as it had remained for the two previous centuries with the Romans, a strong bulwark against hostile encroachments.

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[1] Mannert says the town is called Nisibin, or Nissabin, but neither mode of orthography is consistent with Abú-l Fidá. Vide *Geogr. d. Aboulf.* texte Arabe, p. 283.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. iii. p. 139.

[3] In speaking of this humiliating treaty, Eutropius gives us a good notion of the political honesty of the Romans, by censuring Jovian for not immediately breaking the treaty, and renewing the war, as the Romans *had done on all former occasions*, immediately he had escaped from the dangerous position which had compelled him to conclude it.—*Histor. Rom. Breviar.*, x. 17. The capitulation of Closter-Seven, during the Seven Years' War, for a suspension of arms in the north of Germany,

On the third occasion of Sapor's attack, unusual means were resorted to, to obtain possession of the place. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the course of the river Mygdonius was, by the labour of the Persians, stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed vessels, filled with soldiers and heavy engines of war, was launched, and the accumulated pressure of the waters made a portion of the walls give way. Nevertheless, the monarch failed of success, and Nisibis retained its character as an inexpugnable stronghold.[1]

Under one of his predecessors, Sapor I., the Sháhpúr of the Persians, Mírkhond informs us that a miracle placed the town in the hands of the Persian Monarch. Wearied with the siege, Sháhpúr commanded his army to unite in supplication to the Supreme Being for its conquest, and while they were imploring the aid of heaven, the wall fell down before them, and their faith and devotion received a signal reward.[2]

Nisibis is now but a small and insignificant place, with scarcely more than one hundred houses, but it is surrounded with ruins which attest its former magnificence.[3]

The facts above related, with reference to the many obstinate defences of Nasíbín, show how natural it was that a credulous Oriental writer should resort to the marvellous to account for such

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and the convention of El-Arish in 1800, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French armies, have called forth the opinion of modern jurists on the general question. See Vattel, pp. 219, 231, 236; Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, vol. ii. pp. 120-122; Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, tom. vi. pp. 97-107; and MM. de Koch and Schoell's *Histoire abrégé des Traités de Paix*, tom. iii. pp. 48, 50; v. 304, 311.

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. iii. p. 141.

[2] Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 77. After being taken by the Arabs, it fell to the arms of the Seljúks, Turkomans, Tartars, and Mughals.—Rampoldi, vol. iii. p. 369; vol. vi. p. 517.

[3] *Jahán-numá*, p. 438. Niebuhr, *Voyages*, vol. ii. pp. 300-309. Compare also Mannert, *Geographie d. Greich. und Röm.*, vol. v. ii. pp. 216-219. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. vii. i. pp. 128-136. *L'Univers. Pitt. Asie*, ix. *Babylonie*, 332. *Ency. Met.* "Mesopotamia."

unusual success as attended the arms of the Arabs in the seventeenth year of the Hijrí.

The passage against which the captious opponent of 'Abdu-l Kádir took exception runs thus in the *Táríkh-i Alfí*, in the Annals of the seventh year after the death of Muhammad. Very few of the Arabic historians notice the circumstance recorded in it, nor do Ockley, Gibbon, or Marigny mention it.[1]

"The army of Islám sat eight months before the fort of Nasíbín. Now, in and around that city, there were exceedingly large black scorpions, and no man who was bitten by them escaped with his life. The Arab General consequently gave orders that a thousand small jars should be filled with these reptiles, inclosed in loose mould around them, and that they should be thrown at night into the city by the engines. As the jars broke when they fell on the ground, the scorpions crawled out, and killed every one whom they stung. In the morning the garrison were so dispirited, and found themselves reduced to such extremities, that they could no longer hold the fort. The Musulmáns, taking advantage of their consternation, made a sudden assault, broke open the gates, and slew several who had escaped the venom of the scorpions. It is said that in the time of Noshírwán, the fort of Nasíbín was captured in precisely the same way."

If we concur with the objector, and hesitate to receive this narrative as true, we may perhaps be able to explain it in some other more rational manner. In the first place, it may occur to us as not altogether improbable, that this story owes its origin to the use of the propelling machine called the "Scorpion," which we learn from Vegetius[2] was so called, because it threw small javelins with fine points which occasioned death. Others say because the darts were poisoned.[3]

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[1] See Price, *Retrospect*, vol. i. p. 93.

[2] *De re militari*, iv. 32.

[3] Eschenburg, *Manual*, p. 544. See Smith's *Dict.* v. Tormentum. Sam. Pitiscus, *Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum*, in which the classical references are full, and Basil Faber, *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ*, v. Scorpio. In Grose's *Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 16, there is a diagram. Meyrick's *Antient Armour*, vol. ii. p. 157, shows that a kind of cannon was also called a scorpion, called by the English a hand-cannon. The annals of Placentia for 1444 have "scorpione seu balistra." The quotations given do not bear out the fact of the scorpion being used solely for gunpowder. It

Later writers may have copied the statement, and put an interpretation upon it suited to their own comprehensions. It is to be observed that the Scorpion was used, even in Europe, as late as 1428 A.D.[1]

There seems to be another way of accounting for this improbable story, if we reject the literal meaning of the words, by supposing that a combustible composition, formed of some bituminous substances, was used upon the occasion. We know from several excellent authorities, that for many years before the invention of gunpowder, such substances were used in warfare, and, what is still more remarkable, that the cases in which they were enveloped were known by the name of *Scorpions*. Casiri[2] gives us the following extract from an Egyptian Geographer, called Shahábu-d dín,[3] who flourished about A.D. 1250. "Bodies, in the form of *Scorpions*, bound round, and filled with nitrous powder, glide along, making a gentle noise, then they explode, and throw out flames.[4] But there are others which, cast into the air, stretch along like a cloud, roaring horribly as thunder roars, and on all sides vomiting out flames, they burst, and burn, and reduce to cinders whatever comes in their way."[5] It is also a very curious coincidence, that the ancient Indian weapon, or rocket, called *sataghní*, with the etymological meaning of the hundred-slayer, should also signify a *Scorpion*.[6]

As there will be occasion again to allude to the early use of gunpowder in the East, there is no need to dwell upon this passage from the Egyptian author with any reference to that subject. It is merely adduced here, to show the undoubted use at an early period of a combustible called a *Scorpion*.

Now, it is remarkable that Dion Cassius, in speaking of the expedition of Alexander Severus against Atra, which was close to

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may have been the old scorpio. In the Glossary he contradicts himself by saying scorpion is a "poisoned arrow"; but under scorpionarius, it is shown that it was a hand-weapon, as it is used by one man only.

[1] Muratori, *Script. Ital.*, tom. xxi. 215.

[2] *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp.* vol. ii. p. 7.

[3] Berington gives his name as Ebn Fadhl, but that only shows his parentage.—*Literary History of the Middle Ages*, p. 438. [See Vol. III. *suprà*, p. 573.]

[4] The early Crusaders used to describe the Greek fire as hissing through the air like serpents.

[5] Different translations are given.—*Hist. de l'Art*, p. 67.

[6] See Wilson's *Sanscrit Dictionary*, s.v. and Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. LII.

Nisibis, says that, in the last extremity, the Atreni defended themselves by throwing naphtha[1] both upon the besiegers and upon their engines, by which they were burnt and destroyed. According to Price, naphtha was discharged in pots at Khwárizm.[2]

Three hundred years before this, the same author tells us, that when Lucullus was besieging Tigranocerta, not fifty miles[3] from Nisibis, "the barbarians" defended themselves by throwing naphtha balls against the engines. "This substance is bituminous, and so inflammable that it burns to ashes everything on which it impinges, nor is it easily extinguished by anything wet."[4]

Nor can we wonder that these noxious implements "fed with naphtha and asphaltus" should have been so frequently and so early used in Mesopotamia; for from the Persian Gulf to the Euxine, from the Dead Sea, where asphaltum floats on the water, to Bákú on the Caspian,[5] where naphtha streams spontaneously through the surface of the soil, and where a boiling lake emits constant flames, the whole country is impregnated with bituminous matter, which is especially abundant on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates[6]—so that if the Scorpions alluded to by 'Abdu-l Kádir were combustible, there would be no great improbability in the narrative.

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[1] *τὸ νάφθα τὸ ἀσφαλτῶδες* (Dionis *Hist. Rom.* lxxv. 11), "of which," he adds, "I have already written"—alluding probably to the passage mentioned in the next paragraph of the text.

[2] Price, *Retrospect*, vol. ii. p. 516.

[3] Tacitus says thirty-seven miles.—*Annal.* xv. 4.

[4] Dionis, *Fragmenta* 178, ex Xiphilino. The same author, in his life of Caligula, tells us of that Emperor's having a machine, which projected a stone, accompanied with thunderings and lightnings.

[5] "Near unto Bachu is a very strange and wonderful fountain underground, out of which there springeth and issueth a marvellous quantity of black oyl."—John Cartwright's *Preacher's Travels* in Churchill, vol. vii. p. 731. See also Geffrey Duchet in *Hakluyt*, vol. i. p. 450. "This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte." Properly Bagh cuh, the mountain garden, according to P. de Valle, Letter IV. in Pinkerton, vol. ix. p. 46. Naphtha was sent as a present from Baghdad, anno 586.—*Mod. Univer. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 205; Weil, vol. iii. p. 413.

[6] Rich, *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. iii. p. 161. See also respecting the immortal fire in Lycia, Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 106. Salmasius, *Exercitdat. Plinian*, pp. 244, 245; Beckmann's notes to the treatise *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, attributed to Aristotle (quoted sometimes as Pseudo-Arist.), p. 283; Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 52; Fraser's *Mesop. and Assyria*, p. 347; *Jahán-numá*, vol. i. p. 565, ii. p. 16; J. A. St. John's *Anc. Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 403–5; Hakluyt's *Voyages, Navigations*, etc., vol. ii. p. 582; Smith's *Dict. Geog.*, p. 363; Drummond's *Origines*, vol. i. p. 166.

But if we reject these solutions as too elaborate and remote, we must fall back upon the literal interpretation, and, improbable as it is, there are many reasons to encourage us to maintain that it is strictly true.

In the first place, the application of living scorpions to such an improbable purpose would not be altogether a novel stratagem. The *Táríkh-i Yamíní* tells us, that Khalaf defended himself in the fort of Ark[1] by throwing from his catapults wallets of snakes upon the besieging army.

M. de Sacy,[2] in abstracting the passage from the translation of Jarbádkháni, says, "ils lançoient sur les troupes de Hossain des cruches remplies de scorpions et de reptiles venimeux." For this I can find no authority in the original; but Rashídu-d dín also says in his *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh,* that scorpions, as well as snakes, were used upon the occasion. At folio 8 of his History of Sultán Mahmúd we read: "When Khalaf had borne down the 'riders of crocodiles' (*nihang-sawar*) and the footmen, he continued to harass the besiegers with crafty arts and stratagems. Wherever they established themselves, he, with slings and catapults, cast upon them pots full of snakes and scorpions, and their places of security he converted into places of ambush."[3]

Abú-l Fidá, Mírkhond, and the *Tabakát-i Násirí* have nothing on the subject.

Cornelius Nepos and Justin inform us, that by means precisely similar Hannibal dispersed the superior fleet of Eumenes:

"Imperavit (Hannibal) quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. Harum cum confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale prælium, classiarios convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id facile illos serpentium multitudine consecuturos."[4]

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[1] [The *ark* is the citadel or chief fort.]

[2] *Notices et Extraits,* tom. iv. p. 338.

[3] "*az mámán i eshán makman mi-sákht.*"

[4] Cornelius Nepos, *Hannibal,* 10. See also Justin, *Hist. Philipp.,* xxxii. 4. Serpentines came afterwards to be the name of a kind of cannon. "In a letter from the Master of the Knights Hospitallers at Jerusalem to the Pope on the siege of

Then again we find the Atreni, noticed above, making use of this very mode of defence against the troops of the Roman Emperor. Herodian says[1] (and Gibbon[2] has declared his account of this reign to be rational and moderate, and consistent with the general history of the age), "They cast upon them large birds and poisonous animals[3] which fluttered before their eyes, and penetrated every part of their bodies that was exposed," * * * "so that more perished by these means than by direct attacks of the enemy."[4]

Frontinus also speaks of this mode of warfare in his book of stratagems;[5] and we read of something like it being practised by the Soanes, a people of Colchis, near Caucasus, who endeavoured to suffocate, with poisonous exhalations, those enemies, with whom they could not contend in close combat;[6] this was done at Nice in the first Crusade, and again at Antioch.[7] At the sieges of Jotopata

Rhodes by the Turks in 1480, we find colubrinis et serpentinis deturbant fatigantque. Colubrina, a culverine, is derived from coluber, like as the serpentine from serpentinus. This latter was made of copper, as in a deed, dated 1461, mention is made of a serpentine de cuivre."—Meyrick, vol. ii. p. 207. These names must have been derived from the form of the mouth, *ib.* 288, as with the basilisk, the flying dragon. See quotations from Rymer, in "Artillery," *Penny Cyclop.*; Ellis's *Metrical Romances* (Bohn), pp. 229, 307, 328, 310. There is an important passage about ducentos serpentes in *Hist. de l'Artill.*, p. 65; Bohn's *Chron. of the Crusades*, pp. 196–7. See also extract copied at p. 2 of Gloss. MS. Meyrick, *Antient Armour*, vol. i. p. 71, translates this, 200 combustible serpents, etc. Bahadin, p. 165.

[1] This passage and the one given from Dion Cassius refer to the same expedition. We need not stay to inquire whether the difference of the accounts arises from omission or contradiction.

[2] See *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. p. 267.

[3] The ἰόβολῶν φηρίων refers most probably to scorpions, and though it must be confessed the use of ἰόβολῶν is ambiguous, yet, when coupled with θηρίων, the poisonous nature of the missile is evident.

[4] Herodiani, *Histor. Roman*, lib. iii. c. 9. A curious use of mangonels in throwing gold is recorded by Wassáf on 'Aláu-d dín; and alluded to by Mír Khusru in *Khazainu-l Futúh.* [See *suprà*, Vol. III. pp. 41, 158.] The infidels hurled on the Crusaders at Maarah "lapides, ignem, et plena apibus alvearia calcem quoque vivam, quanta poterant jaculabantur instantiâ, ut eas à muro propellerent."—*Will. Tyr.*, lvii. c. 9; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 247; Southey's *Common-place Book*, 4th series, p. 26; Mackay's *Pop. Delusions*, vol. ii. p. 27; *Anc. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 4. For throwing of carcases, see Froissart, vol. i. c. 50, c. 107. There are also instances of men and horses in Froissart. Camden says dead horses were thrown by the Turks at Negroponte. —Grose, *Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 17.

[5] Sex. Jul. Frontini, *Stratagematic*, lib. iv. c. 7; *Ency. Met.* Hist. Rom. Rep., p. 422.

[6] Strabo, *Geograph.* lib. xi. c. 2; D'Herbelot, v. Acrab.

[7] Michaud, vol. i. pp. 102–3, and pp. 131, 140.

and Jerusalem, dead bodies of men and horses were thrown by the war-machines on the besieged.[1]

Moreover, we know from unquestionable testimony, that scorpions abound so much in the neighbourhood of Nasíbín as to be the object of special remark by Oriental Geographers.

Istakhrí, or the author translated by Ouseley, speaking of Kurdan, close to Nasíbín, says, "It produces deadly scorpions; and the hill on which it stands abounds in serpents, whose stings occasion death."[2] Abú-l Fidá, quoting Azízí, says, "At Nasíbín there is an abundance of white roses, but a red rose is not to be seen. There are also deadly scorpions."[3] Edrísí also notices, in his geographical work, the deadly scorpions of Nasíbín.[4]

Taking, therefore, into consideration these concurrent testimonies to the fact of venomous reptiles being sometimes used in warfare, and to their abundance in the vicinity of Nasíbín, we may pronounce in favour of 'Abdú-l Kádir and his Arab authorities, and declare him justified in exclaiming, "that he had not been guilty of any fabrication, that he had seen the anecdote in books, and had written accordingly; and that, as the accuracy of his statement has been fully verified, he is, by God's grace, relieved from the charge of invention."

NOTE B.

On Kusdár.

A passage in the *Táríkh-i Alfí,* which speaks of Kusdár being "near the dominions of Násiru-d dín Subuktigin,"[5] would seem to imply that Kusdár was a city of India, and it is so called by Abú-l Fidá and Kazwíní. The compiler of the *Táríkh-i Alfí* copies the whole of his narrative, with only a few verbal alterations, from the *Rauzatu-s Safá,* but the first clause is an addition of his own, from which it appears that Kusdár was by him thought to be the first city conquered in India; but as it was so remote from Jaipál's possessions, it does not seem probable that its capture could have inspired him with such fear for his own safety as the text represents, nor is it proper at any period to place the borders of India so far to the west.[1] The last instance of its being mentioned as a portion of India is where, in the second part of the *Táj'u-l Ma-ásir*, it is said to have been included in the dominion of Shamsu-d dín after his capture of Bhakkar. The name of this town is so differently spelt by different authors that it is not often easy to recognize it in its various disguises. Its position is sufficiently indicated by the *Táríkh-i Yamíní*,[2] which, speaking of a period subsequent to that noticed in the text, tells us that when Mahmúd thought it necessary to chastise the Governor of Kusdár, because he would not pay his tribute, he gave out that he was going on an expedition to Hirát, and had marched as far as Bust on that route, in order to disguise his intention, when he suddenly turned off towards Kusdár, and came so unexpectedly upon it, that the rebellious Governor came out and supplicated for pardon, and was reinstated after paying a considerable fine, as a penalty for his disobedience.

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[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 7–9.

[2] Ouseley's *Oriental Geography,* p. 56. [Mordtmann's rendering is, "There are many deadly scorpions there; and the hill of Mardín close by abounds in serpents of the most deadly kind."—*Das Buch der Länder,* pp. 45, 47.]

[3] *Géographie de Aboulféda,* p. 283.

[4] *Recueil d. Voy. et d. Mém.,* tom. vi. p. 150. See Quatremère's *Observations, Journ. des Sav.,* Jan., 1851.

[5] [See the old vol. of 1849, p. 153. The passage hardly seems to warrant the inference drawn from it.]

Kusdár lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdar of our maps, the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán.[3] It is spelt both قزدار and قصدار, according to Abú-l Fidá, but both he and Sádik Isfahání prefer the former. The latter, however, is the most usual mode of spelling it.

Von Hammer[4] says that Wilken is correct in writing it Kasdár, but this is by no means authorized by either of the two Geographers mentioned above. Sádik Isfahání[5] spells it Kisdár, and Abú-l Fidá[6] Kusdár, and to his authority we must defer, as he is so very careful in specifying the vowel-points. Briggs calls it in one place Kandahar, in another Khoozdar.[1] The Nubian Geographer calls it Kardán Fardán,[2] and Kazwíní Kasrán Kasrán.[3] M. Petis de la Croix calls it Custar, and M. Silvestre de Sacy Cosdar.[4]

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[1] The *Bahru-l Buldán* places Kábul in India. See also Reinaud's *Memoire*, pp. 12, 39, 176.

[2] See also *Táríkh-i Yamíní*, Lith. Ed. p. 316.

[3] Masson, *Balochistan*, *Afghanistan*, and *Panjab*, vol. ii. p. 41. There is a Kooshder in Burnes's map, between Kelat and Dadur, which may perhaps be the place. The alteration of the first letter is suspicious.

[4] *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, vol. iv. p. 106.

[5] *Takwímu-l Buldán*, p. 122.

[6] *Géographie de Aboulféda*, Texte Arabe, pp. 348, 349. At page 384 Mekran is said to be in Hind.

When Ibn Haukal visited the valley of Sind, he found Kusdár under a separate government, and during the whole period of Arab occupation it was considered a place of importance. He describes it as a city and district between Túrán and Sind. Kusdár is frequently mentioned by Biláduri.[5] He quotes an Arabic poet, who thus rapturously speaks of its merits.

"Almonder has descended into his tomb at Kusdár, deprived of all commerce with people endowed with reason.

"What a beautiful country is Kusdár! how distinguished its inhabitants! and how illustrious both for his worldly policy as well as his religious duties was the man who now lies buried in its soil!"[6]

Note C.

On Fire-worship in Upper India.

Nizámu-d dín Ahmad mentions no other event of Ibráhím's reign but the following: "The Sultán turned his face towards Hindústán, and conquered many towns and forts, and amongst them was a city exceedingly populous, inhabited by a tribe of Khurásání descent, whom Afrásiyáb had expelled from their native country. * * It was so completely reduced by the power and perseverance of the Sultán, that he took away no less than 100,000 captives." Abú-l Fidá and the *Tabakát-i Násirí* are silent. The *Táríkh-i Alfí* says, "Ibráhím next marched against Derápúr in Hindústán, a place which many great emperors found it impracticable to conquer. Several histories state that this place was inhabited by the descendants of the people of Khurásán, who for their disloyal and rebellious conduct had been long before banished the country by Afrásiyáb, Emperor of Turán." The *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh* has nothing more on the subject than is contained in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*. The *Rauzatu-s Safá* is the same as the *Táríkh-i Alfí*, except that the former omits the name of the place. Firishta adds a few particulars not to be found in the others. He says:—"The King marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Derá, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khurásán, and were banished thither with their families by Afrásiyáb, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small independent state, and, being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites by not intermarrying with any other people. The King, having with infinite labour cleared a road for his army over the mountains, advanced towards Derá, which was well fortified. This place was remarkable for a fine lake of water about one *parasang* and a half in circumference, the waters of which did not apparently diminish, either from the heat of the weather or from being used by the army. At this place the King was overtaken by the rainy season; and his army, though greatly distressed, was compelled to remain before it for three months. But as soon as the rains abated, he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith. Sultán Ibráhím's proposal being rejected, he renewed the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town, at length, was taken by assault, and the Muhammadans found in it much wealth, and 100,000 persons, whom they carried in bonds to Ghazní. Some time after, the King accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone, with great difficulty and labour, to a palace which he was then building. This exciting his pity, he commanded the prisoner to throw it down and leave it there, at the same time giving him his liberty. This stone happened to be on the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers, but as the King's rigid enforcement of his commands was universally known, no one attempted to touch it. A courtier one day having stumbled with his horse over the stone, took occasion to mention it to the King, intimating that he thought it would be advisable to have it removed. To which the King replied, 'I commanded it to be thrown down and left there; and there it must remain as a monument of the calamities of war, and to commemorate my sense of its evils. It is better for a king to be pertinacious in the support even of an inadvertent command than that he should depart from his royal word.' The stone accordingly remained where it was; and was shown as a curiosity in the reign of Sultán Bairám several years afterwards."

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[1] Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 15, 123. [2] *Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 64, 67, 68.

[3] Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 174.

[4] *Notices et Extr. des MSS.*, tom. iv. pp. 332, 391.

[5] [See *suprà*, Vol. I. p. 118.]

[6] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 188. Compare also Pottinger, *Travels in Belochistan*, p. 36. C. Ritter, *Erdk. von Asien*, vol. vi. part i. pp. 714, 715. Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, pp. 25, 209. *Wien Jahrbücher*, no. lxxiii. p. 31. Mirchondi, *Historia Gasnevidarum*, p. 146. Massan's *Kelat*, p. 377.

The position of this place is very difficult to fix. Firishta says that in the year 472 H. Ibráhím marched in person to India, and conquered portions of it never before visited by the Musulmáns. He extended his conquests to Ajodhan, now called Pattan Shaikh Faríd Shakr Ganj. He then went to Rúdpál, situated on the summit of a steep hill, which a river embraced on three sides, and which was protected by an impervious wood, infested by serpents. He then marched to Derá, which Briggs seems to place in the valley of the Indus, because he adds in a note, "Derá seems a common name in the vicinity of Multán for a town." The reading of the *Táríkh-i Alfí* with respect to the two first places is much the most probable, —namely, a fort in the country of Júd[1] and Damál.

The *Rauzatu-s Safá* does not mention the first place, and speaks of the second as if it were on the sea-shore. The third place he does not name. In Firishta it is Derá, and in the *Táríkh-i Alfí* Derápúr. This would seem to be the place called Derabend, near Torbela, on the Upper Indus.[2] It is possible that the Dehrá of Dehrá Dún may be meant; but, though the belt of mountains, the inaccessible jungle, the seclusion of the inhabitants, and the identity of name, are in favour of this supposition, we are at a loss for the inexhaustible lake and the impregnability of the position.

All the authors, however, who mention the circumstance, whether they give the name or not, notice that the inhabitants were banished by Affásiyáb; and this concurrent tradition respecting their expulsion from Khurásán seems to indicate the existence of a colony of fire-worshippers in these hills, who preserved their peculiar rites and customs, notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since their departure from their native country.

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[1] This country is frequently mentioned by the early historians. It lies between the Indus and the Jailam, and is the Ayud of the old travellers. It is the old Sanskrit name, and occurs in the Puranic lists, and on the Allahabad pillar, under the name of *Yaudheya*. Wilford says it is the Hud of the Book of Esther. It occurs also in the marginal legend of the reverse of the Bactro-Pehlevi Coins. See *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 973; *As. Researches*, vol. viii. p 349; Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morgenlandes*, vol. iii. p. 196.

[2] Vigne, *Kashmir*, vol. i. p. 122. See also Abbot's paper on Nikaia, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1852.

Putting aside the probability, which has frequently been speculated upon, of an original connexion between the Hindú religion and the worship of fire,[1] and the derivation of the name of Magadha from the Magi, there is much in the practical worship of the Hindús, such as the *hom*, the *gáyatrí*, the address to the sun[2] at the time of ablution, the prohibition against insulting that luminary by indecent gestures,[3]—all which would lead an inattentive observer to conclude the two religions to bear a very close resemblance to one another. It is this consideration which should make us very careful in receiving the statements of the early Muhammadan writers on this subject; and the use of the word *Gabr*, to signify not only, especially, a fire-worshipper, but, generally, an infidel of any denomination, adds to the probability of confusion and inaccuracy.[4]

Khusrú, in the *Khazáinu-l Futúh* (p. 76), calls the sun the *kibla* of the Hindús, and it is quite evident that throughout his works *Gabr* is used as equivalent to Hindú. In one passage he speaks of the *Gabrs* as worshippers both of stones and fire.

European scholars have not been sufficiently attentive to this double use of the word, and all those who have relied upon M. Petis de la Croix's translation of Sharafu-d dín, have considered that, at the period of Tímúr's invasion, fire-worship prevailed most extensively in Upper India, because *Gabr* is used throughout by the historians of that invasion to represent the holders of a creed opposed to his own, and against which his rancour and cruelty were unsparingly directed. There is distinct mention in the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain* of fire-worshippers, as distinct from the Hindús; and the Kashmirians, according to Firishta, were fire-worshippers at the time of the Muhammadan invasion.[1] The men of Deogír are called fire-worshippers in the *Táríkh-i 'Aláí.*

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[1] *Calc. Rev.* vol. xxi. pp. 107, 128; *Mod. Trav.*, *India*, vol. i. p. 120; Rampoldi, viii. n. 39; Mickle's *Camoens*, p. 356; Dr. Cox's *Sacred Hist. and Biog.*, p. 120; R. P. Knight's *Symbolic Language*, "Fire."

[2] See Wilson, *Rig-Veda*, Pref. pp. 28, 29, and *Index*, voce "Agni"; Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i. p. 78; also Lucian's description of the circular dance peculiar to Indian priests, in which they worship the sun, standing with their faces towards the east. —*De Saltatione.* See also Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, vol. i. pp. 137, 146; Ersch and Grüber, *Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, art. *Indien*, pp. 166, 172; Drummond's *Origines*, vol. iii. p. 430.

[3] Hesiod enables us to disguise it in a learned language,

Μηδ' ἀντ' ἠελίοιο τετραμμένος ὀρθὸς ὀμιχεῖν.

Op. et Di. v. 672.

See also *Menu*, iv. 52; *Rámáyana*, ii. 59; Bohlen, *Das alte Ind.*, vol. i. p. 139; *Akhlák-i Jaláli*, p. 293.

[4] "A Christian is called amongst them Gower, that is, unbeleever and uncleane, esteeming all to be infidels and pagans which do not believe as they do, in their false, filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli."—A. Jenkins, Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 391.

But though the word is used indiscriminately, there are certain passages in which it is impossible to consider that any other class but fire-worshippers is meant. Thus, it is distinctly stated in Tímúr's Memoirs, and by Sharafu-d dín, that the people of Tughlikpúr[2] believed *in the two principles of good and evil in the universe, and acknowledged Ahrimán and Yezdan* (*Ormuzd*). The captives massacred at Loni[3] are said to have been *Magians, as well as Hindús,* and Sharafu-d dín states that the son of Safí the Gabr threw himself into the fire, *which he worshipped.*[4]

We cannot refuse our assent to this distinct evidence of the existence of fire-worshippers in Upper India as late as the invasion of Tímúr, A.D. 1398-9. There is, therefore, no improbability that the independent tribe which had been expelled by Afrásiyáb, and practised their own peculiar rites, and whom Ibráhim the Ghaznivide attacked in A.D. 1079, were a colony of fire-worshippers from Írán, who, if the date assigned be true, must have left their native country before the reforms effected in the national creed by Zoroaster.

Indeed, when we consider the constant intercourse which had prevailed from the oldest time between Persia and India,[5] it is surprising that we do not find more unquestionable instances of the persecuted fire-worshippers seeking an asylum in Northern India as well as in Gujarát. The instances in which they are alluded to before this invasion of Tímúr are very rare, and almost always so obscurely mentioned as to leave some doubt in the mind whether foreign ignorance of native customs and religious rites may not have given a colour to the narrative.

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[1] Briggs, vol. iv. p. 449.

[2] [See *suprà*, Vol. III. pp. 431 and 494, and see the Editor's note upon this passage at page 506 of Vol. III. A further instance of the confusion of Bráhmanical and Zoroastrian institutions may be found at p. 530, *suprà*, where Badáúní, in treating upon Pársí fire-worship, declares the Hindú *hom* to be "a ceremony derived from fire-worship," evidently meaning Zoroastrianism.]

[3] [See *suprà*, Vol. III. pp. 436 and 497.] Price's *Chronological Retrosp. of Mah. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 254.

[4] [See vol. III. p. 506.]

[5] Troyer, *Rájá Tarangini*, vol. ii. p. 441.

The evidence of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen-thsang, to the existence of sun-worship at Multán in 640 A.D., is very decisive. He found there a "temple of the sun, and an idol erected to represent that grand luminary," with dwellings for the priests, and reservoirs for ablution;[1] yet he says the city was inhabited chiefly by men of the Bráhmanical religion. A few centuries before, if Philostratus is to be believed, Apollonius, after crossing the Indus, visited the temple of the sun at Taxila, and Phraotes, the chief of the country, describes the Indians as in a moment of joy "snatching torches from the altar of the sun," and mentions that he himself never drank wine except "when sacrificing to the sun." After crossing the Hyphasis, Apollonius goes to a place, which would seem to represent Jwála Mukhí, where they "worship fire" and "sing hymns in honour of the sun."[2] When the Arabs arrived in the valley of the Indus, they found the same temple, the same idol, the same dwellings, the same reservoirs, as had struck the Chinese, but their description of the idol would lead us to suppose that it was a representation of Budh. Bírúní, however, whose testimony is more valuable than that of all other Muhammadans, as he was fully acquainted with the religious system of the Hindús, plainly tells us[3] that the idol of Multán was called *Aditya*,[4] because it was consecrated to the *sun*, and that Muhammad-bin Kásim, the first invader, suspended a piece of cow's flesh from its neck, in order to show his contempt of the superstition of the Indians, and to disgust them with this double insult to the dearest objects of their veneration.[1]

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, tom. viii. p. 298, and *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 393.

[2] Philostrati *Vita Apollonii*, lib. ii. capp. 24, 32, lib. iii. cap. 14, ed. G. Olearius (Leip. 1709), pp. 77, 85, 103; *Hist. Sikhs* (Calc. 1846), p. 20.

[3] M Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 141.

[4] See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. p. 761; *Anthologia Sanscritica*, p. 172; *As. Res.*, vol. i. p. 263; Vans Kennedy, *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 349.

Shortly before Bírúní wrote, we have another instance of this tendency to combine the two worships. In the message which Jaipál sent to Násiru-d dín, in order to dissuade him from driving the Indians to desperation, he is represented to say, according to the *Táríkh-i Alfí:* "The Indians are accustomed to pile their property, wealth, and precious jewels in one heap, and to kindle it with the fire, *which they worship.* Then they kill their women and children, and with nothing left in the world they rush to their last onslaught, and die in the field of battle, so that for their victorious enemies the only spoil is dust and ashes." The declaration is a curious one in the mouth of a Hindú, but may perhaps be considered to indicate the existence of a modified form of pyrolatry in the beginning of the eleventh century. The practice alluded to is nothing more than the *Jauhar,* which is so frequently practised by Hindús in despair, and was not unknown to the nations of antiquity. Sardanapalus performed it, on the capture of Babylon. "He raised a large pyre in his palace, threw upon it all his wealth in gold, silver, and royal robes, and then placing his concubines and eunuchs on it, he, they, and the entire palace were consumed in the flames."[2] The Saguntines did the same, when their city was taken by Hannibal;[3] Juba also had prepared for a *Jauhar,*[4] and Arrian gives us an account of one performed by the Bráhmans, without noticing it as a practice exclusively observed by that class.[5] The peculiarity of the relation consists in Jaipál's declaration that the Indians *worshipped the fire,* not in the fact of their throwing their property and valuables into it. The practice of self-cremation also appears to have been common at an earlier period; and there were conspicuous instances of it when foreign nations first became acquainted with India. One occurs in Vol. II. p. 27, where this very Jaipál, having no opportunity of dying in the field of battle, committed himself to the flames. Other histories tell us that it was then a custom amongst the Hindús that a king who had been twice defeated was disqualified to reign, and that Jaipál, in compliance with this custom, resigned his crown to his son, lighted his funeral pyre with his own hands, and perished in the flames. The Greeks and Romans were struck with the instances which they witnessed of the same practice. Calanus, who followed the Macedonian army from Taxila, solemnly burnt himself in their presence at Pasargadæ, being old and tired of his life.[1] Zarmanochegas, who accompanied the Indian ambassadors sent by a chief, called Porus, to Augustus, burnt himself at Athens, and directed the following inscription to be engraved on his sepulchral monument:—"Here lies Zarmanochegas, the Indian of Bargosa, who deprived himself of life, according to a *custom prevailing among his countrymen*."[2]

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[1] There is nothing in the various origins ascribed to the name of Multán which gives any colour to the supposition that the city was devoted to the worship of the sun; nor is there anything at present to indicate that worship. See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde,* vol. i. p. 99; *Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morg.,* vol. iii. p. 196; Tod, vol. i. pp. 69, 119; Reinaud's *Mém.,* pp. 98, 100. The universality of Sun-worship is shown in Squier's *Serpent Symbol in America,* and Macrob. *Saturn,* i. c. 22.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, ii. 27.

[3] Polybius, iii. 17; Livy, xxi. 14.

[4] Merivale, vol. ii. p. 378; Cox's *Sacred Hist. and Biog.,* p. 242.

[5] *De Expedit. Alex.,* vi. 7. See also *Ency. Metr.,* "Rom Rep." and "Greece"; Herod. on the Syrians; Q. Curtius, ix. 14; Niebuhr's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 82, 159, 247, 269; Michaud's *Crusades,* vol. i. p. 429; Layard's *Nineveh,* vol. ii. p. 218; Arnold, vol. iii. pp. 66, 429; *Mod. Univ. Hist.,* vol. iii. p. 195, xi. p. 63.

Strabo correctly observes, on the authority of Megasthenes, that suicide is not one of the dogmas of Indian philosophy; indeed, it is attended by many spiritual penalties:[3] and even penance which endangers life is prohibited.[4] There is a kind of exception, however, in favour of suicide by fire and water,[5] but then only when age, or infirmity, makes life grievous and burdensome. The former has of late years gone quite out of fashion, but it is evident that in ancient times there were many devotees ready to sacrifice themselves in that mode.

Quique suas struxere pyras, vivique calentes
Conscendêre rogos. Proh! quanta est gloria genti
Injecisse manum fatis, vitâque repletos
Quod superest, donasse Diis.——

Pharsalia, iii. 240.

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[1] Diodorus Sic. xvii. 107; Valerius Max. I. viii. *Extern.* 10; Cicero, *Tusc.* ii. 22; Grier, 108, Index, v. "Calanus"; Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i. pp. 90, 461, 462, 471.

[2] Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21; Strabo, *Geograph.* xv. 1; Valentyn, vol. i. p. 60; Ritter, *Erdk.*, vol. iv. part 1, p. 489.

[3] Rhode, *Religiose Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. p. 451; Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, vol. i. pp. 286–290; C. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* p. 139; his *Scrip. rerum Al. mag.* pp. 51, 57.

[4] See Wilson's note to Mill's *British India*, vol. ii. p. 417.

[5] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 256; where an instance is adduced from the *Raghuvansa* and *Rámáyana*.

It was, therefore, a habit sufficiently common amongst the Indians of that early period, to make Lucan remark upon it as a peculiar glory of that nation. All this, however, may have occurred without any reference to fire as an object of worship; but the speech of Jaipál, if not attributed to him merely through Muhammadan ignorance, shows an unquestionable devotion to that worship.

But to continue, Istakhrí, writing a century earlier than this transaction, says, "Some parts of Hind and Sind belong to *Gabrs*, but a greater portion to Kafirs and idolaters; a minute description of these places would, therefore, be unnecessary and unprofitable."[1] Here, evidently, the fire-worshippers are alluded to as a distinct class; and these statements, written at different periods respecting the religious creeds of the Indians, seem calculated to impart a further degree of credibility to the specific assertions of Sharafu-d dín, Khondamír, and the other historians of Tímúr's expedition to India. But the people alluded to by them need not have been colonies of refugees, fleeing from Muhammadan bigotry and persecution. There are other modes of accounting for their existence in these parts. They may have been Indian converts to the doctrine of Zoroaster, for we read that not only had he secret communication with the Bráhmans of India,[2] but when his religion was fully established, he endeavoured to gain proselytes in India, and succeeded in converting a learned Bráhman, called Tchengrighatchah by Anquetil du Perron,[3] who returned to his native country with a great number of priests. Firdúsí tells us that Isfandiyár[4] induced the monarch of India to renounce idolatry and adopt fire-worship, insomuch that not a Bráhman remained in the idol-temples. A few centuries afterwards, we have indisputable testimony to the general spread of these doctrines in Kábul and the Panjáb. The emblems of the Mithraic[1] worship so predominate on the coins of the Kanerkis, as to leave no doubt upon the mind that it was the state-religion of that dynasty.[2]

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[1] Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 146.

[2] Bactrianus Zoroastres, cum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quamdam venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis silentiis præcelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur: eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, eruditus, ex his, quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus Magorum infudit.—Ammian. Marcell. *Julianus*, xxiii. 6, 33. See *Anc. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 301; Guigniant's *Notes to Creuzer's Religions*, tom. i. pp. 689, 690.

[3] *Zendavesta*, vol. i. ch. 2, p. 70.

[4] He is said, according to the *Zinatu-t Tawárikh*, to have been the first convert made by Zoroaster, and Gushtásp, his father, was persuaded by the eloquence of the prince to follow his example. The king ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, in order that the precepts of his new faith might be engrossed upon them. In this respect what a contrast is there to Hindú exclusiveness! The Pandits withheld their sacred books from Col. Polier, for fear that he should bind them in calf-skin. Polier, *Mythologie des Indous*, tom. ii. p. 224; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 629; Riley, p. 40.

Ritter entertains the supposition, that as the Khiljí family came from the highlands which afforded a shelter to this persecuted race, they may have had a leaning to these doctrines, and he offers a suggestion, that the new religion which 'Aláu-d dín wished to promulgate may have been that of Zoroaster,[3] and that this will account for the Panjáb and the Doáb being full of his votaries at the time of Tímúr's invasion. But this is a very improbable supposition, and he has laid too much stress upon the use of the word *Gabr*, which, if taken in the exclusive sense adopted by him, would show not only that these tracts were entirely occupied by fire-worshippers, but that Hindús were to be found in very few places in either of them.

After this time, we find little notice of the prevalence of fire-worship in Northern India; and its observers must then have been exterminated, or they must have shortly after been absorbed into some of the lower Hindú communities. Badáúní, however, mentions the destruction of fire-altars one hundred years later by Sultán Sikandar in A.H. 910. It may not be foreign to this part of the inquiry to remark, that Abú-l Fazl speaks of the *Gubree* language as being one of the thirteen used in the *súba* of Kábul (*Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. ii. p. 1263). The *Gubree* language is also mentioned in Bábar. There is a "Gubber" hill and pass not far from Bunnoo, inhabited by the Battani tribe; and on the remotest borders of Rohilkhand, just under the hills, there is a tribe called

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[1] Using this word in its usual, though not proper, acceptation. The real Mithraic worship was a fusion of Zoroastrianism and Chaldaism, or the Syrian worship of the sun. See the authorities quoted in Guizot's and Milman's notes to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. p. 340; *Anc. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iv. pp. 150, 157.

[2] Lassen, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. ix. p. 456, and H. T. Prinsep, *Note on the Histor. Results from Bactrian Coins*, p. 106.

[3] See Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. iv. part 1, pp. 577–79.

Gobrí, who retain some peculiar customs, which seem to have no connexion with Hindú superstition. They are said to have preceded the present occupants of the more cultivated lands to the south of the Taráí, and may possibly be the descendants of some of the *Gabrs* who found a refuge in Upper India. The name of *Gobrí* would certainly seem to encourage the notion of identity, for the difference of the first vowel, and the addition of a final one, offer no obstacle, any more than they do in the name of *Gobryas*,[1] who gave information to Socrates on the subject of the Persian religion, and is expressly declared by Plato to be an ἀνὴρ μάγος. According to J. Cunningham, there is a wild tribe called *Magyas* between Málwa and Gujarát, who are used as *shikárís*. They are supposed to have been fire-worshippers, but they have no pyrolatrous observances at present.

There is another inferior Hindú tribe, to the west of the upper Jumna, and in the neighbourhood of the Tughlikpúr mentioned above, who, having the name of *Magh*,[2] and proclaiming themselves of foreign extraction (inasmuch as they are descendants of Rájá Mukhtesar, a Sarsutí Bráhman, King of Mecca, and maternal grandfather of Muhammad ! !),[3] would seem to invite the attention of any inquirer after the remnant of the stock of Magians; but all their customs, both religious and social, are of the Hindú stamp, and their only peculiarity consists in being the sole caste employed in the cultivation of *mendhí* (Lawsonia inermis).[1]

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[1] Plato, *Axiochus*, Tauchnitz, vol. viii. p. 204. The same name is common in Herodotus, Xenophon, Justin, and other authors, who deal in Persian History. The warmth of an Irish imagination ascribes to the Greeks a still greater perversion of the original word.

"Hyde," says the enthusiastic O'Brien, "was the only one who had any idea of the composition of Cabiri, when he declared it was a Persian word somewhat altered from Gabri or Guebri, and signifying fire-worshippers. It is true that Gabri now stands for fire-worshippers, but that is only because they assumed to themselves this title, which belonged to another order of their ancestors. The word is derived from *gabh*, a smith, and *ir*, sacred, meaning the sacred smiths, and Cabiri being only a perversion of it, is of course in substance of the very same import. * * * * Gobhan Saer means the sacred poet, or the Freemason Sage, one of the Guebhres, or Cabiri." —*Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 354, 386. See *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xi. pp. 134–5.

[2] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 754.

[3] See Quatremère's observations in the *Journal des Savants*, January, 1851. This is not at all an uncommon paternity for the lower tribes to assume. There is nothing in which Hindú ignorance is more betrayed, than in these silly attempts to enrol the false prophet amongst their native heroes. See especially Wilford's absurd and dirty story, showing how Muhammad was of Bráhmanical descent. (*As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 160.) Wilson considers that the story was manufactured especially for Wilford, but it is traditionally current among the ignorant in some parts of Upper India. (*Note to Mill's India*, vol. ii. p. 176.) The reputed Bráhmanical origin of Akbar is more reason-

NOTE D.

On the knowledge of Sanskrit by Muhammadans.

It is a common error to suppose that Faizí (v. p. 479) was the first[2] Muhammadan who mastered the difficulties of the Sanskrit,—that language, "of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."

Akbar's freedom from religious bigotry, his ardent desire for the cultivation of knowledge, and his encouragement of every kind of

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able, inasmuch as it can be attributed to gratitude, and is not opposed to the doctrine of transmigration; but why Muhammad should also be chosen, whose votaries have proved the most unrelenting persecutors of Hindús, can only be ascribed to the marvellous assimilating powers of their mental digestion, fostered by the grossest credulity and ignorance of past events, which can, as Milton says, "corporeal to incorporeal turn," and to that indiscriminate craving after adaptation, which induces them even now to present their offerings at the shrines of Muhammadans, whose only title to saint is derived from the fact of their having despatched hundreds of infidel and accursed Hindús to the nethermost pit of Hell.

[1] See also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistan*, vol. i. pp. c. cxxv.; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. pp. 74, 81, 212, vol. xi. p. 76, vol. xvi. p. 15; Dr. Bird, *Journ. As. Soc. Bombay*, no. ix. p. 186; Rammohun Roy, *Translation of the Veds*, pp. 29, 73, 109–118; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. 488–494; Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, pp. xl. 84, 397; *North British Review*, no. ii. p. 376; Klaproth, *Mémoires Relatifs a l'Asie*, tom. ii. p. 81; Ouseley, *Travels in Persia*, vol. i. pp. 102–146; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. iv. pt. 1, pp. 489, 574, 614–619; Rhode, *Religiose Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. p. 42, vol. ii. p. 290; Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 295-302; Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. i. pp. 30, 149, 153, 188, 217; F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie*, vol. i. pp. 518–524; Reinaud's *Mémoire sur l'Inde, passim*; Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 46; Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. i. pp. 78, 90, 461-2, 471, 489; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1849, pp. 105-7, 1852, p. 447; *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society*, vol. xii. pp. 26, 27; *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxi. p. 150, vol. xxv. p. 45; Grote's *Greece*, vol. iv. p. 299, vol. v. p. 397; J. H. Hottingeri *Thesaurus Philologicus seu Clavis Scripturæ*, 1649, p. 56; Buxtorf, *Lex.*, p. 704; *Mod. Trav. in India*, vol. i. p. 145, vol. iv. pp. 201 to 206; Tod, vol. i. pp. 102, 112, 217, 232; Fergusson's *Anc. Arch. Hind.*, p. 6; R. S. Poole's *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, p. 205; Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 272; Maisey's *Report on Sanchi Topes*, Note B; Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*.

[2] Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 317; *Biographical Dictionary*, L. U. K., vol. i. p. 583; Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 6; Briggs, vol. iv. p. 451. Gladwin mentions translations made before the time of Akbar in the *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. i. p. 103, vol. ii. p. 153.

learning, and especially his regard for his Hindú subjects, imparted a stimulus to the cultivation of Indian literature, such as had never prevailed under any of his predecessors. Hence, besides Faizí, we have amongst the Sanskrit translators of his reign 'Abdu-l Kádir, Nakíb Khán, Mullá Sháh Muhammad, Mullá Shabrí, Sultán Hájí, Hájí Ibráhím, and others. In some instances it may admit of doubt, whether the translations may not have been made from versions previously done into Hindí, oral or written. The word Hindí is ambiguous when used by a Muhammadan of that period. Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, for instance, says that 'Abdu-l Kádir translated several works from the *Hindí.* Now, we know that he translated, amongst other works, the *Rámáyana* and the *Singhásan Battísí.*[1] It is much more probable that these were in the original Sanskrit, than in Hindí. 'Abdu-l Kádir and Firishta tell us that the *Mahá-bhárata* was translated into Persian from the *Hindí,* the former[2] ascribing the work chiefly to Nakíb Khán, the latter to Faizí.[3] Here again there is every probability of the Sanskrit being meant. In another instance, 'Abdu-l Kádir tells us that he was called upon to translate the *Atharva Veda* from the *Hindí,* which he excused himself from doing, on account of the exceeding difficulty of the style and abstruseness of meaning, upon which the task devolved upon Hájí Ibráhím Sirhindí, who accomplished it satisfactorily. Here it is evident that nothing but Sanskrit could have been meant.[4] But though the knowledge of Sanskrit appears to have been more generally diffused at this time, it was by no means the first occasion that Muhammadans had become acquainted with that language. Even if we allowed that they obtained the abridgment of the *Pancha Tantra,* under the name of Fables of Bidpai, or *Hitopadeśa,* through the medium of the Pehleví,[1] there are other facts which make it equally certain that the Muhammadans had attained a correct knowledge of the Sanskrit not long after the establishment of their religion; even admitting, as was probably the case, that most of the Arabic translations were made by Indian foreigners resident at Baghdád.

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[1] [See *suprà,* pp. 513 and 539.]

[2] His account, which will be seen at p. 537, is very confused, and it is not easy to gather from it what share each of the coadjutors had in the translation. The same names are given in the *Áín-i Akbari;* Sprenger's *Bibl.,* pp. 59, 63.

[3] The author of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* (vol. i.) ascribes it to 'Abdu-l Kádir and Shaikh Muhammad Sultán Thánesarí. The name of the translator is not mentioned in Abú-l Fazl's preface, but the work is said to have been done by several men of both religions.

[4] In the *'Áshika* and *Nuh-sipahr* of Amír Khusrú there are two important passages, showing that in the former Hindí means Sanskrit; and Amír Khusrú in the same work says that he himself had a knowledge of the language.

In the *Khalifate* of Al-Mámún, the Augustan age of Arabian literature, the treatise[2] of Muhammad bin Músa on Algebra, which was translated by Dr. Rosen in 1831, and the medical treatises of Mikah and Ibn Dahan, who are represented to be Indians,[3] show that Sanskrit must have been well known at that time; and even before that, the compilations of *Charaka* and *Susruta*[4] had been translated, and had diffused a general knowledge of Indian medicine amongst the Arabs. From the very first, we find them paying particular attention to this branch of science, and encouraging the profession of it so much, that two Indians, Manka and Sálih by name,—the former of whom translated a treatise on poison into Persian,—held appointments as body-physicians at the Court of Hárúnu-r Rashíd.[5] The Arabians possessed during the early periods of the *Khalifate* several other Indian works which had been translated into Arabic, some on astronomy,[6] some on music,[7] some on judicial astrology,[8] some on interpretation of dreams,[9] some on the religion and theogony of the Hindús,[10] some on their sacred scriptures,[1] some on the calculation of nativities,[2] some on agriculture,[3] some on poisons,[4] some on physiognomy,[5] and some on palmistry,[6] besides others, which need not be here enumerated.

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[1] See Mémoire prefixed to S. de Sacy's edition of *Calilah wa Dimnah*, Paris, 1816. See also *Biographie Universelle*, tom. xxi. p. 471.

[2] Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 444-500.

[3] *Biographical Dictionary*, L. U. K., vol. ii. p. 242.

[4] Diez, *Analecta Medica*, pp. 126-140.

[5] *Journal of Education*, vol. viii. p. 176; Royle, *Antiquity of Hindú Medicine*, p. 64; *Oriental Mag.*, March, 1823; D'Herbelot, arts. *Ketab al Samoum* and *Mangheh*; Abú-l Faragii, *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 238; Dietz, p. 124; Price, vol. ii. p. 88; *Biog. Dic.*, L. U. K., vol. ii. p. 300; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 107; Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, vol. i. p. 42; Rampoldi, vol. iv. pp. 451, 478; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 155; Cosmos (Sabine), vol. ii. notes 328, 340-1, 350-5-6; Wüstenfeld, *Arab Aertze*, p. 19; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vol. iv. part 1, pp. 520, 626.

[6] Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, vol. i. p. 246.

[7] Casiri, *ibid.*, p. 427.

[8] Hottingeri, *Promptuarium*, p. 254; Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, vol. i. pp. 42, 46, 49.

[9] Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, vol. i. p. 401.

[10] Gieldemeister, *de rebus Indicis Scriptt. Arabb.*, pp. 104-119; De Guignes, *Mém. de l'Academ. des Inscript.*, tom. xxvi. p. 791 *et seq.*

If we turn our eyes towards India, we find that scarcely had these ruthless conquerors gained a footing in the land, than Bírúní exerted himself with the utmost diligence to study the language, literature, and science of India, and attained, as we have already seen, such proficiency in it, as to be able to translate into, as well as from, the Sanskrit. Muhammad bin Israíl-al Tanúkhí also travelled early into India, to learn the system of astronomy which was taught by the sages of that country.[7] There seems, however, no good authority for Abú-l Fazl's statement in the *Áín-i Akbarí*,[8] that Abú Ma'shar (Albumazar) visited Benares at an earlier period;—and the visit of Ibn-al Baithár to India, four centuries afterwards, rests solely on the authority of Leo Africanus.[9]

Again, when Fíroz Sháh, after the capture of Nagarkot, in the middle of the fourteenth century, obtained possession of a valuable Sanskrit Library, he ordered a work on philosophy, divination, and omens to be translated, under the name of *Daláil-i Fíroz-sháhí*, by Mauláná 'Izzu-d dín Khálid Khání,—and to have enabled the translator to do this, he must have acquired no slight knowledge of the original, before his selection for the duty.

In the Nawwáb Jalálu-d daula's Library at Lucknow, there is a work on astrology, also translated from the Sanskrit into Persian in Fíroz Sháh's reign. A knowledge of Sanskrit must have prevailed pretty generally about this time, for there is in the Royal Library at Lucknow a work on the veterinary art, which was translated from the Sanskrit by order of Ghiyásu-d dín Muhammad Sháh Khiljí. This rare book, called *Kurratu-l Mulk,* was translated as early as A.H. 783 (A.D. 1381), from an original, styled *Sálotar,* which is the name of an Indian, who is said to have been a Bráhman, and the tutor of Susruta. The Preface says that the translation was made "from the barbarous Hindí into the refined Persian, in order that there may be no more need of a reference to infidels." It is a small work, comprising only 41 pages 8vo. of 13 lines, and the style is very concise. It is divided into eleven chapters and thirty sections. The precise age of this work is doubtful, because, although it is plainly stated to have been translated in A.H. 783, yet the reigning prince is called Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Muhammad Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh, and there is no king so named whose reign exactly corresponds with that date. The nearest is Ghiyásu-d dín 'Azím Sháh bin Sikandar Sháh, who reigned in Bengal from A.H. 769 to 775.[1] If Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik be meant, it should date sixty years earlier, and if the King of Málwa who bore that name be meant, it should be dated 100 years later; any way, it very much precedes the reign of Akbar.[2] The translator makes no mention in it of the work on the same subject, which had been previously translated from the Sanskrit into Arabic at Baghdád, under the name of *Kitábu-l Baitarat.*

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[1] D'Herbelot, Arts. *Anbertkend*, *Ambahoumatah*, *Behergir*. See also *Ketab alkhafi*, *Ketab Roi al Hendi*, and several other articles under *Ketab*. Rampoldi, vol. iv. p. 328.

[2] Hájí Khalfa, vol. i. p. 282; Diez, *Analecta Medica*, p. 118; D'Herbelot, art. *Cancah*.

[3] Gildemeister, ix.

[4] Dietz, p. 118; D'Herbelot, *Ketab Roi al Hendi*.

[5] D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Or.*, tom. iv. p. 725; Diez, *Analecta Medica*, p. 117.

[6] Hájí Khalfa, vol. i. p. 263.

[7] Casiri, *Bibl. Escurial.*, vol. i. p. 439.

[8] *Áín-i Akbarí*, vol. ii. p. 288; Gildemeister, 79.

[9] Hottingeri, *Bibl. quadrup.* ap. Gildemeister, *Scriptt. Arabb.*, p. 80; *Mod. Univer. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 274; Reinaud's *Aboulfeda*, vol. i. p. 55; *Mémoire*, pp. 6, 289, 316, 336.

From all these instances it is evident that Faizí did not occupy the entirely new field of literature for which he usually obtains credit.[3] The same error seems to have prevaded the history of European scholarship in Sanskrit. We read as early as A.D. 1677,

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[1] There is something respecting this reign in the History of Mecca which relates to India, and shows great communication between Bengal and Arabia.

[2] It is curious, that without any allusion to this work, another on the veterinary art, styled *Sálotarí,* and said to comprise in the Sanskrit original 16,000 *slokas,* was translated in the reign of Sháh Jahán, "when there were many learned men who knew Sanskrit," by Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khán Bahádur Fíroz Jang, who had found it amongst some other Sanskrit books, which during his expedition against Mewár, in the reign of Jahángír, had been plundered from Amár Singh, Ráná of Chitor, and "one of the chief *zamíndárs* of the hill-country." It is divided into twelve chapters, and is more than double the size of the other.

[3] Faizí's *Lílávatí* has many omissions, and the translation in some passages departs so far from the original "as induces the suspicion that Faizí contented himself with writing down the verbal explanation afforded by his assistants."—Dr. Taylor's *Lílávatí*, p. 2.

Ir. Marshall's being a proficient in the language, and without tioning the dubious names of Anquetil du Perron [1] and Father lino,[2] others could be named, who preceded in this arduous path celebrated scholars of the present period. Thus, Holwell says he read and understood Sanskrit, and P. Pons, the Jesuit (1740), w the language. In such an inquiry as this also must not be tted the still more important evidence afforded by the *Mujmalu-t árikh*, from which Extracts have been given in Vol. I. p. 100.

See *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 412; *Edinb. Rev.*, vol. i. p. 75; Heeren's *orical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 129, and *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxiv. p. 471.

Bohlen speaks of his *Grammatica Samscredamica*, Rom. 1790, as "full of the sest blunders;" Sir William Jones designates him as "homo trium litterarum," Leyden is even less complimentary in his strictures: "The publication of his *carana*, Rom. 1804, has given a death-blow to his vaunted pretensions to profound ntal learning, and shown, as was previously suspected, that he was incapable of rately distinguishing Sanskrit from the vernacular languages of India. Equally rficial, inaccurate, and virulent in his invective, a critic of his own stamp would mpted to retort on him his own quotation from Ennius:—

Simia quam similis turpissima bestia vobis."

Das alte Indien, vol. ii. p. 471; *As. Res.*, vol. x. p. 278; *Journ. Asiatique*, tom. ii. 16; Heeren, *Histor. Res.*, vol. ii. p. 108; M. Abel-Rémusat, *Nouv. Mél. Asiat.*, ii. pp. 305–315; *Quart. Or. Mag.*, vol. iv. p. 158.

Addition to the note on the Autobiography of Tímúr in Vol. IV. p. 559.

ince the publication of Vol. IV., I have had access to a copy of the first volume he *Matla'u-s Sa'dain* belonging to Professor Cowell; but I have not discovered any reference to the works from which the author drew his life of Tímúr.

ímúr's "Testament" is given in the *Zafar-ndma*, so the statement in p. 562 *ol. IV. requires correction.—J. D.]*

END OF VOL. V.

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